

Krisztina Teleki

MONASTERIES AND TEMPLES OF
BOGDIIN KHÜREE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	4
SOURCES TO STUDY THE HISTORY OF BOGDIIN KHÜREE	7
RESEARCHERS' AND TRAVELLERS' BOOKS	7
TIBETAN AND MONGOLIAN CHRONICLES	8
ARCHIVAL SOURCES	9
BOOKS AND ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN THE SOCIALIST PERIOD	10
LISTS, MAPS, PAINTINGS	10
WRITTEN MEMORIES / REMINISCENCES	13
DATA PROVIDERS	14
FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE KHÜREE	16
NAMES OF THE CITY	16
MANCHU OVERLORDSHIP (1691-1911)	16
ÖNDÖR GEGEEN ZANABAZAR, THE 1 ST BOGD: ESTABLISHMENT OF ÖRGÖÖ	17
RE-LOCATIONS OF THE CAPITAL AND THE FORMATION OF THE AIMAGS WITHIN IT	19
CAPITAL FORMING ACTIVITIES OF THE BOGDS	20
THE BOGD KHAAN'S REIGN: THE AUTONOMOUS PERIOD (1911-1921)	24
THE GRADUAL SUPPRESSION OF THE CHURCH AND THE PURGES (1921-1940)	26
RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE KHÜREE	29
HIGH RANKING LAMAS	29
RANKS AND OTHER DUTIES IN THE INDIVIDUAL TEMPLES	30
EMINENT LAMAS	32
PRINTING ACTIVITY	33
RELIGIOUS ARTS AND CRAFTS	34
LAMAS' MORALS	36
RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS	37
CEREMONIES HELD TILL AND IN 1937	40
ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL ORGANIZATIONS	49
MINISTRY OF ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS	49
THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF TEMPLES (THE INSTITUTION OF JAS)	53
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE	54
NEW MEASURES	57
CITY STRUCTURE, PARTS OF THE CITY AND THEIR MONASTERIES AND TEMPLES	60
ZÜÜN KHÜREE, THE EASTERN MONASTIC DISTRICT	60
<i>THE CENTRE OF THE EASTERN MONASTIC DISCRIT</i>	63
<i>Tsogchin</i> , the Main Assembly Hall	64
<i>Shar Ordon</i> , the Bogd's Yellow Palace	68
Dechingalaw, the Kālacakra Temple	68
Temple of the Three Protectors or Three Bodhisattvas	72
The Octagonal Vajra Palace	72
Vajradhara Temple	72
Yurt Palaces and Yurts	72
Other Temples and Institutions in the Centre	73
Monastic Schools	73
Medical Monastic School	73
<i>Puntsogshaddüwlin</i> Tantric Monastic School	75
Astrological Monastic School	77
Other Temples	78
Maitreya Temple	78
West Side Palace, the Palace of Awtai Sain Khan	80
Temple of the Noble Object of Worship Presenting the Medicine Buddha	81
White Tārā Temple	82
Vaṅgravaḍa Assembly	82
Assembly of the Deity of Birth	82

Non-stop Assembly or Threefold Assembly	83
Printing House	83
Kanjur Temple	84
Gürem Temple of Protective Healing Rituals	84
Soleg Temple	84
Rear Palace or Brown Palace	84
Residence of the Main Abbot, the Khamba Nomon Khan	85
The Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs	85
<i>THE 30 AIMAGS AND THEIR TEMPLES</i>	85
1. Shüteenii aimag	88
2. Dondowlin(giin) aimag	90
3. Jadariin/ Jiddariin aimag	90
4. Toisamlin/ Toisomlin/Toislin aimag/ Dashtoisomlin aimag	92
5. Diiinkhoriin aimag	94
6. Tsetsen/Setsen toinii aimag	94
7. Amduu/Anduu nariin/Anduugiin aimag	97
8. Dashdandarlin/Dandarlin aimag	98
9. Mayaa or Makhamayaagiin aimag	100
10. Jasiin aimag or Puntsogtegchenlin aimag	101
11. Nomchiin aimag	102
12. Sangai(n) aimag	104
13. Zoogoi(n) aimag	106
14. Dugariin aimag	108
15. Choinkhorlin aimag	109
16. Mergen khambiin aimag or Khambiin aimag	110
17. Biziyaagiin aimag	112
18. Khüükhen noyonii aimag or Noyonii aimag	113
19. Darkhan emchiin aimag	114
20. Erkhem toinii aimag	116
21. Ekh daginiin aimag	118
22. Wangai(n) aimag	120
23. Erdene khuwilgaanii aimag or Khuwilgaanii aimag	122
24. Bargiin aimag	123
25. Namdollin or Dashilin aimag	124
26. Bandidiin/ Pandidiin aimag / Bandid lamiin aimag	126
27. Choiyonsüngiin or Jamiyaansürengiin aimag or Süngiin aimag	127
28. Lam nariin aimag	130
29. Mergen nomon khaniin aimag, Ikh Mergen nomon khaniin aimag, Nomon khaniin aimag	132
30. Örlüüdiin / Örlögüüdiin aimag	133
<i>GANDAN HILL, THE WESTERN MONASTIC DISTRICT</i>	137
<i>Temple Buildings in the Main Courtyard</i>	141
Gandantegchenlin, the Main Assembly Hall	141
Relics Temple of the 5 th Bogd	142
Relics Temple of the 7 th Bogd	143
Didinpovran, Palace of the Blissfull Emptiness	143
Relics Temple of the 8 th Bogd	144
<i>Monastic Schools</i>	144
Dashchoimbel Monastic School	145
Güngaachoinlin Monastic School	147
Idgaachoinzinlin Monastic School	152
Khailan jas	156
Lamrim Monastic School	156
Badmayogo Monastic School, called Sandüwtegechenlin	157
Avalokiteçvara Temple	159
Jarankhashar, the White Stüpa Assembly	160
<i>PALACES OF THE BOGD IN THE BANKS OF THE RIVER TUUL</i>	162
Sharawpeljeelin, the Green Palace and the Winter Palace of the Bogd	162
Norowlin, the Bogd's Zoo	165
Khaistai lawran, the Bogd's Summer Residence	165
Güngaadejidlin, the Bogd's White Palace	167
Pandelin or Narkhajid Temple	168
<i>THE TEMPLE COMPLEX OF CHOIJIN LAMA AND THE ASSEMBLIES SITUATED AROUND IT</i>	170
Temple Complex of Choijin Lama, the State Oracle	170
(Relics) Temple of Yonzon Khamba, the Tutor Abbot	174
Agwa datsan, Tantric College	175

<i>Oidow's Assembly</i>	176
<i>Dagwa Tantric Master's Assembly</i>	176
LAY POPULATION QUARTERS.....	177
<i>Assembly of the Tibetans, also known as Unzai lama's Assembly</i>	180
<i>Tārā Assembly</i>	181
<i>Vajracchedikā Assembly</i>	182
<i>Zod Tantric Assembly of Tantonjalba</i>	182
<i>Zod Tantric Assembly of Jagarmolom, called Dechincholintawshisünbrellin</i>	184
<i>Assembly of Nartad Dagini (or Damdin lama's Assembly)</i>	185
<i>Temple of Saikhan Gombo or Assembly of the Ikh shaw'</i>	185
<i>The Manchu Amban's Assembly</i>	186
THE MERCHANT DISTRICTS (DAMNUURCHIN).....	187
<i>Geser Temple</i>	187
KONSULIN DENJ, HILL OF THE RUSSIAN CONSULATE.....	190
<i>Orthodox Church</i>	190
MAIMAACHEN, THE CHINESE MERCHANT TOWN.....	193
<i>Chinese Temples</i>	196
<i>Geser Temple in Amgalan</i>	196
<i>Tārā Temple</i>	197
<i>Temple of the Lord of Death</i>	198
<i>Craftsmen's Temple or Carpenter's Temple</i>	198
<i>Temple of Stars</i>	199
<i>Confucius Temple</i>	199
<i>Mosque</i>	199
<i>Rear Temple of the Lord of Death</i>	200
<i>Mongolian Temples</i>	201
<i>Dashsamdanlin datsan</i>	201
<i>Choinkhorlin Assembly</i>	202
<i>Dejidlin Assembly</i>	203
<i>Puntsoglin Assembly</i>	203
<i>Dagdanlin Assembly</i>	203
<i>Assembly of Zod Tantric Masters of the Red Stream</i>	204
MONASTERIES AND TEMPLES IN THE OUTSKIRTS.....	205
<i>Three Ikh shaw' Monasteries on the North</i>	205
<i>Dambadarjaalin Monastery</i>	205
<i>Dashchoinkhorlin Monastery</i>	214
<i>Shaddüwlin, Retreat for Meditation and Contemplation</i>	216
<i>Temples and Shrines in the Outskirts</i>	220
<i>Assembly at Tsetsee Gün Peak of Bogd Khan Mountain</i>	220
<i>Dünjingaraw Temple</i>	222
<i>Temple of the (King of the) Nāga Spirits, Assembly of the Holy Water Spring</i>	223
<i>Assembly in Züün salaa</i>	224
<i>Assembly in Baruun salaa</i>	225
<i>Temple in Bayanzürkh</i>	225
<i>Assembly of Sanzaidorj, Temple at Sanzain Mountain</i>	226
REMNANTS.....	227
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	231
APPENDICES.....	238

INTRODUCTION

Until the purges of 1937-1938, Buddhism had been flourishing in Mongolia for three centuries. The moving camp originally founded in 1639 for Öndör gegeen Zanabazar (1635-1723), the 1st Bogd (M. *boyda*) or Jewtsündamba khutagt (or jawzandamba khutagt, M. *æbcundamba qutuytu*, T. *rje-btsun dam-pa*)¹ that became later the capital city called Daa Khüree or Ikh Khüree (M. *yeke küriyen*, ‘Great monastic city’) or Bogdiin Khüree (‘the monastic city of the Bogd’), was a center of Mongolian Buddhist culture, where the reincarnated Bogds or Jewtsündamba khutagts resided. After several re-locations the monastic city finally settled in its permanent place in 1855, though it can be said that, since 1778, it has been situated in the present Ulaanbaatar basin. Besides being the religious center with a detailed lama² hierarchy, high level monastic education, numerous temples and special religious events, Bogdiin Khüree was also a centre of Manchu administration and Chinese and Russian commerce. After the collapse of the Manchu empire in 1911 the 8th Bogd became the head of all religious and political power. However, in 1921 the Russian-supported new generation started the revolution. The new, soviet-type system ended in the total repression and monastery destruction of 1937-1938, which totally terminated Buddhism.

Although the political events of the beginning of the 20th century Mongolia have already been studied thoroughly, the religious life of the monastic city has never been in the focus of interest. From the end of the 19th century plenty of books written by A. M. Pozdnev provided detailed descriptions covering all aspects of Mongolian Buddhism and the everyday life of the capital city, but the religious life under the period of the 8th Bogd and right before the purges has not been surveyed yet. As almost all the monastic sites of the city were totally destroyed in 1938 at present only a few impressive buildings mainly functioning as museums of religion show the unique art of traditional Mongolian Buddhism. The area of the old capital city has been completely built in, thus, today in the modern Ulaanbaatar almost nothing reflects the old way of life and the destroyed temples except for a few dozens photos that have remained. Only a couple of old lamas still alive could give accounts of their memories about the vivid religious life of the city, and, unfortunately, not much information remained about it in written sources either.

The present book is based on my PhD dissertation, called “Bogdiin Khüree: Monasteries and Temples of the Mongolian Capital (1651-1938)” which was defended at Eötvös Loránd University, in Hungary in 2009, and also the fruit of a survey which was carried out together with Zsuzsa Majer at the request of the Arts Council of Mongolia (ACM) in 2005-2006.³ The overall goal of composing the present work was to show in detail the

¹ A table is attached (see Appendices) showing the transcription system used for Mongolian written in Cyrillic. Classical Mongolian equivalents (M.) are given where relevant. The Wylie system was used for transcribing Tibetan terms (T.). Sanskrit terms are also given where applicable. Chinese terms occur in a very few cases, and without intonation marks. The deities’ names and other Buddhist terms (names of monastery types, ranks, monastic vows etc.) are given in their present-day Mongolian form, which means a distorted form deriving from the Tibetan and sometimes from the Sanskrit equivalent. Alternative spelling variations are also given where needed. At the first occurrence of the given term the Tibetan and Sanskrit equivalents are given in parentheses for easier understanding. An enclosed glossary contains the special Mongolian Buddhist vocabulary occurring in the present work. As they are well-known figures of Buddhism, names of the Buddha (Sanjaa or Burkhan bagsh, T. *sangs-rgyas*), Padmasambhava (Lowon or Lowon Badamjunai, T. *slob-dpon pad-ma ‘byung-gnas*) and Tsongkhapa (Zonkhaw, T. *tsong-kha-pa*) are used in the text not in their Mongolian forms but in the way widely known from English sources (i.e. Buddha, Padmasambhava and Tsongkhapa).

² Throughout the text, the term ‘lama’ (*lam*, T. *bla-ma*) is used instead of the term ‘monk’ as it was felt to be more suitable in the Mongolian context.

³ The aim of the survey was to record all the monasteries that were operated before the monastery destruction, and the temples which were revived or newly established after the democratic change in 1990. The survey was

beauty of the once flourishing monastic capital city and the vivid life of its monasteries and temples, monastic schools, monastic districts and lay quarters, with emphasis laid on giving as much information as possible on the individual temples and religious institutions that were situated there before the monastery demolition. After the introductory chapters covering the formation and development of the city and giving data on its administrative organization and religious life, the description of individual monasteries and temples follows in a way that the temples are described grouped according to the old city parts or districts where they were situated, thus enabling the reader to get a more complex picture of what the old capital city and its surroundings were like in the first part of the 20th century. If all the temples within the big monastic complexes are considered separately, we can conclude that about one hundred temples existed in Bogdiin Khüree at the beginning of the 20th century, and the present piece of work deals with all of them individually. It means the description of the history, function, religious life, deities worshipped, special ceremonies, and other characteristics of about 50 sites, namely two monastic complexes (i.e. 20 central and 30 *aimag* temples of Züün Khüree, 11 temples of Gandan), six palaces (five palaces of the Bogd on the banks of the River Tuul, and the temple complex of Choijin Lama), three suburban monasteries (*Dambadarjaa*, *Dashchoinkhorlin*, *Shaddüwlin*), and 36 individual temples (one in Gandan hill, four near Choijin Lama's temple complex, eight in the lay quarters, one next to the Russian Consulate, 14 in the Chinese town, one in the Chinese merchant district, seven in the outskirts), among them one Manchu, one Orthodox, nine Chinese (among them one Muslim, one in honour of Confucius, two in honour of Guan-yu, two in honour of the Lord of Death), and at least six Red Stream assemblies. It is obvious that the majority of the temples belonged to the Yellow Stream (each temple of Züün Khüree, Gandan, *Dambadarjaa*, *Dashchoinkhorlin*, *Shaddüwlin*, etc.).

Sources used to identify the monastic sites and discover their history were old maps, paintings and photos, books and articles, Tibetan and Mongolian chronicles, and also interviews with old lamas who lived in Bogdiin Khüree before the purges. As the National Archives of Mongolia in Ulaanbaatar inherited all the documents related to the operation of the temples existing once in the monastic city, an overview is given about its unique collection. This enormous material or its catalogues have not been published yet. In the present book the contents of 159 catalogues (Manchu Period: 51 catalogues, Bogd khaan's reign: 52, Modern Period: 56) are briefly summarized covering thousands of documents about 57 temples of the city (among them 39 temples of Züün Khüree, seven of Gandan, three palaces of the Bogd, namely the White Palace, the Green Palace, *Pandelin*, Choijin Lama's temple complex, a *Zod* assembly in the lay quarters, *Dashsamdanlin datsan* and two *aimag* temples in Maimaachen, and the three suburban monasteries). An additional five catalogues of administrative organizations (*Erdene Shanzodwiin Yaam*, etc.) serve further data about the administrative organs. Studying these documents in the future one can receive a complex picture about the city. From these numerous archival texts a questionnaire or register of annual ceremonies that were performed till and in 1937 in 28 temples of the city will be cited

carried out between September 2005 and March 2006. Its results are used in the theses of both researchers, and were offered to the ACM to be used and loaded to its website (www.mongoliantemples.net) within the framework of the 'Documentation of Mongolian Monasteries' project aimed at documenting all the once existed as well as all present-day monastic sites in the territory of the present Mongolia. The descriptions bearing the titles *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree, Ikh Khüree or Urga, the Old Capital City of Mongolia in the First Part of the Twentieth Century* and *Survey of Active Buddhist Temples in Ulaanbaatar in 2005 – 2006 with some annotations in 2007*, and a glossary containing 890 terms relevant to the survey are available at the website. The full English text of the survey material was corrected by Susan Byrne, the ex-program manager of Tibet Foundation's Buddhism in Mongolia program. For details of present-day Mongolian religious practice see Majer Zs., *A Comparative Study of the Ceremonial Practice in Present-day Mongolian Monasteries* (PhD thesis, Eötvös Loránd University, 2009).

and analyzed. This source type is extremely significant as it clearly shows not only the numbers of lamas belonging to certain temples in 1937, but also reflects on the large number and variety of ceremonies which were held in the capital city.

The Appendices include maps, lists, old photos, and charts. The result of the present work is an overview about what we called Bogdiin Khüree. Its history starts with the establishment of a camp which grew to become the most prominent monastic city of the country, and ends with its demolition in and after 1938 to offer a place to the modern buildings of Ulaanbaatar.

I am very grateful for the help of the data providers, to Zsuzsa Majer my co-researcher and friend, to S. Chuluun, the director of the Institute of History, Mongolian National Academy of Sciences, to The Arts Council of Mongolia, to The Hungarian Scholarship Board, to the OTKA PD 83465, to Prof. György Kara, Alice Sárközi, Ágnes Birtalan, József Terjék, Susan Byrne, Guido Verboom, and all my other teachers and colleagues, to my family members, and friends.

The present book is dedicated to the memory of the lamas of Bogdiin Khüree.

SOURCES TO STUDY THE HISTORY OF BOGDIIN KHÜREE

Among the numerous nomadic yurts scattered throughout the country monastic sites (monasteries and smaller assemblies) had been the only places of culture and education for centuries. Although in the beginning the camp of the 1st Bogd consisted of only some yurts later it became the biggest and most significant monastic site in Mongolia. At the beginning of the 20th century the city was famous for its ten *datsans* (T. *grwa-tshang*), and 30 *aimags* where the lama population coming from different countryside territories lived. The city had more than 10 000 lamas while the population of the largest countryside monastic cities (*khüree*) was beyond 2-3000 who settled in on an average 4-5 *aimags* with 3-4 *datsans*.⁴ Due to the distinguished role of the city a wide variety of sources are at the researchers' disposal when studying its history and monastic life.

Researchers' and Travellers' Books

One of the most significant descriptions of the religious life in the capital city is available in a book entitled *Mongolia and the Mongols* written in Russian by A. M. Pozdnev.⁵ Pozdnev who later became a professor at the University of St. Petersburg, made two longer journeys (1876-1879, 1892-1893) to Mongolia and wrote several books in Russian about the country and its religious life at the time. G. J. Ramstedt made three journeys to Mongolia (1898, 1909, 1912). His memoirs⁶ have great value containing laconic views about what a Western intellectual could experience in the city.⁷ Others' memoirs also contain references to the everyday life of the city.⁸

The excellent Mongolian book of Ö. Sereeter⁹ is the result of his research in the National Archives of Mongolia. His book contains brief but very useful information about the divisions, temples and palaces of the city. The most significant sources about the old buildings and history of the capital are two books by Professor O. Pürew (1994, 2004)¹⁰ serving information regarding the history of individual temples.¹¹ Other books such as the

⁴ A general overview about old Mongolian monastic sites is given in the following books: Tsendendamba, S. — Lkhagwa, L. — Soninbayar, Sh. — Luwsanbaldan, E. — Otgonbaatar, R. — Amgalan, N. (eds.). *Mongoliin süm khiidiin tүүkhэн towchoon*. Ulaanbaatar 2009; Charleux, I., *Temple et Monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure*. Paris 2006

⁵ Pozdnev, A. M., *Mongolija i Mongoli*. T. 1-2. Sankt-Peterburg. 1886, 1888 (repr.), translated into English: Pozdnev, A. M., *Mongolia and the Mongols*, edited by Krueger, J. R., translated by Shaw, J. R. and Plank, D., Bloomington, Indiana University 1971. Another important source by him is *Urginskije hututy. Istoričeskij očerk ih prošlago i sovremennago byta*. Travaux de la Troisième Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes, Sankt-Peterburg 1880, 1980 (repr.).

⁶ Ramstedt, G. J., *Seven Journeys Eastward 1898-1912. Among the Cheremis, Kalmyks, Mongols and in Turkestan and to Afganistan*. With 52 Photographs by the Author. Translated from the Swedish & Edited by John R. Krueger. The Mongolia Society, Bloomington, Indiana 1978

⁷ For instance 'Countless dogs and their barking lent a special flavor to the city', 1978, p. 38.). Furthermore, he provides special personal data about the events of the beginning of the Bogd khaan's reign. Other researchers, travellers, pilgrims, or missionaries (such as Maiskij, Zlatkin, Prževalskij, Cybikov, Ossendowski, etc.) had to mention valuable information about the city but their reports were not surveyed by the author.

⁸ For example Al'bertsen, K. P., *Örgööд болj буи үйл yawdluud*. Ulaanbaatar 2008; Baldir, Kh. - Ölziibaatar, D., *XX зуunii 20-iod onii temdegleliiud*. Ulaanbaatar 2007; Larson, F. A., *Mongol giin Larson*. Ulaanbaatar 2010; Möngöndalai, B., *Qalq-a dörge ayimag-tu bügüdeger takiydaysan boyda ибзundamba-yin namtar*. Khökhkhot 2006 [Biography of the Bogd иwzundambas worshipped in the Four Khalkh Provinces]

⁹ Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin түүkhэн бүтэtsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999 (Photos available in the book are referred as Sereeter.)

¹⁰ Pürew, O., *Mongoliin улs төriin töw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994, and Pürew, O., *Mongol төriin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

¹¹ As the only complete description about the foundation and development of a given monastery or monastery, a well-structured book about Erdene zuu has been recently published based on archival sources (Khatanbaatar N., Naigal., Yo., *Erdene zuugiin түүkh (XVI-XX зуун)*. Ulaanbaatar 2005).

descriptions of the capital city's history,¹² and the Bogds' biographies¹³ contain useful information, too.

In English three great classical pieces of work detail the stormy events of the 20th century namely that of R. A. Rupen, Ch. R. Bawden, and L. Moses.¹⁴ In Russian I. I. Lomakina's book serve relevant information about the Mongolian capital city.¹⁵

Tibetan and Mongolian Chronicles

As Tibetan was the ceremonial language of Buddhism in the vast land of Mongolia, numerous scholars wrote Tibetan language works dealing with religious history and eminent masters' activity. The chronicle called *Hor chos-byung of Gu-shri dka'-bcu tshe-'phel* contains only a brief description about the 1st Bogd (p. 104.).¹⁶ The *Rosery of White Lotuses* written by Dharmatāla Dam-chos rgya-mtsho mentions episodes from the lives of the *jewtsündamba khutagts* and Bogdiin Khüree¹⁷ then, summarizes the temple-building activity of the *jewtsündamba khutagts*.¹⁸ The *Golden Annals* written by Zawa lam Damdin¹⁹ includes detailed data about the development of the city using various sources about the work and life of the *jewtsündamba khutagts* (79r-153r). An account of monasteries of the capital city can be also found in this book.²⁰

¹² Boldbaatar, J. – Sanjdorj, M. – Shirendew, B. (ed.), *Mongol ulsiin tiiikh*. Tawdugaar bot', (XX zuun), Ulaanbaatar 2003; Mönkhjargal, S. – Tsedew, D. – Luwsangombo, S. - Jargal, Yu. - Jadambaa, T. – Sharkhüü, Ya., - Gombosüren, R. - Bold, G., Nyamsambu, G., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin khögjil*, Ulaanbaatar 2006; Pürew, O. – Sükhbaatar, O. – Ichinnorow, S. – Shagdar, Sh. – Saruulbuyan, J., *Niisleiin öw soyol*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

¹³ See the following books: Möngöndalai, B., *Qalq-a dörge ayimag-tu bügüdeger takiydaysan boyda ñibjundamba-yin namtar*. Khökhkhot 2006; Szilágyi, Zs., *A mongol fölmák rövid története*. Vallástudományi Tanulmányok 10. Budapest; Croner, D., *Guidebook to Locales Connected with the Life of Zanabazar First Bogd Gegeen of Mongolia*. Ulaanbaatar 2006

¹⁴ Rupen, R. A., *Mongols of the 20th Century*, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 37. Indiana University, Bloomington and Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1964 (new edition: Curzon, Richmond 1997); Bawden, Ch. R., *The Modern History of Mongolia*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. London 1968 (revised edition: KPI, London 1989); Moses, L. W., *The Political Role of Mongol Buddhism*. Indiana University Uralic Altaic Series. Vol. 133. Bloomington, 1977). Some other publications also discuss the events of the era, such as the works of Baabar (Baabar B., *Twentieth century Mongolia*. White Horse Press, Cambridge 1999), an other book of Rupen (Rupen, R. A., *How Mongolia is really ruled*. Hoover Institution, Stanford, California 1978) and the *History of the Mongolian People's Republic* (Translated by William B. and Urgunge Onon. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1976). Other more recent books such as that of Ewing, T. E., Onon, Urgunge, Derrick P.; Stephen K., Bruce A. E. (ed.); or Morozova, I. Yu. are listed in the bibliography (none of them was available for the research).

¹⁵ Lomakina, I. I., *Mongol'skaya stolica, staraya i novaya*. Moskva 2006

¹⁶ Huth, G., *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei. Aus dem Tibetischen des 'Jigs-med nam-mkha'*. Karl J. Trübner. Strassburg 1892.

¹⁷ Bira, Sh., *The History of Mongolia*. (Tibetan text in Roman transcription. Dharmatāla Dam chos rgya-mtsho. Çata-Pipaka Series. Vol. 235. New Delhi 1977.; Darmadala, *Ikh Mongoliin orond deediin nom yamar met delgersen yosiig todorkhoi ögüülegch tsagaan lyankhuan erkhis khemeekh orshwoi*. Translated by S. Gombojaw. Ulaanbaatar 1995. See English translation, p. 270, 271, 279, 322, 324, 325, activity of the 1st-7th Bogds: 336-348. see also p. 527.

¹⁸ Tibetan text, p. 241., English translation, pp. 422-423. It is cited below.

¹⁹ Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *The Golden Annals of Lamaism. Hor chos-'byung of Blo-bzang rta-mgrin. 'Dzam-gling byang phyogs chen-po hor-gyi rgyal-khams-kyi rtags-pa brjod-pa'i bstan-bcos chen-po dpyod-ldan mgu byed ngo-mtshar gser-gyi deb-ther zhes-bya-ba bzugs-so*. Çata-Pipaka Series. Vol. 34. New Delhi 1964; Zawa Damdin, *Khor Choinjün zawa. Umar zugiin Mongol ornoo deediin nom erdene üüden garsnii tiiikh tsadig ölzii khutgiin müsheekh lawain egshig duun*, translated by Luwsandarjaa, Beijing 2007

²⁰ 160r-160v, cited below. Apart from these primary sources several biographies can be found in the rich collection of Gandan monastery and among the three million religious works of eminent Buddhist scholars that enrich the collection of the National Library of Mongolia in Ulaanbaatar, and in other international collections, too. Some of them were published: Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Life and works of Jibcundampa I*. Çata-Pipaka Series, 294. New Delhi 1982; Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Biography of Jibcundampa IV*. Çata-Pipaka Series, 295. New Delhi 1983. Moreover, some recent works by Mongolian scholars on religious history use data from these sources,

Mongolian sources also contain data about the history of the capital, for instance the biographies of the *jewtsündamba khutagts*. One of these sources was published and translated to English by Ch. R. Bawden.²¹ Reading this work the milieu which surrounded Öndör geegen Zanabazar and his residence can be experienced. However, the capital-forming activity of his further incarnations is not discussed in details.

One of the most important sources relevant to the city is the Jewel Rosary or *Erdeniyin erike* written by Galdan and published and translated to Russian by Pozdneev.²² Although the majority of the text deals with the wars between the Khalkhs and the Oirads, the formation of the camp is also described, as well as Öndör geegen's life story, and the re-locations of his camp in his life time.

Compiled in modern and written Mongolian, the book of Ch. Banzragch²³ also discusses briefly the formation of the city, and the establishment of some of its temples, and the area occupied by the districts (pp. 11-18.). Other published and unpublished sources written in Mongolian, Manchu, Chinese, Russian, etc. must contain sporadic data on the development of the city and its temples,²⁴ but these sources were not included in the present book.

Archival Sources

While the religious materials written by eminent lamas today enrich the collections of the National Library of Mongolia and the present-day Gandan monastery, written Mongolian manuscripts about the administration and political life of the city are mostly housed in the archives.

All the 230 catalogues and several manuscripts of the National Archives of Mongolia (*Ündesnii Töv Arkhiw*) relevant to Bogdiin Khüree were thoroughly surveyed by the author in 2005. This archives is the inheritor of the whole collection of *Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam* (called also *Erdene Shanzawiin yaam* or *Shawiin yaam*), the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs which was responsible for the operation and financial affairs of the Bogd, his capital city, and his subordinated monasteries and people (*Ikh shaw*).²⁵ Therefore, more thousands Mongolian manuscripts serve authentic information about the operation of monasteries existing once in Bogdiin Khüree, together with their properties, livestock, agricultural fields, incomes and expenses, and other administratively important issues. The materials cover more than two centuries. They are arranged into three collections according to their date of origin or the three periods of Mongolian history, namely the period of the Manchu administration (*Manjiin zakhirgaanii üye*, documents at disposal were written between 1730s-1911), the Bogd khaan's reign (*Bogd khaant üye*, 1911-1921), and the so called Present or Modern Period (*Orchin üye*,

such as the book of D. Bürnee and D. Enkhtör (Bürnee, D., Enkhtör, D., *Mongoliin Burkhanii shashnii tüükhen surwalj*. Ulaanbaatar 2004). This book contains a chronology of Buddhist history, thus includes the date of foundation of certain temples of the city.

²¹ Bawden, Ch. R., *The Jebtsundamba khutukhtus of Urga. Text, Translation and Notes*. Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden 1961

²² Pozdneev, A. M., *Mongol'skaja letopis' "Erdeniin erihe"*. *Materialy dlja istorii halhi 1636-1736*. Sankt-Peterburg, 1883. See also Galdan tuslagch, *Erdeniin erikh khemeekh tüükh boloi*. (ed. Janchiw, Yo.). Ulaanbaatar 2010

²³ Banzragch, Ch., Sainkhüü, B., *Mongol khüree khiidiin tüükh (emkhtgel)*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

²⁴ For example: Szilágyi Zs., *Manchu-Mongol Diplomatic Correspondance 1635-1896*. Treasures of Mongolian Culture and Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism. Volume 1, ed. Bethlenfalvy G., State Central Library of Mongolia, Research Group of Altaic Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 2004, p. 13b, 17a, 19b, 21b, 22a, 38a, 45b, 48b, 57b, 64a, 111a, 111b

²⁵ The *shaw' nar* who were directly subordinated to the Bogd was called *Ikh shaw'* ('great shaw'). *Shaw'* or *shaw' nar* means 'bondsmen of a monastery', literally: 'disciples' or the areas where they lived. The monasteries located in the *Ikh shaw'* area were called *Ikh shaw'* monasteries the operation of which was directly subordinated to the Bogd. The subordinated families formed *otogs* as administrative units.

1921-1939), i. e. the Soviet era. Related to Bogdiin Khüree all these periods have their own Cyrillic catalogues, which list the titles, numbers of pages, and the date of each text in chronologic order. Within a catalogue the documents are arranged according to their forms into two categories: *dans*²⁶ and *nugalbar*.²⁷ Considering their content there are several types of texts such as commands (*lünden*, T. *lung-bstan*, registers (*bürtgel*), applications (*örgödöl*), drafts (*noorog*), announcements (*zarlakh bichig*), documentations (*barimt*), etc. As the amount of archival material is too enormous to be included, and they mostly deal with administrative and financial questions, only the content of the catalogues will be summarized here, in the descriptions of individual temples. Only one text type will be analyzed, which is a register of ceremonies that were held regularly in certain temples before 1937.

As for the socialist period (from 1921) party decisions, commands and other documents, mainly typescripts in written Mongolian, are available in the Archives of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (*Mongol Ardiin Khuw'sgaalt Namiin Arkhiw*), in the archives of the State Intelligence Agency (*Tagnuuliin Yerönkhii Gazar*), and that of the Military Affairs (shortly *Tsergiin Arkhiw*).²⁸

Books and Articles Published in the Socialist Period

Words as suppression (*darlal*), exploitation (*möljilt*), and liberation from suffering (*zowlongoos angijrakh*) caused by feudal lords and clericals are frequently used in publications discussing the period of the pre-revolutionist era. Although several data are available in these sources, one should doubt their authenticity. Pürewjaw's book²⁹ presenting the life of Bogdiin Khüree before the revolution seems to be the most valuable one, as it is based on archival data and personal interviews which were conducted with about ten people who were lamas before the purges.³⁰ Another useful source is Tserendorj's book³¹ that describes the commercial life and methods of payment used in the city.³²

Lists, Maps, Paintings

The 31st map in B. Rinchen's atlas,³³ called *Khüree khiid Ulaanbaatar khot* [Monasteries and

²⁶ *Dans* (M. *dangsa*, *dangsan*, Ch. *tang-tzū*, Lessing's dictionary, p. 230.) means account book, office diary, register, annals, records, list, roll, or catalogue. (Consider also word-formations: *danslakh*, *dansluulakh*, *danstai*.) These books are not printed books but manuscripts written in black ink on thin Chinese paper (*muutuu*, Chinese *mao'tou*), and are joined on their left side.

²⁷ *Nugalbar* (M. *nuyulburi*, Lessing's dictionary, p. 595.) meaning a fold, crease, folded paper or letter, or document, is a one-page document. It seems that *nugalbars* were more in use in the Manchu period, and later *dans* documents became more widespread. The orders of the Religious Authority of Bogdiin Khüree were mainly written on *nugalbar*.

²⁸ Even though the researcher had access to the Party Archives, its catalogue cards will not be discussed within the frame of the present work. The Archives of the State Intelligence Agency and that of the Military Affairs can be visited only exclusively, thus foreigners are not allowed to enter.

²⁹ Pürewjaw, S. *Khuw'sgaliin ömnökh Ikh Khüree*, Ulaanbaatar 1961

³⁰ Dүгөрсүрөн's book was based on it, too (Dүгөрсүрөн, L., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin түүкhees*. (2nd edition), Ulaanbaatar 1999)

³¹ Tserendorj, G., *Niislel khüreenii mongol khudaldaanii toim*. Ulaanbaatar 1961

³² Some other sources about the city are: Chimed, Ö., *Ikh Khüreenii сүм khiidiin möngön khüiliin tukhai* (1810-1918). Shinjlekh Ukhaan, Deed Bolowsroliin Khüeelengiin khewlel. Ulaanbaatar 1958; Tsedew, D., *Ikh shaw'*. Ulaanbaatar 1964; Byambaa, D., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin namiin baiguullaga* (1921-1940), Ulaanbaatar 1972; Minis, A., *MAKhN-aas сүм khiid, lam nariin ediin zasgiin khüichin chadliig ewdej ustgaksiin tölөө yawuulsan temtsel*. Ulaanbaatar 1972

³³ Rinchen map No. 31. was published in a collection under the name Rinchen, B., - Mairdar D., (ed.), *Mongol ard ulsiin ugsaатnii судlal, khelnii shinjleliin atlas*. Ulaanbaatar 1979. A part of the atlas contains lists of the monasteries and temples that existed in the past (941 in number) by aimags, and separate maps of the aimags and the Ulaanbaatar area with all these temples marked. It is the fruit of cooperation by many Mongolian scholars, the Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Geography of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, and the National Institution of Geodesy.

temples of Ulaanbaatar], was compiled by D. Maidar and O. Pürew, under instruction from Rinchen. The map and its list mark 31 sites (See Appendices) including palaces, temples and religious assemblies in the capital in the early part of the 20th century. Despite being deficient, it is still the most complete record of the monastic complexes and temples of the city.

As it will be clear from the present piece of material, about 100 temples existed once in the capital. For temples Rinchen marked the number Rinchen gave (R-910-941) is given, and other temples not marked by him are numbered here from 942 (with the distinction NOT in Rinchen, i.e. NR-942-960). Rinchen's map contains serious inconsistency in marking the big monastic complexes and their temples. For example, on Rinchen's map, the extensive monastic complex, Züün Khüree, is only marked by its central building or central complex, the main assembly hall called *Ribogejai Gandanshaddüwlin* (*Nomiin Ikh Khüree, Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin*, R-910). In addition Rinchen marked one of the temples of this central part of Züün Khüree, *Dechingalawiin khural* (R-925) as well as one of the 30 *aimag* temples (*Ekh daginiin aimgiin khural*, R-926) on his map, not marking all the others. In the same way, the map cites the collective name Gandan and does not list all its temples and institutions separately though it does mark one of them, *Migjid Janraisegiin süm* (R-912) as a separate entry. Some shrines are marked in the outskirts but actually there were even more. Rinchen lists seven temples in the area of the Chinese district but in fact there were 14.

Analyzing this map one can state that among its 31 sites, there is a Christian Orthodox Church (R-928), and seven Chinese temples (R-914, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934), mostly Buddhist, among them a Chinese Muslim temple (R-934) and one for the worship of Konfucius (R-933). In the case of the Mongolian temples the Gelukpa (Yellow Stream, *Shariin shashin* or *Shariin yos*) dominates, although some temples combine Gelukpa and Nyingmapa features as well. Rinchen marked only two small Nyingmapa (Red Stream, *Ulaan shashin* or *Ulaan yos*) assemblies (R-919, R-920), although there were more in the lay quarters as the survey revealed.

Rinchen used special terms to indicate different kinds of temples, like monastic city (*khüree*), monastery (*khiid*), shrine (*süm*) or temple (*dugan*, T. 'du-khang, which has the same meaning as *süm* 'temple') and assembly (*khural*), but he is not consistent in their use. This inconsistency indicates that even Mongols used these terms inconsistently. Furthermore, the term 'datsan', which indicates monastic schools in Tibet, got a different meaning in Mongolia. It was used not only for monastic schools but temples with privileged rights as well. Many of the temples marked in the map had different names, for example *Dechingalawiin khural* ('*Dechingalaw* assembly'), *Dechingalawiin süm* ('*Dechingalaw* temple'), or *Dechingalaw datsan* ('*Dechingalaw* monastic school' or '*Dechingalaw* temple with privileged rights'), though in most cases, Rinchen gives only one name.

D. Maidar, one of the main contributors to Rinchen's atlas, also published a list of temples existing in Mongolia before 1937 in two books nearly a decade before the Rinchen atlas. In these, he listed 735 temples.³⁴ In case of temples in the Ulaanbaatar area, Maidar lists fewer temples than Rinchen does: names of 18 temples in Ulaanbaatar are given and another two additional temples in the North (*Dambadarjaalin*, R-939, and *Dashchoinkhorlin*, R-936). In a few cases he gives information about the place name, founder's name, or year of foundation, which are mostly incorrect.

O. Pürew intended to publish his map of Mongolia at the beginning of the 20th century (*XX zuunii ekhen üyeiin ar mongol (1900-1930 on)*) showing all the territorial units and monasteries. It will have a smaller map of Ikh Khüree with its component parts (See Appendices). This map, still unpublished, is a useful source. In one of his publications he marked the arrangement of several temples, too (2004, pp. 18-19.).

³⁴ Maidar, D., *Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag*. Ulaanbaatar 1970, pp. 56-91. (See the Appendices); Maidar, D., *Mongoliin arkhityektur ba khot baiguulalt*. Ulaanbaatar 1972, pp. 95-107.

In addition to maps, several paintings show detail of monasteries and temples. Jügder painted the detailed painting of Niislel Khüree in 1913 having been commissioned by the 8th Bogd. According to Dendew (1961, pp. 10-11.), Jügder was a disciple of the famous sculptor, Gendendamba *agramba* (T. *sngags-rams-pa*) who lived in *Zoogoin aimag* (see below). Jügder climbed the surrounding mountains of the city to paint the map of Bogdiin Khüree. This marvellous painting shows the structure of the capital city (Niislel Khüree) naming its main parts with Classical Mongolian inscriptions and presenting not only the hills, valleys, rivers, and streets but the monasteries and temples active at the time (naturally, it does not mark the few temples founded after 1913.). Less intention was paid on the presentation of the Chinese quarter, and the lay quarters, thus their temples and shrines cannot be distinguished in details. Numerous particulars are visible, as stone-heaps (*owoo*) on peaks, the litter heaps surrounding the Khüree, stūpas (*suwraga*) around Gandan, people, ox-carts, yurts, and million other minute details. This picture hangs now in the Palace Museum of the Bogd khaan.

There is a picture painted by Man'badar, hanging on the wall of the Ulaanbaatar City Museum. This painting is based on Jügder's painting and shows the extent and details of the city. It is a large painting so the temples can be seen in detail.

An atlas of the city published in 1990³⁵ represents a map based on the picture painted by Jügder (1913), and two other maps named *Örgöö* (1639) and *XIX zuunii Ikh Khüree* (Ikh Khüree in the 19th century) which also show roughly the arrangement of the old city. The painting *Örgöö* ('residence') is a coloured one presenting the original camp of Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar. His Yellow Palace yurt inside the yellow fence, lamas, nobles and laymen walking thorough the camp who lived in yurts or tents can be seen in the picture together with the main assembly hall which was situated behind the yellow-fenced area. The other picture, called *Ikh Khüree* in the 19th century, is a draft that marks the most important Buddhist complexes (Züün Khüree, Gandan, etc.), Chinese commercial districts, military barracks, commercial routes, and agricultural fields. (See Appendices)

There is an important map drawn by an unknown painter, in the Ulaanbaatar city museum. It marks 129 places of the city with their names in Modern Mongolian. It is a very valuable source as temples, even districts, residences of nobles, and other institutions are marked on. It is said to be the draft version of another map drawn by Balgan in the 1880s. This is exhibited in the Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts.

Another significant painting by an unknown painter was published by Tsültem.³⁶ This painting gives Tibetan inscriptions of the names of temples and the *aimags* existing once in the two main monastic quarters of the city. Due to the facts that the temples which were built after 1913 are not presented on it, and only 27 *aimags* are indicated West of Gandan one can suppose that it was painted between 1839-1855, when the city was located in the nearby Tolgoit.

There are also two old maps drawn on linen in the National Library of Mongolia (341/96, 368/96) showing the two main parts of the old capital in detail.

Two paintings of D. Damdinsüren (1909-1984),³⁷ entitled *Khüree Tsam* (painted in 1966) show the central part of the capital, making visible the arrangement of its buildings. These paintings can be seen in the Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts and are also available in reprint as illustrations in several well-known books on Mongolian arts.

Old Photos

Photos taken in the time of Bogdiin Khüree prior to 1939 have also had great importance in

³⁵ *Ulaanbaatar. Khotiin Atlas*. Ulsiin geodezi, zurag züin gazar. Ulaanbaatar 1990

³⁶ Tsültem, N., *Mongolian architecture*. Ulaanbaatar 1988. Picture No. 45. is a detail of the picture.

³⁷ Damdinsüren became a lama when he was 11. He lived in *Choinkhorlin aimag* studying under prominent painters. He witnessed many religious events until he was forced to disrobe in 1937.

researching the temples of the old capital. Descriptions from the aspect of architecture and some old photographs appeared in print, such as in the books on Mongolian architecture by Shepetilnikov,³⁸ Maidar, and Tsültem.³⁹ Photographic references can also be found in researchers' and travellers' books, such as the photographs taken by Sakari Pälsi (a Finnish explorer, writer and anthropological filmmaker)⁴⁰ or used by Geleta József.⁴¹ Some other old photographs are shown in Sereeter's book. Photographs of the present appearance of surviving temples appear in several publications for example in the book on the cultural heritage sites of Mongolia by Dashnyam,⁴² or at www.mongoliantemples.net.⁴³

The unpublished collection of the Film Archives (*Kino Arkhiw*) in Ulaanbaatar houses a unique collection of old photographs containing numerous pictures of temples, monastic schools, and religious events of Bogdiin Khüree. Relevant photos in religious topics or city structure are available in six boxes: 92, 93, 95, 96, 21, 163 (The box numbers might have changed recently). Material related to religion (*Shashnii kholbogdoltoi matyerial*) is arranged to two boxes: Box 92 (K23612-K23920) contains photos of Ikh Khüree (called Daa Khüree, K23677-K23712), and *Dambadarjaalin khiid* (K23777-K23791), while Box 93 (K23921-24246) shows photos of *Choijin lamiin süm* (K23921-K23967), the Chinese temples (K23971-K23987), *Shar ord* / Züün Khüree (K23997-K24101), and *Gandantegchenlin khiid* (K24226-K24240). The cards of Box 95 (24639-24897) shows mainly religious events, like *Tsam* dance or Maitreya circumambulation, while Box 96 contains mostly photos of religious dignities. Box 163 (44662-45030) includes photos that were taken after the democratic change showing revival of some monasteries. Box 21 (2432-2882) has only a few relevant photos as its head title is Architecture, Ulaanbaatar 1930-1950. Moreover, the Photo Archives of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences also includes numerous photos.⁴⁴

Several photos in the archives have a short description, but they are not precise at all as their date and the name of the photographer are not indicated. Especially in the case of the Chinese temples there are confusions. Some of these photos are referenced at the descriptions of individual temples where relevant.⁴⁵

Written Memories / Reminiscences

Other useful sources were the books based on the reminiscences of two old ex-lamas. Both books were based on interviews with the ex-lamas made by the editor. Being detailed accounts given by first-hand witnesses of the religious life of the old Khüree, they contain especially useful data on the religious life of the time, the individual temples, places of

³⁸ Shepetilnikov, N. M., *Arhitektura Mongolij*. Moskva 1960 (Photos available in the book are referred as Shepetilnikov)

³⁹ Tsültem, N., *Mongolian architecture*. Ulaanbaatar 1988 (Photos available in the book are referred as Tsültem.)

⁴⁰ Halen H., *Memoria Saecularis Sakari Pälsi*. Aufzeichnungen von einer Forschungsreise nach der Nordlichen Mongolei im Jahre 1909, Helsinki 1982

⁴¹ Forbáth, L., *A megújított Mongolia*, Franklin, A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára, Budapest 1934, see also its English translation Geleta, J., *The New Mongolia*, by Ladislaus Forbath, as related by Joseph Geleta; translated by Lawrence Wolfe, London, Toronto 1936 (Referred as Forbáth. Photos available in the book are referred as Geleta.)

⁴² Dashnyam, L. (ed.), *Mongol nutag dakh' tüüikh soyoliin dursgal. Sedewchilsen lawlakh*. Mongoliin Khümünligiin Ukhaanii Akademi. Ulaanbaatar 1999

⁴³ Recent publications also contains photos such as the book of Kozlov, P. K., *Tibet i Dalaj-Lama* (ed. S. L. Kuz'min), Moskva 2004; Lomakina, I. I., *Mongol'skaya stolica, staraya i novaya*. Moskva 2006

⁴⁴ The photos of the Photo Archives of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences were not surveyed by the author when completing this book. However, most of these photos are available in the Film Archives.

⁴⁵ Availability of some old photographs are indicated in the separate descriptions, basically the Film Archives photographs and those pictures that appeared in one of the above books that are more easily available for the readers. It is said that the National Archives of Mongolia contains photos, too, but these two archives has close connections, so most supposedly there is no separate connection.

worship and their belongings. They are unique records of a vanished world.

One of them was published by Ts. Damdinsüren. This book *Öwgön Jambaliin yaria*, ‘Reminiscence of Old Jambal’, the content of which was later published in English by Bawden under the title ‘Tales of an Old Lama’⁴⁶, contains material from his 1950s interviews with an old lama, B. Jambal (born 1882), who had been a lama of Bogdiin Khüree. He lived in *Khüükhen noyonii aimag*, belonging to *Badma yogo* College (see below). Later, he fulfilled different religious duties. Due to the positions he held, he had been very close to the religious authorities, but later became sympathetic to the formentors of the Mongolian revolution even becoming a covert agent of the revolutionaries. The description gives a colourful picture about the political changes and the way of life in the city.

Another eyewitness of the events was N. Dendew (born 1891), who moved to Bogdiin Khüree when he was nine years old and became a lama. Later he was a clerk (*bicheech*) in the Ministry of Religious Affairs (*Shashnii törd tustakh Saidiin Yaam*). His memories were collected by D. Nawaan, and published under the title *Reminiscence of Old Dendew*.⁴⁷

Data Providers

At the time of the survey conducted with Zsuzsa Majer, several people were contacted who have precise data about the old capital pre 1939. One of these was O. Pürew, who had done extensive research for many years on the history of Bogdiin Khüree using the national archives and libraries.⁴⁸ B. Daajaw, an architect, is another researcher who has knowledge about Bogdiin Khüree.⁴⁹

Nowadays there are a very few old lamas still alive who were lamas in the old capital, before the purges.⁵⁰ Among them who contributed the most to the survey was Dashtseren lama (born 1921) who was interviewed several times. He is now in the present-day *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery and witnessed events in the old capital having been a lama from 1926 until 1937. He became the lama of one of the three philosophical monastic schools, *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* in 1926 where he studied for ten years after which he took the *domiin damjaa* exam (which can be taken after finishing the courses of *Pramāṇavārttika* and *Prajñāpāramita*). He lived in *Choinkhorlin aimag* of the Eastern monastic district (*Züün Khüree*). During this time, he often visited the Red Stream temples in the laymen district of Khüree as well. In 1938 he was forced to become a layman, and, after graduating in a financial school, he worked in a bank for several years. In 1982 he retired and in 1990, when the revival started, he became a lama in *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery. Today, he is the

⁴⁶ Bawden, C. R., *Tales of an Old Lama*, The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K. 1997. References to this source are given with the pages of the English version published by Bawden, but the relevant pages of the Mongolian version (included in Bawden’s edition, taken from Damdinsüren’s collected works (*Tüüwer zokhiol*) are also given for reference.

⁴⁷ Nawaan, D., *Öwgön Dendewiin durdatgal*, Shinjlekh Ukhaanii Akademiin Khewlel, Ulaanbaatar 1961.

⁴⁸ He was a historian and researcher on the history of the revolution, the life and activities of Sükhbaatar, the history and formation of Ulaanbaatar, as well as being a well-known specialist of Mongolian Shamanism. He was one of the compilers of the Ulaanbaatar map in the Rinchen atlas together with D. Maidar. His two principal books about Ulaanbaatar, and the map he would like to publish are mentioned above.

⁴⁹ He has been involved in research projects on the old buildings of Mongolia, especially temples and monasteries. His publication on the topic (MUIS 1967 *onii “Khuuchnii dursgalt barilga sudlaliin ekspeditsiin tailan”* [The results of the research expedition on the old historic buildings] /unpublished/ in: *MUIS-iin erdem shinjilgeenii bichig* [Bulletin of the National University of Mongolia], UB 1975. No 4 /54./) was not available. However, he published in 2006 three volumes on the history of Mongolian architecture (*Mongoliin uran barilgiin tüükh*. Ulaanbaatar 2006) as well as a separated volume about Ikh Khüree (Daajaw, B. – Bayar, R., *Mongoliin uran barilgiin tüükh. Ikh khüree*. Ulaanbaatar 2007)

⁵⁰ There is the issue of their advanced age, which makes conversation difficult: those who have real knowledge of Buddhist life at that time had to have been at least teenagers in 1937, so they are now between 80-100 years old.

lowon of Puntsoglin monastery in Ulaanbaatar.

Other old lamas who provided data on their *aimag* temples and the religious life of Bogdiin Khüree, were: Gonchig lama (born 1917), the main disciplinary master (*ikh gesgüi*, T. *dge-bskyos*) of *Dashoimbel datsan*, belonged once to *Dashchoimbel datsan* and *Shüteenii aimag*; Ts. Dorj (1901-2007), lama of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery, Zuunmod, belonged once to *Jiid datsan* and lived in *Shüteenii aimag*; Ts. Tserenpuntsog (born 1914 in the year of tiger) also lama of the above Zuunmod monastery, belonged once to *Güngaachoinlin datsan* and lived in *Amdo nariin aimag*; Choisüren lama (1916-2007) also a lama of Zuunmod monastery, belonged once to *Dashchoimbel datsan* and lived in *Süngiin aimag*; S. Dagwa (born 1910) teaching master (*gergen*, T. *dge-ran*) of *Manba datsan*, belonged once to *Dashchoimbel datsan* and lived in *Toisamlin aimag*; P. Luwsandanzan (1921-2009) lama of *Dashchoilin* monastery belonged once to *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* and *Erkhem toinii aimag*; L. Dashdorj (born 1918) who lives near Altanbulag sum centre, *Töv aimag*, belonged once to *Manba datsan* and lived in *Bargiin aimag*; M. Lkhamsüren (born 1914) lived in *Zoogoin aimag*; Sh. Bagaajaw lama (born 1917) lived in *Düinkhoriin aimag* and belonged to *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan*; Ts. Luwsan lama (born 1914) belonged once to *Dashchoimbel datsan*, and lived in *Shüteenii aimag*. Apart from them, doubtless there are other old lamas still alive who could provide first-hand information on the old Bogdiin Khüree, but they either now live in the countryside, or did not become lamas again after 1990, which makes finding them more difficult. In the case of some individual temples, others also contributed to the survey with their data. Their names are given at the separate temple descriptions.

Although about the life of the old city several literature works (novels, poems, songs)⁵¹ have been arisen they were not involved in the present study either newspapers containing political propaganda of the 1920s-1930s.⁵² Their research can result in a more complex picture about the political and social changes of the country.

⁵¹ For instance Rinchen, B., *Üüriin tuyu*. Ulaanbaatar 1951, 1952, 1955; Jam'yan, B., *Bogdiin Khüreenii borchuudiin namtraas*, Ulaanbaatar 1994; Batbayar, Ts., *Kodama, mitsui, püüs khüreend baisan yaponchuud 1911-1921 on*. Ulaanbaatar 1993, Natsagdorj, D., *Zohioulud*. Ulaanbaatar 1961

⁵² Old newspapers are available in the National Library of Mongolia and in the National Archives of Mongolia (see the Appendices), too. Due to their extent they are not cited in the present work. However, the most interesting one among them is the *Lam nariin setgüül* ('Magazine for lamas', T. bla-ma-nar-'ing sid-khül, lam-a-nar-un sedkül) which was a Mongolian language monthly newspaper written in Tibetan script and Mongolian script. Only the first one of this serial, published originally in June 1936, was published by Stéphane Grivelet (The Journal of the Lamas: A Mongolian Publication in Tibetan Script. Preface by Stéphane Grivelet. 2001. Published by Indiana University.) who claims (p. ii.) that it was issued in 3000 copies aiming at the dissemination of governmental propaganda among the lamas.

FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE KHÜREE

The settlement, that later became the capital city of Mongolia was, in the beginning, a simple residence or camp established by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar. The camp moved 28 times. Although other cities, such as Khowd, Uliastai and Khyagt were more important Manchu administrative centres in the beginning, the development of Öndör gegeen's camp over time to becoming the most important settlement in the country, the 'capital city', is due to the importance of the successive *jewtsündamba khutagts* or simply *khutagts*, *gegeens*, Bogds, Bogd lamas, the Buddhist religious holy leaders or "Living Buddhas" of Mongolia, who resided there. In addition, Khüree itself became a Manchu administrative and Chinese commercial centre in the 18th century, which further increased its significant role among other monastic cities. Changes in its growth and development also have to be understood within the context of historical events, principally the Manchu domination, which lasted for centuries and the Chinese and Russian influences at the beginning of the 20th century.

Mongolia did not become independent until 1911 when the Manchu Empire collapsed. At this time Khüree was called the 'capital city' (Niislel Khüree) for the first time. However, as it was the residence of the highest religious authority from its inception, it should be considered as the capital city or main centre from the time of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar on.

Names of the City

The capital was known under various names in different periods of Mongolian history, such as *Örgöö* (M. *örgüge*, 'residence', 'dwelling palace'), *Khüree* ('monastic city', *khüree* means circle, ring, district or fenced-off territory, monastery or, in this case, a monastic city with its buildings situated in a circle opening to the South), *Ikh Khüree* ('great monastic city', T. *khu-re chen-mo*, *hu-re chen-mo*, sometimes *khu-ral chen-mo* 'great assembly'), *Nomiin Ikh Khüree* (M. *nom-un yeke küriye(n)*, 'great monastic city of the Teaching'), *Da(a) Khüree* (M. *da küriyen*, 'great monastic city'), *Bogdiin Khüree* ('monastic city of the Bogd'), *Khutagtiin Khüree* ('monastic city of the *khutagt*'), *Riwogejai Gandanshaddüwlin* (T. *ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad-sgrub gling*, 'the hill with the monastery/island of full beauty and joy in theory and practice'), *Ariin Khüree* ('monastic city in the North'), *Niislel Khüree* ('monastic capital'), then *Ulaanbaatar*, *niislel khot* from 1924. According to Dendew (Nawaan, 1961, p. 10.), the city of the Bogd was called *Khaanii örgöö* ('palace of the *khaan*') between 1639-1706, *Bogdiin Khüree* or *Ikh Khüree* between 1706-1911 and *Niislel Khüree* between 1911-24. Local written sources mention it as *Ikh Khüree*, while Western sources refer as *Urga*, from the Russian version of the word *Örgöö*, and Chinese sources say *Kulun*. Old lamas talking about the old city use always *Bogdiin Khüree*, thus this name was used mainly in the present work.

Manchu Overlordship (1691-1911)

In 1691, a great part of Mongolia, the Khalkh territories, became a dependency of the dominant power in Asia, the Manchu Qing (Ching) dynasty (1644-1911). The Western Kazakh and Oirad territories struggled to retain their independence. In fact, the struggle between the Khalkh Mongols and the Western Mongols resulted in the Khalkhs asking the Manchu Qing emperor in 1691 to send troops to fight them. At this time, the Khalkh Mongol territory was divided into three, later four *aimags*, each led by their *khan* (Tüsheet khan aimag, Setsen khan aimag, Sain noyon khan aimag, and Zasagt khan aimag). Each *aimag* was subdivided into numerous smaller territorial units (*khoshuu*). Some parts of the territory had a different administration with a distinctive position as they were subordinated directly to monastic cities or monasteries. These areas and their inhabitants were called *shaw' nar*, who

were independent from feudal lords and were entitled to many privileges. The *Ikh shaw* had a key role in the life of Bogdiin Khüree as these areas and people were subordinated directly to the Bogd himself and his ecclesiastical estate.

The Manchu emperors, especially Kang-xi (1663-1722) and Qianlong (1735-1796) actively supported the spread of Buddhism. As it is clear from the archival materials the emperors were known in Mongolia by their translated names: Enkh amgalan (Kang-xi, 1663-1722); Tenger tetgesen (Qianlong, 1735-1796); Saishaalt yeröolt (Jiaqing, 1796-1820); Tör gerelt (Daoguang, 1821-1850); Tügeemel elbegt (Xianfeng, 1850-1861); Bürent zasagch (Tongzhi, 1861-1874); Badruult tör (Guangxu, 1875-1908) and Khewt yos (Puyi, also known as Xuantong, 1909-1910). These names were also in use to date a document (the Xth year of the reign of Y). The emperors created a nobility layer among the Mongols giving Chinese and Manchu titles such as *wan*, *gün*, *beis/bees*, *beil/beel*, *zasag* and an ecclesial layer giving ranks for lamas as *shireet*, *nomon khan* (or *nomiin khan*, T. *chos-rje*), etc. to increase their influence in Mongolia. Many nobles chose Manchu princesses as their wives and reincarnations and saints (*khutagt khuwilgaan*) having acknowledged by the Manchus with getting a seal (*tamga*), a sedan chair (*juuz*, Chinese *jiao'zi*) and other gifts, became the mostly honoured and most wealthy ones in their local area. Together with the Bogd, the Manchus worked to spread Buddhism in (the present areas of) Inner and Outer-Mongolia. During the Manchu period lamas were exempted from military service, the upkeep of relay stations (*örtöö*) and other duties. Despite being the religious leader of the country, the Bogd had to refer important questions to the Manchu emperor, which could not be decided without his agreement. Although the Oirads in the Western territory of Mongolia resisted the Manchu conquest, by 1732 they were defeated by the Manchus, too. One consequence of the Oirads' resistance was conflicts between them and the Khalkhs, which continued for centuries.

Until 1911 the Manchus were present in Mongolia represented by governors, *ambans* or *saiids* ('minister'). Governors (Manchu and Mongol governors as well) were appointed not only in Urga but also in Khowd, Uliastai, Khyagt, where Manchus and Chinese settled in colonies.

Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar, the 1st Bogd: Establishment of Örgöö

According to the Golden Annals of Zawa lam Damdin (Lokesh Chandra, 1964, 79r-93r) the 1st Bogd, Luwsandambijaltsan (T. blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan) or Öndör gegeen Zanabazar (1635-1723) was born in 1635 as a descendant of Chinggis khan. He was a grandson of Awtai khan (1534-1589) who founded *Erdene zuu*, the first monastery in Mongolia in 1586 near to Öödei Khaan's capital, Kharakhorum (present Kharkhorin). According to legend, the camp where Öndör Gegeen lived as a child, was established in 1639 in Shireet Tsagaan nuur (present Bürd sum, Öwörkhangaï aimag). After studying in the biggest Tibetan monastic universities, he received initiations from the 5th Dalai Lama and the 4th Panchen Lama becoming a prominent Buddhist master and artist. He was recognized by the 5th Dalai Lama as the reincarnation of the Tibetan master *Jonon Darnad* (Tāranātha, 1575-1634), who was a famous writer and historian, the last great representative of the Tibetan Jonangpa (T. *jo-nang-pa*) Stream. Öndör gegeen was given the title of *jewtsündamba khutagt* by the 5th Dalai Lama. He also received a seal, numerous presents, a *datsan* lama, a *shanzodwa*, etc. all together 50 Tibetan lamas to help him to organize religious life and to found monasteries in his homeland, Mongolia.⁵³

⁵³ *dgon-pa 'debs-pa'i grogs ram-du/ grwa-tshang bla-ma/ phyag-mdzod-pa sogs grwa-pa lnga-bcu phyag g-yog-la gtong gnang zhing/ rje-btsun dam-pa hothogtu'i cho-lo dang ja-sa tham-ka sogs gzings bstod rgya cher gnang/*

The *Erdeni-yin erike* says (Pozdneev, 1883) the same⁵⁴ and continues the story as⁵⁵ he returned to his homeland in 1651 together with a treasurer (*shanzodwa*, T. *phyag-mdzod-pa*), a disciplinary master (*gewkhüi*, *gesgüi*, T. *dge-bskyos*), a household keeper (*soiwon*, T. *gsol-dpon*) and other, all together 50 Tangut lamas (here it means Tibetan), and he created the sculptures of Vajradhara, the five Tathāgata Buddhas, and other deities, and founded several monastic sites. Then, he established seven districts (*aimag*) in Nomiin Ikh Khüree Ribogejilin, namely *Amduunar*, *Jas*, *Sangai*, *Zoogoi*, *Khüükhen noyon*, *Darkhan emch*, and *Örlüüd aimags*, following the design by Jamiyaan *tsorj*⁵⁶ who had established seven *datsans* ('monastic schools') when he founded Drepung Monastery. Referring to this valuable source, which is the first account of Urga concerning its early history and re-locations, Pozdneev emphasizes the following data (1971, pp. 44-45.): In 1651 Öndör geegen, on returning from Tibet, founded *Bereiwen gejilin* (T. 'bras-spungs *dge-rgyas gling*) with seven *aimags* at *Nomiin Ikh Khüree*. Pozdneev draws the conclusion that the phrase Örgöö refers to this place as the residence of Öndör Geegen (who before his travels to Tibet had resided in Shireet Tsagaan nuur, although there does not appear to have been a palace for him. However, one should consider a residence or palace dwelling in Mongolia as a bigger yurt.) Urga, the name cited for Mongolian capital in many Western sources derives from the Russian pronunciation of the word, *örgöö*.⁵⁷

Ishibaldan's chronicle mentions that the 1st Bogd founded the new monastery, *G.andangšaddubdarᠰiyaling* (T. *dga'-ldan bshad-sgrub dar-rgyas gling*).⁵⁸

The Golden Annals says (Lokesh Chandra, 1964, 82v-83r) that in 1654 Öndör Geegen Zanabazar moved to the Khentii Mountain area where he laid the foundations for a great assembly hall (*tsogchin*, T. *tshogs chen*), which was called *Riwojegigandanshaddublin* (T. *ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad-sgrub gling*). This settlement became known as Züün Khüree ('Eastern Khüree', also known as *Sardagiin khiid*), while Shankh, the previous residence of Öndör Geegen, which is in today's Öwörkhangaï aimag, became known as Baruun Khüree ('Western Khüree').⁵⁹

According to the Rosary of White Lotuses by Dharmatāla Dam-chos rgya-mtsho (English translation, p. 338.) the 1st Bogd returned to his country from Tibet in 1651 (Rabbit Year), and in 1654 (Wood Male Horse Year) he set up a great monastery and named it *Riwojegigandanshaddüwlin* (*ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad-sgrub gling*), in Khentii

⁵⁴ (p. 3.) *mön kü jil Töbet Botala-yin yafar dalai blam-a Nawanglubsangjamču-ača jibčundamba qutuytu kemekü čola: sira torjan-u šikür kereglegülbe: mön bančin erdeni dalai blam-a ekilen olan mergen-eče vačir dar-a erke-yin wang abisiy gün nom-ud-i qumqa-yin usun ᠰegülekü adali büridken abuᠭad:* In that very year he was titled as Bogd by Agwaanluwsanjamts (T. *Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho*), the 5th Dalai Lama, and received also a yellow silken umbrella. Besides, from such eminent masters as the Panchen Lama and others he received in their entirety the empowerment and deep doctrines of the power of Vajradhara, like water being poured out of a vase (see also Bawden, p. 44, footnote. 6.).

⁵⁵ (p. 3.) *baysi šangjodba gebküi soyibon-ača uručud (?) terigüten tabiyad tangyud quwaray dayayulun čayayčün tulai jil jalarafu iregseger öber-ün mutur-iyar uralayᠰan wačir dar-a tabun iᠭayur-tu* (p. 4) *terigüten sitügen keyid oron-i olanta bariyulju: tendeče nom-un yeke küriy-e ribogejiling-dür erte Jamiyan čorji-bar Breyibung-dur doloᠭan dačang bayiyulᠰan metü: amdaunar: fisa: šangyay: jooyai: keüken noyan-i: darqan emči: örlüüd ayimay doloᠭ-a terigüten-i bayiyulᠰu šasin-i delgeregölbei:*

⁵⁶ T. Jam-dbyangs chos-rje, who founded the famous Drepung Monastery (*Bereiwen/Bereewen*, T. 'bras-spungs) near Lhasa in 1416.

⁵⁷ Öndör geegen founded *Shankh* Monastery (later called *Baruun Khüree*), and also enlarged the nearby *Erdene zuu* monastery. He also established a retreat in Khangai Mountain, near his first home, called *E-Wam dga'-khyil* (in Tibetan) or *Duwkhan/Töwkhön* (T. *sgrub-khang*). In 2004 this site was included on the list of the World's Cultural Heritage Sites, together with other sites in the Orkhon valley.

⁵⁸ Heissig, W., *Erdeni-yin erike. Mongolische Chronik der lamaistischen Klosterbauten der Mongolei von Ishibaldan (1835)*, Kopenhagen 1961

⁵⁹ It is not clear what the three different monastery names refer to (*Bereiwen gejilin*, *G.andanshaddubdarjaalin*, *Riwojegigandanshaddublin*). However, the latest one was used for the main assembly hall of the residence.

Mountain (*Khen-tha'i han*).

According to Pürewjaw (1961, p. 17.) the complex of *Riwojegigandanshaddüwlin* was built with brick and wooden temples from 1654-1680. Due to the Khalkh-Oirad wars it was destroyed in 1680 and revived again only in 1706 in Tsetserlegiin Erdene Tolgoi. From that time the main assembly hall was called Bat-Tsagaan and Öndör gegeen's camp became known as Ikh Khüree. Therefore, some researchers consider 1706 as date of the foundation of the capital city.

We can conclude that in the lifetime of Öndör gegeen, his camp consisted of his dwelling palace (*örgöö*) and some other yurts. With the establishment of the assembly hall it became a place of worship, where ceremonies and services were held. Initially, the *aimags* were named after monastic functions (originally housing lamas who carried them out), thus they had names with a specific meaning, like *Sangiin aimag* (M. *sang*, 'aimag of the treasury'), *Zoogiin aimag* (M. *ᠰᠣᠶᠣᠭ*, 'aimag of food'), *Jasiin aimag* (M. *ᠰᠢᠰᠠ*, 'aimag of the administration unit'), *Darkhan emchiin aimag* (M. *darqan emči*, 'aimag of the honoured doctor'), *Anduu nariin aimag* (M. *Amdu-nar*, 'aimag of the Tibetans coming from Amdo'), *Örlögüüdiin aimag* (a term with controversial meaning, 'aimag of the nanny (*örlög ekh*, M. *örlüg eke*)' of Öndör gegeen or 'aimag of the generals (*örlög*, M. *örlüg*')) and *Khüükhen noyonii aimag* (M. *keüken noyan*, 'aimag of the Noble Lady', i.e. Öndör gegeen's muse).⁶⁰ Sereeter claims (1999, p. 9.) that four new *aimags* were added during Öndör Gegeen's old age to the original seven: *Shüteenii aimag* (M. *sitügen*, 'aimag of the noble object of worship'), *Setsen toinii aimag* (M. *Sečen toyin*, 'aimag of Setsen toin'), *Bargiin aimag* (M. *baryu*, 'aimag of Barga people'), and *Bandidiin aimag* (M. *bandida*, 'aimag of the Paóðita lamas'). Diwaasambu claim,⁶¹ that Öndör gegeen in his old age revived all religious traditions (Nyingmapa, Sakyapa and Karmapa) which had been ever followed in Mongolia.

Re-locations of the Capital and the Formation of the *Aimags* within it

For over 100 years after its inception, the capital did not settle in one place. Up to 1855 it moved 28 times. Based on the data of the Erdeni-yin erike, Pürewjaw (1961, p. 19.) lists and Pürew shows a sketch of the re-locations of Bogdiin Khüree over time (Pürew, 1999, p. 12., see Appendices). Thus, the residence (i.e. the capital city) of the Bogds was situated in the following places in order: Shireet tsagaan nuur or Örgöö (1639), Khöshöö tsaidam (1640), *Sardagiin khiid* (1654) Ögöömör (1688), Inner-Mongolia (1690), Tsetserlegiin Erdene Tolgoi (1700), Daagandel (1719), Usan Seer (1720), Tamir (1722), Jargalant (1723), Iween gol, Ugtaal Jargalant (1724), Khujirtbulangiin Jargalant (1729), Burgaltai (1730), Sögnögör (1732), Terelj (1733), Uliastai (1734), Khüi Mandal (1736), Khuntsal (1740), Üdleg (1742), Ögöömör (1743), Selbe (1747), Uliastai (1756), Selbe (1762), Khüi Mandal (1772), Selbe (1778), Tolgoit (1839), Selbe (1855).

From the reign of the 2nd Bogd (1724-1758) the city was called Khüree. According to Sereeter (1999, p. 9.) during this time eleven new *aimags* were added to the eleven founded by Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar, to give a total of 22. These *aimags* were: *Erkhem toinii aimag* (M. *erkim toyin*), *Mergen nomon khanii aimag* (M. *mergen nom-un qayan*), *Wangiin aimag* (M. *wang*), *Nomchiin aimag* (M. *nomči*), *Mergen khambiin aimag* (M. *mergen q.ambu*), *Erdene khuwilgaanii aimag* (M. *erdeni qubilyan*), *Jadariin aimag* (T. *khye'i rdor*), *Lam nariin aimag* (M. *lama-nar*), *Biziyaagiin aimag* (Skr. *Uāóĩāavijayā*), *Dugariin aimag* (T. *gdugs dkar*), and *Düinkhoriin aimag* (T. *dus-'khor*). The *aimags* were residential and economic

⁶⁰ According to Pürewjaw (1961, p. 58.) originally *Jasiin aimag* was responsible for mending, reparation, and catering (*tsaw* and *manz*), whilst *Sangiin aimag* was the treasury of the *khutagt*. According to Pozdneev (p. 44.), the *aimags* of *Khüükhen noyon* and *Darkhan emch* received their names from the associates of the *gegeen* who built these *aimag* temples at their own expense and sponsored their operation.

⁶¹ G. Diwaasambu, D. Taiwansaikhan, *Mongoliin burkhan shashnii tüükhen toim*, Ulaanbaatar 2004, p. 89.

units, where people originating from the same territories in Mongolia lived together. As Sereeter claims (1999, p. 12.), the names of the *aimags* changed several times depending on their residents. In addition to their names, from the 1740s, initiated by the 2nd Bogd each *aimag* was marked with a letter of the Tibetan alphabet (*ka, kha, ga, nga*, etc., See Appendices) in order to their arrangement and date of origin.

The capital settled in the area of present day Ulaanbaatar in 1778. That is in the Tuul valley surrounded by the four holy mountains: Bogd Khan uul, Songino uul, Chingeltei uul and Bayanzürkh uul.⁶² Since this time the capital has been named as Ikh Khüree khot. It moved West to Tolgoit, near Songino Mountain, in 1839 but then moved back again in 1855 to settle permanently, on its present site, on the bank of the River Selbe. The main temple and the residence of the Bogd, which was called Yellow Palace (*Shar ord(on)*) or Yellow zone of the Bogd (*shar büs*) was on the right bank of the River Selbe in the Eastern monastic district (Züün Khüree) of the capital, which, according to Banzragch (2004, p. 15.), measured 720×720 *ald* (1 *ald*=1.6 m). This area became the administrative centre of the capital as well as the main residence of the Bogd. The Western part of the settlement, occupied by Gandan, came into being at the beginning of the 19th century. It became the centre for philosophical Buddhist studies (though it served as dwelling for some years to the 5th *jewtsündamba khutagt*). Due to the many re-locations of the capital, the original sites of some of the buildings i.e. where they were established for the first time, cannot be determined.

According to Pürewjaw (1961, pp. 20-21.) the movings had many reasons such as appearing of scurvy (*chiig bam*) and other epidemics when residing too long at one place, and superstitions, as the 6th and 7th Bogds died young when the part of the city had moved to the nearby Tolgoit. However, the main reason of re-locations originates in the Mongolian lifestyle.

According to Sereeter, between 1775 and 1903 eight new *aimags* were added to the 22 making 30 in total: *Makhamayaagiin aimag* (Skr. *Mahāmāyā*), *Dondowlingiin aimag* (T. *don grub gling*), *Toisomlingiin aimag* (T. *thos bsam gling*), *Namdollingiin aimag* (T. *rnam grol gling*), *Jamiyansüingiin/Choinsüingiin aimag* (T. *'jam-dbyangs bsrung, chos-dbyings gsung*), *Choinkhorlingiin aimag* (T. *chos-'khor gling*), *Dashdandarlin aimag* (T. *bkra-shis bstan dar gling*), and as the last, *Ekh daginiin aimag* (M. *eke*, Skr. *ḍākinī*).

Though in Öndör Gegeen's time there were *aimags* named after functions, but later *aimags* were founded for different criteria: for nobles; high ranking lamas; for the worship of different deities. The distinctive feature of the *aimag* structure was that young men joining the temples lived in the *aimag* along with those from the same countryside area.

Capital Forming Activities of the Bogds

Bogdiin Khüree, being the religious centre and the residence of the religious leader and, later, a commercial centre, played a significant role among the 61 large monastic complexes throughout Mongolia (See Rinchen map 43.). The population and the number of lamas in Bogdiin Khüree increased throughout the centuries. Pozdneev gives details about the gradual elevation of the city and its formation into the main administrative centre (1971, pp. 45-46.) in Mongolia. He claims that at the time of Öndör gegeen's passing away, Urga was considered pre-eminent among the monasteries of Mongolia.

The next incarnation of Öndör gegeen was born in Mongolia, but further incarnations were all born in Tibet and, after being elevated to the throne in Beijing, with the approval of the Manchu emperor, resided in Mongolia as religious leader of the country. According to the Golden Annals (Lokesh Chandra, 1964, 98r-99v) the 2nd Bogd, Luwsandambiidonme (T. *blo-bzang bstan-pa'i sgron-me*, 1724-1758) founded a tantric assembly (*jüd*, T. *rgyud*, M. *ṛüid*)

⁶² See Luwsan, Ch., *Niisleliig chimsen khüree dörwön uul khatan Tuul gol*. Ulaanbaatar

called *Dechensanaglin* (T. *bde-chen gsang-sngags gling*) in 1739, and the first philosophical assembly (*tsanid*, T. *mtshan-nyid*, M. *čanid*) in 1756 based on the philosophical view of the Tibetan Gomang philosophic monastic school (*Goman datsan*, T. *sgo-mang grwa-tshang*) of Drepung monastery. Pozdneev claims that the 2nd Bogd was elevated to his throne in 1729, and Urga became his principal residence. According to him, in 1754 the first office was established in Khüree to supervise the subordinated people's affairs, and their administration was commended to the *shanzodwa*, the head of the *Erdene shanzodwiin yaam* (Ministry of Administration of Ecclesiastical Estate). The position was first occupied by lama Sündüw Dorj, who was appointed with the title of *setsen toin*. However, Sereeter claims (1999, p. 124.) that he occupied the position from 1754 till 1764 as the fourth *erdene shanzodwa* and that he had the rank of *chandman*' *setsen toin* (Skr. *cintamāōi*).

Pozdneev adds that the Bogd founded the first philosophical school in Mongolia in 1756. He had the sole rights to confirm the degree to those lamas who completed the courses and took the exams.

According to the Golden Annals (Lokesh Chandra, 1964, 99a) the 3rd Bogd, Ishdambiinyam (ye-shes bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, 1758-1773) founded a medical monastic school (T. *sman-pa grwa-tshang*) in the Khüree, called *Erdene emch* (M. *erdeni emči*) in 1760. Pozdneev adds that after the death of the 2nd Bogd in 1758, the Manchu emperor (Tenger tetgesen) issued a command related to the office of *shanzodwa*: "Although the *shandzodwa* Sundub Dorje (Südüw Dorj) is present in the Khüree for the supervision of the teachings and services, one man is not enough for the administration of all the lower shabinar (*shaw' nar*). For this reason it is commanded that the *Khalkh tusalakchi Chiang-shün* (*Khalkh tuslagch janjin*, 'vice general') Sanji Dorji (Sanzaidorj) be summoned, and let him, in overseeing the Khüree, administer well all the hutukhtu's shabinar. ..." Due to this command a Mongol *amban* (governor) was appointed in Bogdiin Khüree. In 1761 a second *amban* was appointed for the same purpose, a Manchu one.

According to the Golden Annals (Lokesh Chandra, 1964, 101v-116v) the 4th Bogd, Luwsantüwdenwanchugjigmedjamts (blo-bzang thub-bstan dbang-phyug 'jigs-med rgya-mtsho) (1775-1813) after studying in Tibetan monastic universities, founded an astrological monastic school (T. *rtsis-pa grwa-tshang*), called *zurkhai datsan* in Mongolian (M. *ᠰᠢᠷᠠᠭᠠᠢ*) in the Khüree in 1789. He was a highly intelligent and well qualified lama, attaining the *agramba* (T. *sngags-rams-pa*) degree, the doctor of Vajrayāna tantric studies. He founded the *Dechingalaw* temple (T. *bde-chen bskal-pa*) for the ceremonies of Kālacakra (*Düinkhor*, T. *dus-'khor*) in 1806, and re-named the tantric school, which was founded by the 2nd Bogd, as *Badma yogo* (T. *pad-ma yo-ga*). Furthermore, in 1807 he established *Shaddüwlin* (T. *bshad-sgrub gling*) in a valley on the outskirts of Urga, as a place for meditation. In 1809 he founded the second philosophical monastic school (*choir*, T. *chos-grwa*, M. *čoyir-a*) in Gandan next to the previous one in the *khüree*, based on the philosophical views of Loselling philosophical monastic school (*Losalin datsan*, T. *blo-gsal gling grwa-tshang*) of the Tibetan Drepung monastery. In 1786 a decree was issued in Beijing according to Pozdneev (1971, p. 46.), which gave right to the Urga *ambans* to make final decisions considering the administrative affairs of Tüsheet khan and Setsen khan aimags. Pozdneev concludes that with this final event in the elevation of Urga, besides being a religious centre and the centre of learning, Urga became the highest civil authority. Furthermore, Urga became a commercial centre with Chinese merchants establishing permanent residences in the city and returning home only to bring fresh wares. It seems that the 4th Bogd lived in accordance with the high moral and ethical standards required by Buddhism. According to Pürewjaw (1961, p. 38.) *agramba* degree was firstly obtained during the period of the 4th Bogd.

According to the Golden Annals (Lokesh Chandra, 1964, 117r-120r) the 5th Bogd, Luwsantsültimjigmeddambiijaltsan (T. blo-bzang tshul-khrims 'jigs-med bstan-pa'i rgyal-

mtshan, 1815-1841) renewed the two philosophical monastic schools (*datsan*) in 1837 giving them the names *Dashchoimbel datsan* (T. *bkra-shis chos-'phel*) for the first one and *Güngaachoilin datsan* (T. *kun-dga' chos gling*) for the second (Dharmatāla claims the same, 1977, English translation, p. 347.). Pozdnev confirms (1971, p. 76.) that in 1809 two large temples were built in the *khüree* for philosophical studies, with the lama students dwelling in a separate section of the city that later became known by the name of Gandan. The two philosophy temples were situated next to each other. *Gandantegchenlin* temple (T. *dga'-ldan theg-chen gling*) and the palace of the 5th Bogd were built in 1838 in front of them. During the 5th Bogd's reign, the Maitreya temple was erected around 1833 to house the statue of Maitreya, the future Buddha. It stood behind the main assembly hall in Züün Khüree. Furthermore, palaces like *Güngaadejidlin* and *Pandelin* were established in the bank of the River Tuul. In this time about 10,000 lamas belonged to Bogdiin Khüree. Gandan became the center of the 5th Bogd for a while as the *khüree* moved to Tolgoit from 1839 until 1855, when is finally settled again on the banks of the River Selbe.

Both the 6th Bogd, Luwsanbaldanjaltsan or Luwsandambijantsan (T. blo-bzang dpal-dan rgyal-mtshan or blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, 1843-1848) and the 7th Bogd, Agwaanchoiwanchugprinleijamts (T. ngag-dbang chos-kyi dbang-phyug 'phrin-las rgya-mtsho, 1849-1868 or 1850-1870) died young.

As for the relics (*sharil*) of the Bogds, relics temples were built to house their funerary stūpas. Amarbayasgalant monastery (in the present Selenge aimag, Baruunbüren sum), with its isolated and calm atmosphere, was built in honour of the 1st Bogd by the Manchu emperor, Tenger tetgesen (Qianlong, 1735-1796), and became a kind of retreat or summer monastery of subsequent Bogds. The wooden relics temple of the 1st and the 4th Bogds still stand there, but the relics disappeared during the purges. The relics temples of the 2nd, 3rd and 6th Bogds were built in the area of *Dambadarjaalin* monastery (R-939) but these were also destroyed during the purges. The temples which housed the stūpas of the 5th, 7th and 8th Bogds still exist in Gandan though again their stūpas were destroyed.

The Rosery of White Lotuses written by Dharmatāla Dam-chos rgya-mtsho⁶³ summarizes the development of the city as the following (Tibetan text, pp. 241-242., English translation, p. 422.): in Khalkh the 1st Bogd, Luwsandambijaltsan who acted on the orders of the All-Knowing Panchen, built the great monastery of Ribogjei Gandanshaddüwlin, which had its own tantric monastic school (*brgyud-pa grwa-tshang*). At first, (only) *Amdo* (*nariin*) aimag was installed, but later the number of aimags increased to 28 (thus, at the time of composing this chronicle there were 28 aimags in Bogdiin Khüree), which were engaged in teachings and listenings. The 2nd Bogd, Luwsandambiidonme built a great monastery called *Dambadarjaalin* (R-939). It had three colleges: dialectics (*mtshan-nyid*), Tantric (*brgyud-pa*), and medical (*sman-pa*). The dialectics school, named *Dashchoimbellin* (*bkra-shis chos-'phel gling*) followed the textbook written by Günchin Jamiyaan Shadaw together with its teachings and listenings (for details see the description of *Dambadarjaalin* below). The 4th Bogd, Tüwdenwanchügjigmedjamts set up three monastic schools, of astrology (*skar-rtsis*), medicine (*sman-pa*)⁶⁴ and Kālachakra (*dus-'khor*). The 5th Bogd, Jigmeddambijaltsan built the *Düinkhor datsan Shaddüwlin*,⁶⁵ and set up the two temples of *Dashchoinkhorlin* and *Güngaachoilin*, which were the gathering place for all the lamas of Ribogjei

⁶³ Bira, Sh., *The History of Mongolia*. (Tibetan text in Roman transcription. Dharmatāla Dam chos rgya-mtsho. Çata-Pipaka Series. Vol. 235. New Delhi 1977.; Darmadala, *Ikh Mongoliin orond deediin nom yamar met delgersen yosiig todorkhoi ögüülegch tsagaan lyankhuan erkhis khemeekh orshwoi*. Translated by S. Gombojav. Ulaanbaatar 1995.

⁶⁴ Dharmatāla's account is not precise. This temple was initiated by the 3rd Bogd.

⁶⁵ Dharmatāla's account is not precise. *Düinkhor datsan* was founded by the 4th Bogd as well as *Shaddüwlin* retreat.

Gandanshaddüwlin. He also set up the pattern of teachings and listenings; it was based on the Gomang textbooks for the lamas of *Dashchoilin* (correctly *Dashchoimbel*) and on the Losallin textbooks for the lamas of *Güngaachoinlin*. He also set up *Badmayogo*. Similarly, the ten thousand lamas and more, who resided in the great and famous Daa Khüree, were organized in various schools.⁶⁶

Zawa lam Damdin summarizing the temple building activity of the Bogds in his Golden Annals (Lokesh Chandra, 1964, 160r)⁶⁷ claims that in the middle of the Khalkh territories the monastic centre (T. *gdan-sa*) of the incarnating (*sku-'phreng*) Bogd is located called *Ribogjei Gandanshaddüwlin* or *Daa Khural* (*tā khu-ral chen-po*) which has more than ten thousand lamas. Inside the Yellow residence (*bzhugs sgar ser-po*, i.e. Yellow Palace, *Shar Ordon*) His Eminence(s) founded a Kālacakra (*dus-'khor*) monastic school. Near the main assembly hall (*tshogs-chen 'du-khang chen-po*) they founded a tantric school (*rgyud grwa*), a medical school (*smān grwa*), an astrological school (*rtsis grwa*), the Maitreya *datsan* (*byams chen grwa-tshang*), and other temples. Outside of it, surrounding it there were numerous big, middle, and small quarters (*kham-s-tshan*, i.e. *aimag*) where lamas reside. In the Yellow residence (*bsti-gnas*) of *Gandantegchenlin* the relics of the 5th Bogd were housed, and there was a dormitory called *Didinpowran*, and the *datsan* of His Eminence, called *Gandantegchenlin*. Behind it there were two large philosophical schools (*chos grwa*) studying the handbooks of Gomang and Loselling philosophical schools (*sgo blo'i yig-cha'i chos-grwa chen-po*), and *Lamrim datsan*, and the *Badamyogo* lama assembly (*grwa-khang*). Because of this institutions and attending spiritual friends, and teaching and listening of sūtras and mantras, and sciences in a superior level the city became famous everywhere. Zawa lam Damdin also mentions the nearby *Dambadarjaalin*, *Shaddüwlin*, and *Manzshir* monastery (see its details in the relevant descriptions).⁶⁸

⁶⁶ *hal-ha'i phyogs-su rje btsun dam-pa'i sku-phreng dang-po blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan dpal bzang-pos/ pan-chen thams-cad mkhyen-pa'i bkas ttab-pa'i ri-bo dge* (p. 509.) *rgyas dga'-ldan bshad-sgrub gling zhes pa'i dgon chen nang-gses brgyud-pa grwa-tshang yod-pa/ dang-por a-mdo as-mag gcig 'dzugs-kyang rjes-su rim-gyis 'phel-te as-mag nyer-brgyad chags-nas 'chad nyan byed yod-pa/ sku-phreng gnyis-pa blo-bzang bstan-pa'i sgron-mes ttab-pa'i dgon chen bstan-pa dar-rgyas gling nang-gses mtshan-nyid brgyud-pa sman-pa-ste grwa-tshang gsum yod-la/ 'di'i mtshan-nyid grwa-tshang bkra-shis chos 'phel gling 'di yang 'jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i yig-cha'i steng-nas 'chad nyan byed yod/ sku-phreng bzhi-pa thub-bstan dbang-phyug 'jigs-med rgya-mtshos skar-rtsis sman-pa dus-'khor-te grwa-tshang rnam-pa gsum tshugs/ sku-phreng lnga-pa 'jigs-med bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan-gyis dus-'khor grwa-tshang bshad-sgrub gling ttab-cing/ rje-nyid-kyis ttab-pa'i bkra-shis chos-'khor gling dang/ kun-dga' chos gling gnyis-su ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad sgrub gling-gi grwa rigs thams-cad bsdu-ba mdzad-nas/ bkra-shis chos gling-pa-rnams-kyis sgo-mang-pa'i yig-cha dang/ kun-dga' chos gling-pa-rnams-kyis blo-gsal-ba'i yig-cha'i steng-nas 'chad nyan byed-pa'i srol btsugs-shing/ padma yo-ga'i grwa-tshang yang tshugs-par mdzad/ de-ltar tā khu-re zhes grags-pa'i gdan-sa chen-po der dge-'dun khri lhag* (p. 510.) *bzhugs-nas grwa-tshang so-sor zhugs-te/ sgrogs bzhin-par bzhugs-pa yin-no/*

⁶⁷ (160r) *hor yul dbus-kyi char gnas hal-ha'i ljong 'dir skyabs-mgon rje-btsun dam-pa sku-'phreng rim-byon-gyi gdan-sa tā khu-ral chen-mor grags-pa ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad sgrub gling-du dge* (160v)–*'dun khri-phrag brgal-ba bzhugs-shing/ bzhugs sgar ser-po'i nang-du skyabs-mgon mchog-gi sku-zhabs dus-'khor grwa-tshang/ tshogs-chen 'du-khang chen-po'i nye-skor-du rgyud grwa/ sman grwa/ rtsis grwa/ byams chen grwa-tshang sogs dang/ phyi logs mtha'-skor-du kham-s-tshan che 'bring chung-ba mang-po zhig yod/ bsti-gnas dga'-ldan theg-chen gling-du bzhugs sgar ser-po'i nang skyabs-mgon rje-btsun dam-pa sku-'phreng lnga-pa'i gser gdung/ gzims chung bde-ldan pho-brang/ sku-zhabs grwa-tshang dga'-ldan theg chen gling bcas-dang/ rgyab ngos-su sgo blo'i yig-cha'i chos-grwa chen-po-rnams gnyis/ lam-rim grwa-tshang/ padma yo-ga'i grwa-khang sogs yod-la/ bshes-gnyen bsten tshul dang mdo sngags rig-gnas-kyi 'chad nyan bzang shos-su mtha' dbus kun-tu grags-so/*

⁶⁸ Although Zawa lam Damdin completed his chronicle in 1931 the sources and the date of origin of this part is not obvious. It seems that it was completed after the death of the 7th Bogd (1870), but before 1913, when new temples (*Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* and *Janraiseg datsan*) were established. It seems that Zawa lam Damdin copied a previous account here and did not update it.

The Bogd khaan's Reign: the Autonomous Period (1911-1921)

Numerous sources⁶⁹ are available about the activity of the 8th Bogd, Agwaanluwsanchoiijinyimadanzanwanchug (T. ngag-dbang blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma bstan-'dzin dbang-phyug, 1870-1924) or the Bogd khaan who had a very significant role in the Mongolian history. The revolution in China in 1911 resulted in the fall of the Manchu dynasty (Qing, China's last dynasty). The 8th Bogd declared independence for Mongolia on 28 December 1911 and became the religious and political leader of Mongolia, bearing the title of Bogd khaan, which was the honorific rank of the Manchu emperor until this time. (The Chinese government did not recognize Mongolian independence, but, at the time, it was preoccupied with its own domestic problems. On 25 May 1915 in the Treaty of Khyagt limited authority was granted to Mongolia signed by Mongolia, China and Russia). The Bogd khaan established a monarchy with a government of five ministers in 1911. The ministries were the following: Ministry of the Interior (*Dotood khergiig бүгд захирал шийтгэгч яам*), Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Gadaad khergiig бүгд захирал шийтгэгч яам*), Ministry of Military Affairs (*Tsergiin khergiig бүгд захирал шийтгэгч яам*), Ministry of Finance (*Sangiin khergiig бүгд захирал шийтгэгч яам*), and Ministry of Justice (*Shüükhiiin khergiig бүгд захирал шийтгэгч яам*). The Bogd and his ministers proclaimed Bogdiin Khüree as the capital of the newly established Mongolia. In 1912 other ministries as the Ministry of Customs (*Gaaliin khergiig yerönkhiiilön shийтгэгч яам*) and that of the Prime Minister (*Bүгд yerönkhiiilön shийтгэгч яам*) were established as well as the Ministry of Religious Affairs (*Shashin törd tuslagch saidiin яам*). Beside these ministries the Ministry of Ecclesial Affairs was responsible for the affairs of the areas directly subordinated to the Bogd. Moreover, from 1911 powerful police (*tsagdaa*), prisons (*shoron gyandan*), and post service (*shuudan*) were formed. This period is called 'the period of Bogd khaan' (*Bogd khaant үйе*) or 'the period of autonomy' (*Awtonomit үйе*). The Oirads in the West also agreed to the independence. However, it can be described as relative independence as Chinese authorities still wished Mongolia to be a subordinate to China and stationed troops in the country. Taking advantage of Russia's weakness the *Gamin*, the Chinese Nationalist army of the Kuo-min-tang or Chinese Nationalist Party, which was set-up in 1912 and led by Sun Yat Sen, came to Mongolia in 1919 where it occupied the *khüree*. Meanwhile, in the North, in the revolution in Russia in October 1917, the power of the Tsar Nicholas II. was overthrown and the 'White' Russian army defeated. At the end of 1920, a putative White Russian (anti-communist) army, under the leadership of the defeated Baron Ungern von Sternberg, who aspired to restore the monarchy in Russia, came to 'liberate' Mongolia by expelling the Chinese *Gamin* army, which fled northwards. Ungern occupied Bogdiin Khüree in February 1921 and forced the Bogd khaan to move to Manzshir monastery⁷⁰ (46 km to the South of Ulaanbaatar in Töv aimag). According to Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 57., Mongolian text p. 739.), Ungern's troops occupied Urga and killed several Chinese both *Gamin* soldiers or merchants. Jambal also recounts how, on the 15th day of the lunar new year in 1921, Ungern went to Manzshir monastery with lamas and nobles and brought the Bogd khaan back to Urga. A *Danshig* ceremony for longevity (or *Bat orshil örgökh*, T. *brtan-bzhugs*, 'strengthening of the feet') was performed the next day in the main assembly hall to honour the Bogd khaan who once again took his place on the throne. In fact, Ungern ruled Mongolia under the blessing of the Bogd khaan for a short period. However, Ungern's activity began to be very aggressive as he executed not only the Chinese, but also many

⁶⁹ Soninbayar, Sh. – Punsaldulam, B., *Mongoliin tusgaar togtmol oyuun sanaanii ikh udirdagch VIII Bogd Jewziindamba khutagt*. Ulaanbaatar 2009

⁷⁰ South of Khüree, in the forehead of (Bogd) Khan uul Mountain a monastic site was situated, founded originally as a retreat place by *Donkhor khuwilgaan* (T. *stong-'khor sprul-sku*), the tutor of the 2nd Bogd. It was enlarged later, and was called as *Manzshir* monastery.

Jewish and Russian people, such as the dean of the Orthodox temple. The brutality of these White Russian forces pushed the emerging Mongol revolutionaries to make a personal visit to Lenin and ask for help in ridding the country of these troops. They are said to have visited Lenin personally. The new Russian government agreed and sent its Red army, already advancing in Siberia, to defeat the Ungern troops. The Red army and Mongol army recaptured the *khüree* in July 1921, chasing out Ungern. After this revolution, on 11 July, the People's Government of Mongolia was declared. A new government sympathizing with the Communists was formed by members of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party led by D. Bodoо (1885-1922), S. Danzan (1885-1924) and D. Sükhbaatar (1893-1923). The Bogd khaan remained the titular leader of the country but without any power or rights.⁷¹

Thousands of Russian troops poured into Mongolia from Russia, which resulted in the white Russian forces being finally defeated in 1922. Mongolian independence and the People's Republic were declared in 1924, and the Bogd khaan passed away in the same year.

All in all, the reign of the Bogd khaan was a flourishing period in Mongolian religious history. Numerous monasteries were founded in the countryside and many temples were built in Bogdiin Khüree, such as the Green Palace, *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan*, and *Migjid Janraisegiin datsan*. The Bogd khaan issued several commands to preserve the pure life of the lamas, and to keep discipline pure. He forbade lamas to visit lay districts in "provocative robes" (presumably it means to wear robes different from lama robes), to flirt with women, to do business or act as merchants, to gambling, and to fight. During his reign the treasury of the Bogd, the city, and the treasuries of certain clericals, and the financial units of temples became much richer than ever before due to donations and loans.

⁷¹ An interesting books about the Bogd khaan was written by S. Badarchi and N. Dugarsüren (Badarchi, O. S., Dugarsüren, Sh. N., *Bogd khaanii amidraliin on daraalliin towchoon*. Ulaanbaatar 2000)

The Gradual Suppression of the Church and the Purges (1921-1940)

Besides the great classical books which analyze the stormy events of the 20th century of Mongolia (Rupen, Bawden, Moses), recently, Mongol researchers have started to publish books about this period,⁷² called *khelmegdüüleltiin үйе* ('the era of political persecution'). Meanwhile, data are also available on the internet.⁷³

Analyzing the various sources we can conclude that after the revolution of 1921, which brought the communists to power, though more specifically, after the death of the 8th Bogd, the government, the administration of the city and the whole country were totally reformed. After the revolution, a small group of revolutionaries governed the country without broadbased support among the people. Nor did they, at this time, have any plans to annihilate the Buddhist faith: for a while peace was maintained between the monastics and the government. In 1921 one-third of the male population belonged to the approximately 1,000 monasteries; that was more than 100 thousand men who were lamas (including young boys as novices). This could not be changed at once.

In 1924, when the 8th Bogd, the Bogd khaan died, the communist government prevented a successor from being found. A prophecy forecasting that the Bogds would be reborn in Mongolia only eight times gave an apparent justification to the Party's decision to forbid the search for the 9th incarnation.

On 26 November 1924, the Mongolian People's Republic was declared. The Mongolian People's Party was renamed as the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (*Mongol Ardiin Khuw'sgalt Nam*). The newly formed Republic had close connections to the Soviet Union, but Mongolian socialism remained independent of Moscow until Stalin came to power in 1928. Afterwards, the political path of Mongolia, as in all other states within the Soviet Block, was determined by the Stalinist principles as well as ComIntern and its Mongolian representative, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Kh. Choibalsan came to power in 1928. Following Stalin's order, forced collectivisation began, i.e. the seizure and redistribution of land and herds. It was at this time that religion and the religious community began to be oppressed as the representatives of the "perverted view" were pursued. Under the ComIntern pressure, it was determined that the total extermination of Buddhism was to be undertaken in Mongolia. It began with political and economic sanctions introduced during 1924-1937 and ended with the total confiscation of all monastic property.

From the early 1920s onwards the authority and power of high-ranking lamas and nobles was restricted and they had to pay taxes. Collections were made from their treasuries and the financial units of monasteries. The Party started to force the lamas to become laymen and tried to hold back a new generation arising. An age limit of becoming a lama was set to more than 18 years of age and young novices were sent to state schools instead of monasteries. According to the documents kept in the National Archives of Mongolia, during the 1930s information was recorded on the names and number of monasteries and temples in the countryside with a careful population census being conducted with an emphasis on lamas and their ranks. Lamas in the capital city were also enlisted mainly into military registers according to their names, age, home area, previous ranks, positions and activities, their incomes and literacy. High taxes were levied especially to lamas. The lamas over the age of 18 were sent to the army or had to pay twice as much tax as others as a way of forcing them to

⁷² Sandag, Shagdariin - Kendall H. H., *Poisoned arrows- the Stalin-Choibalsan Mongolian massacres, 1921-1941*. Westview, Boulder, Col. 2000; Soni, S. K., Dashpürew, D., *Reign of terror in Mongolia, 1920-1990*. South Asian Publishers, New Delhi 1995;. The book of Ölziibaatar is based on extensive archive research (Ölziibaatar, D., *Yaagaad 1937 on?* Ulaanbaatar 2004); and the book of Rinchin was published by the State Committee of Political Rehabilitation (Rinchin, M., *Uls töriin khelmegdüülelt ba tsagaatgal*, Tsagaatgakh ajiliig udirдан zokhion baiguulakh Ulsiin komiss, Ulaanbaatar 2000).

⁷³ Here, only a short overview is given compiled by using different sources.

leave their monasteries. According to the Party Archives' documents the religious activities, festivals, ceremonies and rituals, and all the requests of individuals for Buddhist texts to be recited in temples became supervised and gradually repressed. However, these measures of the Party could not divert people from joining to monasteries and from supporting lamas.

After 1929 the first wave of repressions started, with more than 700 people, mostly lamas imprisoned or executed, their property seized and collectivized. Many monasteries were forced to close. However, the government was forced to back off for a time because of the rebellions that broke out in different parts of the country. According to Ölziibaatar, the first revolts against the monastic repression were in 1924-25 in *Bayantiimen*, *Namnangiin khüree* (2004, p. 288.). In the following years there were uprisings in the biggest monastic cities such as *Zaya gegeenii khüree*, *Tögsbuyantiin khiid*, *Ulaangomiin khüree*, *Lamiin gegeenii khüree*, etc. (2004, p. 291.). By the year of 1932 disapproval of party policy against the monastics spread all over the country. But the revolts were cruelly suppressed.

Measures against the monasteries and clerics continued to be taken: new novices were not allowed to join monasteries; young lamas were made to join the army instead; it was forbidden to build new monasteries.

However, according to Bawden (1989, p. 352., p. 358.), 'The New Turn Policy' was introduced in 1932, and, for a while, people were once again free to practice religion. The emptying out and destruction of temples were stopped along with the collectivization of livestock. Bawden states that over 300 monasteries and temples were re-activated between 1932 and 1936 and the number of lamas increased again. However, this policy turned out to be only a short break in a long-term plan.

Soon after this period the government began a merciless campaign against religion with the arrest of high-ranking lamas starting again in 1935, and leading to the bloody purges in 1937. The former Prime Minister P. Genden (1895-1937) was executed in Moscow by the KGB in 1937 for refusing Stalin's orders to carry out the purges. Soon after Genden's death, Choibalsan consolidated his power launching a reign of terror against the monasteries in which thousands of lamas were arrested and executed.

The mass executions started after a decision was made by the Revolutionary Party's Central Commission at Party's 7th congress, which was issued on the 27th of December, 1937. In pursuance of the classless and non-religious ideals of the communist authorities, more than 30,000 people were killed. Throughout the country all the 1100 monastic sites were closed and almost all them being completely destroyed between in 1937-1938.⁷⁴ In 1937 and 1938 approximately 17,000 lamas were arrested and executed. Several show trials of high ranking lamas were held with the charge of 'counter-revolutionary activities' being levelled against them. However, many of the victims were arrested and shot without a trial. All high ranking lamas, such as heads of monasteries, saints (*khutagt*) and reincarnations (*khuwilgaan*) and those having theological degrees were executed. The medium-ranked lamas were jailed for 10 to 15 years or forced to go to labour camps in Siberia or to the army whilst the lowest ranked lamas, mainly young novices, were forced to disrobe. Many of the informants together with others who joined the army had to fight against Japanese near Khalkhiin gol (1939). Communal handicraft co-operatives (*artel*) were established where ex-lamas were ordered to do "beneficial work for the society". Others worked in agricultural co-operatives (*negdel*) in the countryside. During the period between 1924 and 1938 many other lamas left their monasteries and escaped to the countryside to survive the terror, where they became livestock herdsman, workers and drivers. In this way, all the lamas who escaped execution or imprisonment became ordinary residents. The monasteries were closed, emptied of their inhabitants and destroyed or burned to the ground. Countless holy books and manuscripts

⁷⁴ A few monasteries were closed or destroyed in 1932. It is said that some monasteries were pulled down only in 1945.

were burnt and numerous artefacts and objects of worship were destroyed. The most valuable items such as the golden, silver, copper and bronze statues, and precious stones were taken to the Soviet Union with the statues made from less precious materials often being melted down to be re-cast as bullets.

This aggressive campaign against religion and lamas was part of the Communist authorities' broader campaign to eliminate 'counter-revolutionaries', which was aimed not only at lamas but also at intellectuals (politicians, writers, thinkers, scientists, teachers) and others, hundreds of whom lost their lives.

According to Pürew (1994, p. 38.), and the outcomes of the present study, there were about 100 temples and assemblies in the present Ulaanbaatar area. Most of them were demolished and new buildings were built from their materials. The few remaining temple buildings were nationalized and used for different purposes, such as a prison, hospital, warehouse, circus or museum. The smaller temples on the outskirts of the city were not destroyed as such but were neglected with little remaining of them.

Following the purges, monastic life effectively came to an end in the city, which was developed and reformed as the present day Ulaanbaatar was created. As Bawden says (1989, p. 367.), 'Practically nothing survives in Ulaanbaatar to suggest that it lies on the site of the old Uрга, the centre of Mongol Lamaism and once a rival in artistic splendour to Lhasa'.⁷⁵

The war with Japan in 1939 and the beginning of the Second World War put an end to the mass purges of the 1930s. However, the revolution and the purges resulted in everything being destroyed and cleared away, such as religion, the old economy based on monasteries, state institutions, and habits of people. The country was completely reorganized by the Soviets. In Ulaanbaatar new city planning was introduced, with Soviet-type buildings. Soviet schools opened, and the Soviet ideology was introduced to displace Buddhism. Simultaneously Cyrillic script was introduced which served as a foundation in state schools of education. Medical centres were opened, religious representatives (*shashnii tölөөлөгч*) were appointed with the response to report to the Party and to participate in religious conferences to Moscow. According to the informants Soviets together with Mongolians destroyed the monasteries and did the purges. Supposedly, the archives of not only Ulaanbaatar, but also Moscow contain commands for the purges as well as photos of old monasteries and temples.

⁷⁵ It took a long time for peace to come to Mongolia: Choibalsan died in 1952 and was replaced by Tsedenbal, both of whom kept a tight and repressive grip on the country. It was only after Stalin's death in 1953 that, by the mid 1960s, Mongolia had relative peace. However, all religious worship and ceremonies remained prohibited until 1990, when the democratic change came at last.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS AND RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE KHÜREE

Due to the presence of the Bogd, the large number of temples and the vivid religious and commercial life Bogdiin Khüree was one of the most attractive monastic sites in Mongolia. The city was well-known for its ten *datsans* and 30 *aimags*. Famous incarnated lamas and nobles of the four aimags and the *Ikh shaw*’ areas had private residences in the city which was a busy commercial centre with experienced Chinese and Russian merchants and Mongolian retailers. Lots of pilgrims visited the city to seek for audience or only to catch sight of the Bogd, to worship the huge statues of *Janraiseg* (T. *spyān-ras-gzigs*, Skr. Avalokiteśvara) and *Maidar* (T. *byams-pa*, Skr. Maitreya) and to circumambulate on the pilgrimage route. Many people came just to visit their lama relatives and to give donations to the temple he belonged to. It was usual that a young novice becoming lama in the countryside followed his older brother or other lama relative to the city. These children were usually poor and became pupils of adult lamas, receiving some meal in return for running the kitchen and the household. Copying Tibetan books by hand was also a way to earn some money.⁷⁶ Poor adults and families also came to the city in the hope of a better standard of living. They tried to make a living from working or begging. Although not every lama had high moral standards several lamas lived exemplary lives. Besides keeping the moral regulations monastic education had great importance. The most educated lamas could bear religious ranks or fulfil administrative positions. This chapter makes an attempt to describe the religious organizations and life of the period of the 8th Bogd.

High Ranking Lamas

The Bogds possessed supreme rights in religious and administrative questions of the monastic city (under the supervision of the Manchu amban). Tibetan tutors were nominated to educate and support them in Mongolia, such as the *khachin lam* (or *gachin lam*, T. *mkhan chen*, ‘great abbot’) who was always appointed by the Panchen Lama, and the *yonzon lam* (T. *yongs-dzin*, tutor, spiritual teacher) who was appointed by the Dalai Lama.

The hierarchy of the lamas is described by Sereeter (1999, p. 55.) and Dariimaa (2003, p. 18.). The seven highest-ranking lamas in the *khüree*, namely the head abbot (*khamba nomon khan*), the vice abbot (*ded khamba*) and the five *tsorj* (T. *chos-rje*, Skr. dharmasvamin, ‘lord of religion’) were appointed by the Bogd himself. The communal name for them was ‘the seven *tsorj* of Ikh Khüree’ or ‘the seven *tsorj* of the Bogd’ (*Ikh Khüreenii doloos tsorj* or *Bogdiin doloos tsorj*). They all had to be fully-ordained lamas (monks, *gelen*, T. *dge-slong*) with *agramba* degree, the highest level tantric exam (Dariimaa, 2003, p. 18.). They had special seats in the main assembly hall where they gathered for ceremonies.⁷⁷ Due to their important roles in religious affairs, the last holders of these ranks were all arrested and executed in 1937.

Among them the head abbot was the highest religious office holder, being the most significant cleric person apart from the Bogd. As Sereeter mentions (2004, pp. 96-108.) the 1st *khamba nomon khan*, Luwsanjambaldanzan (T. blo-bzang jam-dpal bstan-dzin), *lowon* (T. *slob-dpon*, ‘master’) lama of the Tibetan Namgyal monastic school (*Namjira datsan*, T. *nam-rgyal grwa-tshang*) came to Mongolia by the invitation of Öndör gegeen and on the request of the 5th Dalai Lama (1617-1682). He arrived in the early 1650s and became the abbot (*shireet lam*, T. *khri-pa*, ‘throne-holder, head lama’) of the main assembly hall. He established the system of religious ceremonies, special rituals and rules of recitation while promoting a

⁷⁶ *Möngö* ‘silver, coin, money’.

⁷⁷ According to Soninbayar (1995, pp. 64-65.) beside the seven *tsorj* of the Bogd, the seven main privileged *khutagts* with seal (*tamgatai khutagt*) had the right to sit in distinguished places in any ceremony held in Ikh Khüree.

proper understanding of Buddha's teachings and the taking of higher monastic vows. Luwsankhaimchog lama (T. blo-bzang mkhas mchog), the 21st *khamba nomon khan*, was the last to fulfil this position from 1920 until his execution in 1937.

As the numbers of *datsans* and temples increased, a vice abbot or *ded khamba* (Sereeter, 2004, p. 109.) was appointed. Luwsankhaidaw lama was the first to hold this post in 1822. The last lama to hold this title until his execution in 1937 was Damdin(jaw), who was the 16th *ded khamba* (Sereeter, 2004, p. 112.).

The rank of *tsorj* has a long history but it has been mentioned in sources only since the 1790s. The *tsorj* lamas of the main assembly hall were always appointed from among highly educated lamas holding academic ranks. Their principal roles were performed in religious activities and the training of lamas. Sereeter lists (2004, pp. 113-121.) from the first recorded mention of the *tsorj*, 44 lamas who held this title with Tsogt-Zandan, Choinzon and Jantsan holding this position in 1937. Soninbayar, who lists the last seven *tsorj* of Bogdiin Khüree (1995, p. 73.) claims that the last five *tsorj* of Bogdiin Khüree besides *Yonzon khamba nomon khan* Luwsankhaimchog and *ded khamba* Damdin were Tsogt-Zandan *tsorj* of *Dandarlin aimag* (executed in 1937), Chogloi *tsorj* of *Jasiin aimag*, Jantsan *tsorj* of *Wangain aimag* (executed in 1937), Dugarjaw *tsorj* of *Namdollin aimag*, and Mangal *tsorj* of *Biziyaagiin aimag*.

Together with the seven *tsorj* the four disciplinary masters (*gesgüi*) and the four chanting masters (*umzad/unzad*, T. *dbu-mdzad*) of the main assembly hall ruled on every religious question in the capital. The disciplinary masters were responsible for the proper order of ceremonies and special events, disciplining lamas, handing out punishments as necessary as well as maintaining good relationships with devotees. During the ceremonies, the chanting masters had a significant role of leading the recitation of texts.

According to Pürewjaw (1961, pp. 27-29.) in the Manchu period the *khamba nomon khan*, the *ded khamba*, the five *tsorj*, the four disciplinary masters and the four chanting masters of the main assembly hall were appointed by the Manchu amban advised by the Bogd and the *erdene shanzodwa*.⁷⁸

Ranks and Other Duties in the Individual Temples

In Bogdiin Khüree lamas were divided into 30 *aimags*. All the countryside area (*khoshuus* and *otogs* of the four aimags and the *ikh shaw'*) had a *towkhan*⁷⁹ or an *ew* ('agreement, harmony') in one of the 30 *aimags*, so a lama coming from a given area had to live in the corresponding *aimag* in Bogdiin Khüree.⁸⁰ Lamas could study in one of the monastic schools or participate

⁷⁸ Moreover, other important duties were also fulfilled such as *tsogchin duganii daamal*, *tsogchin duganii darga*, *gürmiin unzad* (p. 29.) and many other attendants supported the everyday life of the Bogd (see details in Pozdneev's chapter on the monastic hierarchy, *19th Century*, pp. 221-234.). Pozdneev claims (1971, p. 56.) that Öndör gegeen when establishing the lama hierarchy told to the disciplinary master that he will have power in the temple among the lamas, except of those sitting in the Northeast part of the temple, namely the *jewtsündamba khutagt*, the *khamba* and the *tsorj*. Therefore, in the hierarchy he occupies the fourth place. Two chanting masters, bearing the title of *erdene chandmaan'*, and the senior drummer, bearing the title Tookhain khuw' khengeregch were first nominated by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar (1971, p. 56.)

⁷⁹ Exact meaning is unknown. According to Sereeter (1999, p. 13.) *towkhan* means 'baishin olokh', i.e. acquiring a house, T. *thob khang* (?). Sereeter claims that it was not a real house, but a right to join to an assembly hall.

⁸⁰ For example the following *khoshuus* had *towkhan* in *Namdollin aimag*: Achit wangiin khoshuu (Zasagt khan aimag); Dalainchoinkhor wangiin khoshuu (Sain noyon khan aimag); TüsHEET wangiin khoshuu (TüsHEET khan aimag); Bishrelt wangiin khoshuu, and Baatar beiliin khoshuu (Setsen khan aimag). The following *ew* belonged to the *aimag*: Darkhan wangiin khoshuu, Ilden wangiin khoshuu, Erkhemseg beisiin khoshuu, Üzen wangiin khoshuu, Khurts wangiin khoshuu, Erkh güngiin khoshuu, Mergen güngiin khoshuu, and Daichin beiliin khoshuu (Setsen khan aimag). Furthermore, from the areas which were subordinated directly to the Bogd (*ikh shaw'*) Nomch nomon khaniin otog, and *Örshööliig soyogech khiid* (*Ninjdolbiin khüree*) also had *towkhans* in this *aimag*. (Sereeter, 1999, p. 45.)

in ceremonies of their own *aimag* temples respectively. Every *aimag* temple and *datsan* had its own ‘director and staff’ or ‘management’ (*shashnii zakhirgaa*, ‘religious administration’). Usually the following ranked lamas belonged to the ‘directors and staff’ of the temple: head (*tergüün lam*) or chief lama (*ikh lam*), vice lama (*baga lam*), disciplinary master, chanting master, shrinekeeper (*duganch*, T. ‘*du-khang-pa*’), offering preparer (*takhilch*, or offering cake preparer: *balinch*), stoker (*galch*), cook (*zam togooch*, T. *ja-ma*), water porter (*usch*), and guard (*manaach*). Usually the *ikh lam* or the *lowon* was the head in the *aimags* and temples, whilst in *datsans* it was the *shunlaiw* (T. *gzhung lugs-pa*) who fulfilled this position who was always a learnt lama. The number of disciplinary masters, chanting masters, and the staff depended on the size of the temple. One, two or four disciplinary masters, the same number of chanting masters, a chief officer (*zaisan*), or a manager (*daamal*), some bursars (*jaskhüü, nyaraw*), and several shrine-keepers belonged to a temple. The chief lama and the vice lama could use ranks, as *lowon*, etc. The directors (*shashnii zakhirgaa*) were nominated by the *Ikh Tsogchin*. The discipline was the responsibility of the disciplinary master as separate courts did not exist. The authority of disciplinary masters was in many cases the same as the chief lama’s scope of authority. After taking the vows of new novices (*lobnar*, T. *slob*) which was supervised by the *tsorj*, children became *band*’ and had to participate in ceremonies in the main assembly hall. Later, the ‘directors’ of the *aimag* decided whether a *band*’ could become a pupil (*shaw*’) of an adult lama. Then, he learnt Tibetan script, prayers and their meaning till the age of 15-20 when the ‘directors’ of the *aimag* sent the proper ones to join a monastic school.

Lamas were settled and registered in their own *aimag* (*öörüin aimagt bürtgeltei lam nar*). An *aimag* consisted of groups of courtyards, each group containing ten courtyards respectively, subordinated to a lama leader. According to archival materials it was also called *dewsgger oruulakh*. *Dewsgerten lam* (‘lama with a rug to sit on’) and *engiin lam* (‘ordinary lama’) were distinguished in temples. Until 1911 this structure had operated without change. The lamas who resided in an *aimag*, and those who did not reside in *aimags*⁸¹ (*Tus aimgiin dewsgerten ba gaduur suudag lam nariin bürtgel*) were counted at the beginning of the 1900s, and mainly in the 1930s (*Tus aimgiin dewsgertei lam nariin ners too bürtgel*). Every *aimag* had its own rules and regulations (*deglem juram*, T. *sgrig-lam*) to be observed concerning permanent residence, the proper way of participation in ceremonies, studying in monastic schools, etc.

In every temple the offering master (*chombon, chowombo*, T. *mchod-dpon*) together with the offering assistants (*takhilch*), was responsible for the preparation and proper arrangement of the offerings. The chanting masters’ assistants were the chanters (*golch*), taking a leading part in the recitation. Disciplinary assistants (*geyeg*, T. *dge-g-yog*) helped with the activities of the disciplinary masters, while the shrine keepers (*duganch*) were responsible for keeping the temples clean and ensuring that the right belongings or accessories were ready when needed. Guards (*sakhiul*), tea-servers (*manzach*, T. *mang ja*) and water porters were appointed by the disciplinary masters.

⁸¹ Several lamas lived in the countryside or visited their home areas regularly.

Eminent Lamas

The monastic schools were the places in the city where lamas were trained in different fields of Buddhist studies. The philosophical monastic schools (*tsanid datsan* or *choir*, T. *mtshan-nyid grwa-tshang*, *chos-grwa*) trained thousands of lamas who studied the five principal fields of Buddhist philosophy, namely Pramāṇavārttika (*namdel*, T. *tshad-ma rnam-'grel*, commentary on valid cognition, logic), Prajñāpāramitā (*bilig baramid*, T. *shes-rab-kyi pharol-tu phyin-pa*, transcendent knowledge), Madhyamaka (*töw üzel*, T. *dbu-ma*, middle way), Abhidharma (*ilt nom*, T. *mngon-pa*, metaphysics) and Vinaya (*dulwaa*, T. *'dul-ba*, monastic discipline). The lamas studied in classes (*zindaa*, T. *'dzin-grwa*) where they could obtain different ranks according to the number of classes that they had finished successfully. The lamas who were trained in monastic schools practiced their knowledge in debating (*nom khayaltsakh*, T. *rtsod-lan*). Those who completed their studies of Pramāṇavārttika and Pāramitās could obtain the degree of *gewsh* (T. *dge-bshes*, 'virtuous friend', high academic degree) taking *domiin damjaa* exam (T. *sdom-pa'i dam-bca*, 'to take a vow'). Those who successfully completed their studies in all the five principal fields obtained the highest academic rank, the degree of *gawj* (T. *dka'-bcu*, 'ten hardships'). Talented lamas could also visit monasteries in Tibet (Kumbum, Labrang, Drepung, Tashilhunpo, etc.) where they could study for and obtain the rank *doorombo/dooramba* (T. *rdo-rams-pa*), *rawjamba* (T. *rab 'byams-pa*), and *lkhaaramba* (T. *lha-rams-pa*, the highest philosophical degree that could only be received in Lhasa, once a year during the Lunar New Year ceremony).

Three other monastic schools (medical, astrological and tantric) also operated in the city. However, due to the difficulty of their special subjects, and the requirement of preliminary philosophical education, only a couple of lamas were able to obtain degrees in these schools. *Maaramba* (T. *sman-rams-pa*) degree could be obtained in the medical monastic school, *zeerembe* (T. *rtsis-rims-pa*) in astrology, and *agramba* (T. *sngags-rams-pa*) in the tantric monastic schools which meant the highest examination, as it was equal to the doctor of Vajrayāna studies. However, there is contradictory information whether *maaramba* and *zeerembe* exams could be taken in the city. *Agramba* exams were surely held and to fulfil certain positions (for example *tsorj*) this qualification was required.

Eminent Tibetan polymath lamas of Mongolia emerged mainly from among the highly qualified lamas. As Tibetan was the sacred language in Mongolia, lamas were more familiar with it than Mongolian scripts, thus philosophical essays, and almost all the literature were compiled in Tibetan. Names of some of them are referred in some publications of Lokesh Chandra⁸² and R. Byamba.⁸³ As it is well-known the 1st, 4th and 8th Bogds wrote numerous volumes covering all religious topics. What follows here is a list about the eminent polymaths of Bogdiin Khüree, compiled originally in Tibetan by a Mongolian lama, Sh. Ishtawkhai,⁸⁴ who listed the 38 most prominent lamas of the city including the eight Bogds. On his list Agwaangalsanjaw *tsorj* living in *Makhamayaagiin aimag* in the 18th century, author of two volumes is the first. Several lamas became famous writers in the 18-19th centuries: Agwaankhaidaw, the *khamba nomon khan* of the *khüree*, author of five volumes; Agwaanbaldan *tsorj* living in *Namdollingiin aimag*, author of five volumes; Agwaandorj *tsorj*, also called as clerk lama (*bicheech lam*), author of 14 volumes; Agwaantüwden

⁸² Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia*, *Ye-shes thabs-mkhas, bla-ma dam-pa-rnams-kyi gsung-'bum-gyi dkar-chag gnyen 'brel dran gso'i me-long zhes-bya-ba*. Çata-Pipaka Series 16. New Delhi 1961; Lokesh Chandra (ed.), *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*, Part 2., Çata-Pipaka Series 29. New Delhi 1963

⁸³ For further details see Byambaa, R., *Mongolchuudiin töwd kheleer tuurwisan mongol khelend orchuulsan nom züin bürtgel*. Ulaanbaatar 2004, 2005, 2006

⁸⁴ Ishtawkhai, Sh., *Nom zokhiul tuurwisan mongol lam nariin bürtgel*. Ulaanbaatar 2006. pp. 49-64. It was translated from Tibetan to Mongolian by S. Dawaabayar. pp. 12-16.

rawjambaa, living in Wangain aimag, author of four volumes; Bragri *yonzon* Damsagdorj, tutor of the 5th and 6th Bogds, author of 22 volumes; Luwsanbaljirikhündew, the 3rd incarnation of Jalkhanz *khutagt*, author of one volume; Namjildanzan (or Luwsannamjil) or *Tsagaan chowombo*, *tsorj* of *Janchüwlin khiid*,⁸⁵ author of four volumes.

In the 19th century the most famous writers were Luwsanbaldan or *Orgiochiin lam*, author of five volumes; Jigmeddorj *tsorj*, author of one volume; Luwsanchoidan or *Ölgii lam*, author of one volume; Luwsandash, living in *Düinkhoriin aimag*, author of two volumes; Sodnomdash, living in *Bandidiin aimag*, author of one volume; Jigmeddambijaltsan, the 3rd incarnation of Chin süjigt, author of eight volumes; Luwsan or *Ölgiin lam*, author of three volumes; Sheja Agwaandondow, living in *Darkhan emchiin aimag*, author of one volume; Sum'yaa *lowon*, author of eight volumes, and Jigmid or *Mergen lam* of Borjiginii Janjin Baruun Choir, author of one volume.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries the most prolific writers were Shadiw Dandar, who was the tutor (*yonzon*) of the 13th Dalai Lama, and author of four volumes; Chagdorjaw *angi lam*, author of nine volumes; Luwsandamdin or *Zawa lam* Damdin, author of 12 volumes; Sodnomwanchüg *agramba*, author of one volume; Agwaanluwsandondow *tsorj*, author of seven volumes; Damdinsüren, the chief lama (*ikh lam*) of *Biziyaagiin aimag*, author of two volumes; Luwsanchoinzin *tsorj* or *Khuwilgaanii lam*, author of five volumes; Agwaanluwsan, the vice lama (*baga lam*) of *Biziyaagiin aimag*, author of one volume; Luwsantseren *gawj*, author of four volumes; Agwaanchoinjor, the 6th incarnation of *Darwa bandida*, author of one volume; Gotow *gawj*, author of two volumes; Tserendorj living in *Shüteenii aimag*, author of one volume; Tserendorj living in *Süngiin aimag*, author of two volumes; Gendensenge or *Noyon lam*, author of three volumes; Agwaanjinba, author of one volume; Öwgönkhüü astrologer (*zurkhaich*), author of two volumes; Jamts from Borjiginii Janjin Züün Choir, author of one volume.⁸⁶

Printing Activity

Printing activity was run in printing houses (*barkhan*, T. *par-khang*) by lamas who would use carved wooden blocks producing blockprints. In colophons of Tibetan texts the printing activity is indicated with different words such as *bskrun* ('multiply, print'), *par-du bsgrub* ('completed in printing') and *par-khang-du bzugs-su gsol-ba lags* ('ask to give it to the printing house'). For example, the collection of Tibetan manuscript and blockprints of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences contains a few texts written or/and printed in Bogdiin Khüree (e.g. volumes of Zawa lam Damdin, Agwaanbaldan *tsorj*, and Dandar *agramba* are available). Apart from the main printing house and its huge courtyard which was situated in Züün Khüree, some monastic schools also had small printing units: in *Dashchoimbel datsan* mainly philosophical works were printed (Hungarian Academy of Sciences: T. 339, 548/5, 566/7, 566/8) or written (T. 79, 114/1, 114/2, 114/3, 550/19, 560, 641) as well as in *Güngaachoilin datsan* (T. 212, 628/1), and in *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* (T. 223). Medical works were printed in *Mamba datsan* (T. 344). The writing of many texts in various monastic schools (e.g. *rgyud-pa grwa-tshang*) was encouraged by high-ranking lamas (T. *las-sne-rnams*) or pupils (T. *grwa-pa*), and also supported by the *khamba nomon khan* (T. 547/4) and the *erdene shanzodwa* (T. 625/4), and printed in the main printing house or one of the monastic schools in Bogdiin Khüree (T. 625/6).

⁸⁵ The exact location of *Janchüwlin* monastery is unknown.

⁸⁶ Thank to the efforts of these lamas of Bogdiin Khüree numerous Mongolian style manuscripts and blockprints enrich the Tibetan collections of the world. Besides, several eminent lamas lived in the countryside. Literature of Bogdiin Khüree written in Mongolian is negligible from religious aspect. Mongolian script was mainly used in administration.

Religious Arts and Crafts

Masterpieces of Mongolian art were created mostly in religious topics. A high artistic level can be observed in all aspects of Buddhist art, such as images, icons, painted scrolls (T. *thang-ka*), sculptures, appliqué, carvings, buildings, and decoration of offering cakes. Tsültem thoroughly surveyed the arts and crafts of Mongolian Buddhism and published his findings.⁸⁷

Mongolian architecture used Mongolian, Tibetan and Chinese styles. Among the yurts of the Mongol land, monasteries, temples and shrines were the only impressive buildings that were built mainly from local materials (wood, stone, and mud), though brick-stoving kilns (*baayuu*) were operated by the Chinese in many places. The wooden temples had carved and nicely painted pillars and beams, while temples made of brick had terracotta with various motives. In the Mongolian capital city, the temple complex of Choijin lama, the buildings of *Gandantegchenlin*, and the Green Palace show typical Chinese features, as well as some buildings of *Dambadarjaalin* monastery. The main assembly halls of *Dambadarjaalin* and *Dashchoinkhorlin*, and the temple of the *Yonzon khamba* were built in Tibetan style. *Janraiseg* temple was constructed in mixed Tibetan and Chinese style, while Maitreya temple was built in mixed Tibetan and Mongolian style with its white walls and yurt-shaped top. However, the appearances of some temples are considered as typically Mongolian: yurt-shaped temples (*Baruun örgöö* and the majority of the *aimag* temples), a special square-shaped form covered with canvas (e.g. *Tsogchin Bat-Tsagaan* main assembly hall, *Dashchoimbel datsan*, *Güngaachoinlin datsan*), and the square-shaped wooden *Manba datsan*, *Zurkhain datsan*, *Jüid datsan*, and some *aimag* temples (for example *Dashdandarlin* or *Toisamlin*). The roof and crossbeams of several temples were decorated with golden top ornaments (*ganjir*, Tibetan transliteration: *gan-ji-ra*, Skr. *gañjira*, top ornament). Chinese masters participated in the building of several brick constructions.

Mongolian sculpture was based on Öndör gegeen Zanabazar's art. His self-made sculptures show the characteristics of a deified human being, with particularly beautiful faces showing deep contemplation, great bliss and peace. Tsültem mentions (1989, Introduction part) that Öndör gegeen Zanabazar made a large number of cast gold deities in the 1680s such as that of *Ochirdar* (or Wachirwaan, T. *rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*, Skr. *Vajrapāñi*), the five dhyāni Buddhas, the 21 *Dar'ekh* (T. *sgrol-ma*, Skr. *Tārā*), and *Tsewegmed* (or *Tsegmed*, *Ayuush*, T. *tshe-dpag-med*, Skr. *Amitāyus*). Some other artifacts made by him, such as *Zuu* (T. *jo-bo*, the Lord, *Çākyamuni Buddha*), *Awid* (T. *'od-dpag-med*, Skr. *Amitābha*), *Namsrai* (T. *nam-(thos)-sras*, Skr. *Vaiçravaśa/Kuvera*), *Manla/Manal* (T. *sman-bla*, Skr. *Bhaiśajyaguru*, the Medicine Buddha), and *Baraishir* (or *Sosorbaram*, T. *so-sor 'brang-ma*, Skr. *Mahāpratisarā*) were kept in *aimag* temples of Bogdiin Khüree, while another *Ochirdar* is presently kept in Erdene zuu, and *Gombo* (T. *mgon-po*, Skr. *Mahākāla*) in Baruun Khüree. Zanabazar's masterpieces show the remarkable achievements of Mongolian casting and engraving arts of the 17-18th centuries. Further sculptures were cast in bronze, copper and brass. Moreover, clay or terracotta deities, which were stamped with the help of bronze and brass molds were also frequently used.

Apart from the huge statues, *loilons* (T. *blos bslangs*, 'relief maóðala for meditation') and *dültsons* (T. *rdul-tshon*, sand maóðala) had significant artistic value as well. Mongolian Buddhist painting is based on Tibetan iconography and iconometrics. According to Tsültem (1986, Introduction part) a lot of Tibetan textbooks were available in the monastic city to support the development of special techniques, for example the texts composed by Ishbaljir

⁸⁷ Tsültem, N., *Mongol zurag*. Ulaanbaatar 1986; Tsültem, N., *Mongolian Architecture*. Ulaanbaatar 1988; Tsültem, N., *Mongolian Sculpture*. Ulaanbaatar 1989

(1704-1788), Agwaankhaidaw (1779-1838), and Agwaantseren. Xylographic handbooks were also in use, such as the ‘Collection of the 300 Burkhans’, and the ‘Collection of the 500 Burkhans’. Many of them were compiled by Agwaansharaw, Luwsanjamba, Luwsandash, Choinrow, Choinjür and other famous masters, and published in 1811 in the *khüree*. Several images of different deities are to be found in these collections. Tsültem claims that only in the lifetime of the 5th Bogd more than 140 paintings, and large-size icons were painted. Names of over thirty artists of the late 19th century are known, such as Baldangombo, Tserendorj, Shirbazar, and Gendendamba, who was a teacher of several artists living in the city. Among the painted scrolls many masterpieces were painted on red (*martan*, T. *dmar thang*) and black (*nagtan*, T. *nag thang*) silk.

Tsam masks and robes were also unique products of Mongolian Buddhist art. The masks are highly expressive due to their measures and decoration. They were made by local artists, sculptors, jewellers, tailors, appliqué-makers, and embroiderers under the supervision of experienced masters. *Tsam* dance was introduced in the *khüree* in 1811 since when it was held annually. Tsültem claims (1989, Introduction) that in the 19th century the masks and the robes used in the *khüree* were restored or renewed under the guidance of Puntsag Osor lama (T. phun-tshogs ‘od-zer). The papier-mache mask of *Jamsran* (T. *lcam-sring* or *Begz*, T. *beg-tse*, the *Ulaan sakhius*, the Red Protector), prepared by Tawkhaibor, is one of the most famous masks made from corals. The Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts exhibits several papier-mache (*tsaasan shuumal*) masks of the *khüree* made by Puntsag-Osor such as that of *Ochirwaan*’ (or *Wachirwaan*’, T. *phyag-na rdo-rje* / *phyag-rdor*, Skr. Vajrapāñi), *Jamsran*, *Namsrai*, *Choiijil* (or *Choiijoo*, T. *chos-rgyal*, Skr. Yama, the Lord of Death), etc, whilst the *Tsam* collection of the Temple Museum of Choijin Lama is widely known. Apart from the lamas, women as Tawkhaibor, Danjin Tsend, Baldangombo, Hasgombo, and others also worked on appliqués and *Tsam* robes, following the lamas’ instructions. *Tsam* dance has typical Mongolian characters (e.g. *Tsagaan Öwgön*, the lords of the surrounding mountains), music, masks, and very special movements laying more emphasis on hand gestures with lower and more dignified movements. This is evidence that the art of dance also existed in the monastic city.

Blocks and blockprints, written in Tibetan had unique decorations in several cases. Today, many of them are exhibited in the National Library of Mongolia. Books, and covers were produced with the usage of the nine kinds of precious jewels, or smiths carved them from gold or silver. Sometimes they were decorated with embroidery. The Tibetan language was widespread as the sacred language of Mongolian Buddhism, and other scripts (*soyombo*, *khewtel dörwöljin*, etc.) were used for decoration.

Paintings of the “Urga School” were famous at the beginning of the 20th century. Jügder’s painting clearly shows the features of how Mongolians illustrated a monastery. Marzan Sharaw (1869-1939)⁸⁸ painted the portrait of Luwsandondow *tsorj* (nominated in 1907) and Baldan *khachin* lama, and the pictures of the Bogd’s winter palace (R-911) and that of the *Khaistai Lawran* (R-921). Other painters (e.g. Balgan, Jügder) also dwelled in the *aimags* of the city.

The religious music of Bogdiin Khüree originated in Tibet. All the ceremonies have their own melodies (T. *dbyangs*), rhythms, and types of musical instruments.⁸⁹ It is said that the texts and the music of the daily chanting were introduced by Öndör gegegen Zanabazar and the lamas who accompanied him from Tibet. Moreover, special Mongolian features can be observed in the performance of monthly and annual rituals. For instance, during the consecration ritual (*adisлага*, T. *byin-rlabs*) cymbals are played 108 times, and during *Sakhius* ceremonies held in honour of the wrathful deities before the Lunar New Year (e.g. *Khuuchin*

⁸⁸ Marzan Sharaw was a disciple of Gendendamba *agramba* in the 1920s.

⁸⁹ Oyuunbat, R., *Khüree duu khögjiin üüsel, khögjil*. Ulaanbaatar 2005

nom, ‘old books’) texts of given deities are recited with the “old melody” (*khuuchin yan*) introduced by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar, whilst other texts are recited with the “new melody” (*shine yan*), which was introduced at the time of the 5th Bogd. The usage of these melodies depend on the deity of which the given ceremony celebrated.

At present, the preserved magnificent painted scrolls, silk appliqués, and sculptures are exhibited in the Palace Museum of the Bogd Khan, the Temple Museum of Choijin Lama, the Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts, or are kept in Gandan monastery. Some artifacts gained from Tibet, China, and India can be seen as well. The main workshops of these artifacts were at Kumbum and Doloon nuur (‘Seven Lakes’ in Inner-Mongolia), and mainly Chinese and Tibetans sold objects of worship in the city.

Lamas’ Morals

The morality of Tibetan Buddhism requires proper behaviour, keeping the monastic rules, regulations and restrictions prescribed by the Vinaya. The Vinaya Sūtra compiled by Gunaprabhā is part of the Kanjur and is studied in all philosophical schools. Although the morality of the two monastic districts (Züün Khüree and Gandan) of the *khüree* should have been kept pure as lamas with improper behaviour were chased from there, it seems that keeping the rules was a great challenge for the majority of lamas. Although the National Archives contains several documents about regulations, according to Pürewjaw (1961, p. 26.), the rules of the majority of the temples were not recorded till 1925, when the rules were officially confirmed and written down. Before 1925 prophesies or commands (*lünden*) were issued by the Bogds, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, the main abbot of Ikh Khüree, or by the Manchu governor (until 1911). Mainly the Bogd made efforts to preserve the morality of the lama community: several commands were issued to forbid lamas to play *shagai* (‘knucklebone’) games and domino (*daaluu*), cards (*khözör*), chess (*shatar*), “football” (*teweg öshiglökh*) or other gambling games (*möriitei togloom*), to drink alcohol, to smoke, to go and spend time in the countryside without permission, to fight, to form groups and brawl, to curse and swear (*kharaal khelekh*), to have intercourse with women, to wander, play or flirt in the lay quarters. The model of lama robes (*khuwtsasnii zagwar*) was also determined, and women were forbidden to wear red or yellow robes (as they are the colours of lamas’ robes), and to enter the monastic districts. They were allowed to enter Züün Khüree only on special ceremonial occasions or only to worship (*mörgöl*). However, these problems arose repeatedly as it is evident from the quantity of the commands.

As the archives material shows and Pürewjaw claims (1961, p. 153.) it was usual that Mongols had fights with Chinese and Manchus. For instance, in 1877 on the occasion of the *Tsam* dance 3-400 lamas participated in a fight. The Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs issued documents to protect Chinese merchants and officers.⁹⁰ There were several kinds of punishment, such as warning, 100 bowings, exclusion, beating with the disciplinary master’s stick (*beree*), etc. According to Dashtseren lama and Pürewjaw (1961, p. 127.) one could leave the *khüree* only with permission. If somebody had left without permission he was expelled from the monastic quarters. However, lamas of the monastic districts frequently visited the lay quarters where they could not be controlled.⁹¹

⁹⁰ According to Pürewjaw (1961, p. 157.) in 1907 a cart with two lamas of Gandan was going on the road when a cart with a Chinese came. Neither of them had allowed the other to go, thus fight started.

⁹¹ Pürewjaw claims (1961, p. 127.) that the 8th Bogd issued a command in 1909 saying that if somebody visited the lay quarters at night, he was punished with wearing stocks in his neck (*döngöl*) for a month, and being whipped 100 times (*zuu torlokh*). If a lama had had ponytails and disrobed, he had to wear stocks for 45 days and was whipped 100 times. If somebody had played cards, he had to wear stocks for 40 days and was whipped 100 times. It was strictly forbidden to insult Russians. If somebody had done it, he had to get the same punishment as if he had visited the lay quarters. Pürewjaw claims that in 1818 (?) the following punishments were introduced: if a lama had escaped and did not come back, first time he was sentenced for 60, second time for 80, and third time

The high-ranking lamas used to wear the best quality silks and twill. Referring to Gombodoo Pürewjaw claims (1961, p. 121.), that after obtaining the *gawj* degree he had a better standard of living. Although several *gawj* had become rich it did not mean that every *gawj* was rich. Their majority lived in a simple small yurt from the daily tea (*manz, tsaw, T. mang ja tsha-ba*) which was received in the monastery. Pürewjaw claims (p. 138.) that in the turn of the 18th and 19th century some high-ranking lamas as saints and reincarnations were very promiscuous and wealthy. Other lamas condemned it, for example the famous abbot of the *khüree*, Jadariin Agwaankhaidaw (1779-1839), who wrote numerous texts about and against it. Following his views (p. 140.) in 1860 Dandar *agramba*, Sonomdash, Artsed, Shijee *gawj* wrote comments to Agwaankhaidaw's texts. This view was spreading in several countryside places as well, for example in the monasteries of Danzanrawjaa. The 8th Bogd's (p. 144.) lifestyle was also criticized by several educated lamas such as Borjignii Jamts, Shagdar, Gonchigrawjaa, Mishig, Samdan, Ishdagwa, Jamiyaan, Ishbaldan, Minjüür, Badamgaraw, and other *gawj* lamas. It was usual that lamas of the city went to audience to worship the Bogd annually. The *gawj* and *agramba* who protested did not participate in this visit. Several high-ranking lamas had great power and abused their position.⁹² Several bursars became rich.⁹³ Erdenepel (Pürewjaw, 1961, pp. 52-53.) mentions several stories on poisoning and miracles.⁹⁴

Though Bogdiin Khüree was a monastic city, one has to be aware of the fact that it did not mean that each lama kept an extremely pure and high morality showing exemplary conduct. The Bogds made efforts to maintain the morals in the city, thus those lamas who ignored the regulations were chased out of the two monastic districts. However, it was usual that lamas visited the lay quarters for different purposes.⁹⁵ This became looser by the 1920s.

Religious Festivals

Religious feasts attracted numerous people from the countryside. One of the most colourful events was the Maitreya procession (*Maidar ergekh*), where the statue of the future Buddha, Maitreya processed on a huge cart around Züün Khüree. Another significant event was the

for 100 whippings (*tashuur janchikh*). The novices (p. 128.) had to honour their masters. They were not allowed to curse and swear their masters or even look askance at them. Wandering in such public places as the market, playing games, and having feasts as laymen did were prohibited. According to Pürewjaw (p. 130.) in 1922 every night four shrinekeepers sentinelled in each *aimag*, a shrinekeeper and a bookkeeper in *Khaistai lawran*, two shrinekeepers and three guards in the Yellow Palace and in Gandan. Due to poverty theft was not rare in the city. Horses were stolen many times (p. 133.). In 1907 a command was issued (p. 137.) by the *khamba nomon khan* and the *erdene shanzodwa* against theft and lying, drinking alcohol and flirting with women.

⁹² Referring to the interview with Erdenepel, Pürewjaw claims (1961, pp. 150-151.), that in 1908 the disciplinary master of *Sangai aimag*, called Tserendorj beat a lama to death. However, he was not to account for his deed and remained without any punishment. Many disciplinary masters were dubbed by nicknames as predatory (*makhchin*) Gungaatayaa, hungry wolf (*ölön chono*) Tsembe, mad yak-cattle (*galzuu khainag*) Badamgaraw, unloaded weapon (*tseneggüi buu*) Sanjid. A lama called Natsagdorj wrote a complaint in 1927 blaming *Idgaachoinzinlin*'s Nawaanchültem who had beaten him almost to death naked. In several cases disciplinary masters abused their authorities (Pürewjaw, 1961, p. 119.). Other high-ranking lamas as Zaya Pandida, and Kharaagiin Dar'ekh lam were accused of alcoholism.

⁹³ Referring to an interview with Gombodoo, Pürewjaw claims (1961, p. 113.) that about 4000 novices belonged to the capital city at the beginning of the 20th century among them rich and poor. In 1909 about 1027 high-ranking lamas were directly subordinated to the Bogd xaan of which 600 lamas were living in the city. Apart from them the Bogd had his own attendants, about 370 people (bearing *soiwon, donir*, and other ranks). Moreover, according to Pürewjaw (1961, pp. 117-118.) 25 *khutagts* were subordinated to the Bogd who received a yellow sedan chair, silver, and other titles. For example the Bogd awarded the chief lamas of the 30 *aimags* with reincarnation rank (*tsol*), while others were given the ranks of *jün wan*, or *wan*. The *Choijin lam*, Luwsankhaidaw had own properties.

⁹⁴ For example the *tsorj* of *Dandarlin aimag* performed a fierce fire offering in honour of Yamāntaka (*Yamandagiin dagwo jinsreg*, T. 'jigs-byed drag-po'i sbyin-sreg) to hinder the murder of 12 nobles.

⁹⁵ See D. Natsagdorj, *Zohioluud*. Ulaanbaatar 1961 (pp. 223-226. *Lambugain nulims*).

Tsam religious dance which was performed by about 100 lamas. They represented deities of the Buddhist Pantheon. The *Danshig* ceremony was held for the longevity of the Bogd. Other great annual ceremonies were also held such as the celebration of the Lunar New Year (*Tsagaan sar*, 'white month') with the Great Prayer festival (T. *smon-lam chen-mo*) as well as other feast days of Buddha. Taking exams (*damjaa barikh*, T. *dam-bca*) in the philosophical monastic schools were the greatest events in spiritual life, thus, the vast majority of lamas participated as spectators. Another important event of the year was the period of *Yar khailen* or *Khailen / Khailan* (T. *dbyar khas-len*) summer retreat lasting for 45 days from the 15th of the last summer month. It was also called as *Tümen gelengiin khailen* due to the high number of its participants having the vows of a *gelen* or *getsel* (T. *dge-tshul*, novice), who gathered from the city and even from the countryside. Although circumambulation of the volumes of the Kanjur (*Ganjuur ergekh*) was an important event in several countryside monasteries, from the archives materials it seems that these holy volumes were circumambulated once a year around the Chinese quarter, starting from *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935).

Studying the origins of the above-mentioned feasts one can state that almost all of them have Tibetan origins. As Tibetans and Mongols follow the lunar calendar the 8th, 15th and 30th days of the month had great importance in the ceremonial system. Dharmatāla claims (1977, English translation, p. 339.) that adopting the New Year Festival (T. *smon-lam chen-mo*) and the Maitreya procession (T. *byams-pa gdan-'dren*) was agreed in 1657. The Erdeniyin erike (Pozdneev, 1883, p. 7.) says that in 1657 *Danshig* was performed in honour of Öndör gegen Zanabazar, and the Great Prayer Festival was held, and the Maitreya circumambulation took place (M. *dangšuy ergüjü yeke irügel üleddüged Maidari burgan ergigülbei*) in Erdene zuu monastery.

Although *Tsam* was spreading in Mongolia in the first part of the 18th century, its special type, known as *Jakhar tsam* (*tömör ordon*, T. *lcags mkhar*, 'metal palace', the castle of *Choiजू*, the Lord of Death) or *Khüree Tsam* was firstly introduced to the *khüree* in 1811, in the time of the 4th Bogd. The preparation of its masks and robes were based on the instructions prescribed by the 5th Dalai Lama. According to Gangaa (2003, pp. 18-19.) it is said that in 1811 a lama called Öndör Khachin (T. *mkhan chen*) was invited from the Tibetan Tashilhunpo monastery to Mongolia, and he taught the tradition of *Jakhar tsam* to the local lamas, but he did not preach to them about the *Dansriin jamchiin garchim* (T. *bstan-bsrung rgya-mtsho'i gar-'cham*), the book in which the detailed secret teachings of the *Tsam* are described, or did not give them the handbook. Therefore, Agwaankhaidaw (T. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang mkhas-'grub, 1779-1838), who was the main abbot of the monastic camp at that time (also known as Khaidaw abbot of *Jadariin aimag*) wrote a book himself in 1836 based on the book entitled *Dansriin jamchiin garchim*. His book bears the same title (T. *bstan-bsrung rgya-mtsho'i gar-'chams gsal-byed dam-ldan snying-gi me-long*) and it is very similar to the source book. Although the dance started to be held annually, Gangaa claims (2003, p. 18.) that the 5th Bogd did not support its spreading, because in his opinion its tradition was not the original practice of Tsongkhapa. However, at the repeated request of nobles and high-ranking lamas finally he permitted the performance of the dance. As the *Tsam* dance had a strict preparation period and several meditative and tantric practices, originally it was a hidden monastic activity for a while, in which only those lamas participated who had taken the vows and had initiations. Later, the believers were also permitted to see the dance, and to give donations to the monastery. The tradition of *Khüree Tsam* was broken in 1937 by the Communist regime. Thus, the *Tsam* dance was performed 127 times in the city. According to Gangaa (2003, p. 19.) while *Ikh Tsam* ('Great *Tsam*') was held on the 9th of the last summer month with 108 dancers, *Jakhar tsam* was performed on the 29th of the last winter month with the participation of 21 lamas. Apart from it the same type of *Tsam* was performed in the nearby *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery (R-936), North of the city, whilst another type of *Tsam*

was performed in *Choijin lamiin süm* (R-915) for only some years. The preparations and the ceremonies proceeding of the *Tsam* dance are described in Gangaa's book in detail (2003, pp. 29-30.) She says that between the 1-10th of the last spring month 16 lamas held the so called *Towuumerzewegiin nyamba* meditation⁹⁶ in the nearby *Shaddiüwlin* retreat monastery (R-937), where they prepared the incense and holy water to purify the field of the dance, and where they meditated on the tutelary and protector deities. According to Gangaa, the preparation started on the 1st of the middle summer month, when the lamas gathered and started to learn tantric dhāranis, and to hold ceremonies to invite the Buddhas and protector deities of the *Tsam* dance. On the 15th of the middle summer month the five *daamals* (leaders, ranked lamas responsible for the dance) of the *Tsam* made decision on the participants. The list of the names was sent for revision to the *khamba nomon khan* and to the disciplinary masters of the main assembly hall. The final decision was confirmed by the Bogd khaan himself. From that time, the lamas had to participate in a preparatory course (*deg*, T. *sgrig*, 'preparation, arrangement') that was held twice a day, where they acquired the rules of the dance based on the sūtras. The dress rehearsal was held two days before the dance, without masks but in the special costumes. The ceremonies started some days before the *Tsam*'s day. After the announcement of the names of participants, a ceremony called *Damdin/Damjan Choijoo khural* (T. *Dam-can chos-rgyal cho-ga*) was held every day. The *tsorj* lama who was responsible for the procedure of *Tsam* dance, and the five *daamal* lamas held *Jigjdiin nyamba* (T. *jigs-byed bsnyen-pa*, 'meditation on Yamāntaka') which lasted for a week.

According to Gangaa, the ceremony called *Jakhariin adislaga* was held in *Baruun örgöö*. During this ceremony the *Sor*, the *Jakhar*, the offering cakes (*balin*, Skr. *bali*, T. *gtorma*), and the different offerings were consecrated by the power of the dhāranis. Three days before the *Tsam* performance the ceremonies called the 'three days of *Jakhar*' (*Jakhariin gurwan ödör*) started. During this period the protector deities were worshipped, invited, and various types of offerings were offered to them. The accessories and the weapons used for destroying the effigy were consecrated during the ceremony. The vice dance master (*ded chambon*, 'chams-dpon) performed the inner *Tsam*, and danced through the night of 8th and 9th till dawn.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ Exact meaning is unknown. T. *khro-bo ? bsnyen-pa ?*

⁹⁷ Nyambuu lists the characters appeared in the dance (Nyambuu, Kh. *Mongol khuwtsasnii tüükh. Tüükh, ugsatnii züin shinjilgee*. Ulaanbaatar 2002., pp. 142-144.).

Ceremonies held till and in 1937

Apart from the spectacular religious events described above, various other ceremonies (*khural*) were performed in Bogdiin khüree. These took place on fixed dates (*togtmol khural*), or occasionally to the requests of individuals or donators. Plenty of the fixed date ceremonies lasted for only some hours, while other ceremonies had longer durations up to 45 days.⁹⁸

The National Archives of Mongolia preserved a remarkable questionnaire (*khüsnegt*) that was completed in several temples of Ikh Khüree in 1937 performing the order of the Religious Authority (*Shashnii zakhirgaa*). Probably, some lamas who were familiar with the Mongolian writing (e.g. the *nyaraws*) were in charge of registering all the ceremonies together with the number of their participants. These sources are extremely significant as they show the religious activity and the number of lamas of given temples in the last year of their operations. Such documentation has been remained from 28 temples, but supposedly they had to be completed in other temples, too. The points of the questionnaires are the following:

- Title: Questionnaire to be filled in with the name and other data of fixed date ceremonies that were held annually in several monastic schools, monastic districts and temples that belonged under the supervision of the religious authorities of Gandan and Khüree (M. *G.angdang küriyen-deki šasin-i Ɂakiryan-u qariyatu baytaɁu Ɂakiruydaysan olan dačang ayimay keyid süm-e-üid-yin dooraburi-yin nigen Ɂil-dü toytamal qurday qural-ud-un neres Ɂerge-yi nigeɁü dutaydayulal ügei-ber ül Ɂokiqu asaɁulta-yin yosuyar todorqayilal büridgekü küsünüg-tü*)
- ordinal number of ceremonies (M. *des duyar*, like 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th)
- name of monastic school/aimag/monastery/temple (M. *yamar dačang aimay ba keyid süm-e bolqu-yin ner-e*)
- name of ceremony (M. *yamar ner-e-tei toytamal qural ungsily-a gürüm Ɂerge-üd bolqu-yin neres*)
- period of the ceremony with its starting date, duration, and end (M. *edeger qural-ud-yin Ɂil büri kedün sarayin kedün-eče ekilen kedün qonoɁ-un quɁuçaɁ-a-tai bolqu-yi delgerenggüi bičimüi*)
- number of required lamas (M. *edeger qural-ud-tu tusburi kečinen lama qurabasu Ɂokiqu*)
- number of actual participants (M. *(t)egün-dü quraysan lam-nar kečinen bolqu*)
- cancellation of any ceremony and its reason (M. *oɁtu quraɁu čidal-a ügei tasuraysan qural bui esekü bui ayul-a yamar siltayan učir-ača boluysan-i bičimüi*).

The 28 remained lists contain data about the following temples: Gandan's main assembly hall and its three relics temples (altogether 31 ceremonies), *Idgaachoizinlin datsan* (35 ceremonies), *Güngaachoilin datsan* (42), *Khailangiin jas* (3); Züün Khüree's Medical monastic school (17), and 22 *aimag* temples, namely *Jadariin aimag* (10), *Toisamlin aimag* (23), *Tsetsen toinii aimag* (23), *DAshdandarlin aimag* (16), *Jasiin aimag* (20), *Nomchiin aimag* (15), *Sangain aimag* (16), *Zoogoin aimag* (29), *Dugariin aimag* (14), *Mergen khambiin aimag* (12), *Biziyaagiin aimag* (11), *Khüükhen noyonii aimag* (10), *Darkhan emchiin aimag* (16), *Erkhem toinii aimag* (23), *Wangain aimag* (48), *Bargiin aimag* (7), *Namdollin aimag* (26), *Süngiin aimag* (25), *Lam nariin aimag* (17), *Mergen nomon khanii aimag* (15),

⁹⁸ Until now only a handful of sources have been published related to ceremonies. See Pozdneev's books about the end of the 19th century, Diwaasambuu's book about the revival of Gandan (Diwaasambuu, G., *Gandantegchenlin khiid dakhin sergesen tüükh*. Ulaanbaatar 2009), and Majer's dissertation (Majer, Zs.) about current rituals.

Örlüüdiin *aimag* (25), and finally, Dambadarjaa monastery's main assembly hall, three monastic schools (medical, philosophical, Kālacakra), and six *aimags* (altogether 90 ceremonies). It means that the questionnaires list about 622 ceremonies, together with their date (based on the lunar calendar), duration, and the number of required and actual participants.

The 28 questionnaires were completed in Mongolian script, which makes it difficult to determine the names of several ceremonies having Tibetan names. Therefore, plenty of them could not be identified in the present work (those marked with question marks in the present work). The number of lamas of the given temples can be determined by the numbers of required and actually participating lamas. For dates, durations, and participants' numbers Mongolian numbers are used in the texts. Cancellations of ceremonies are mentioned only in few cases (e.g. *Jasaa Sakhius* ceremony in *Namdollin aimag* was held by only one lama every day instead of the prescribed four, because several lamas became homeless, and the community started to break up, thus it was difficult to find lamas who could gather every day).⁹⁹

All the 28 texts will be cited when describing the relevant temples below in the chapter "City Structure, Parts of the City and their Monasteries and Temples."¹⁰⁰ What follows here is a general description of the most important ceremonies that are mentioned in these texts to give an overview of the religious life of Yellow Stream temples.

Daily Chanting

On a daily basis *Tsogchin* recitation was held not only in the main assembly hall of Züün Khüree, but in the main assembly halls of Gandan, and *Dambadarjaalin* monastery as well. Nowadays, *Tüi örgökh* (T. *khrus gsol*, 'ablution') and *Mandal örgökh* (T. *dkyil-'khor*) are parts of the *Tsogchin* ceremony. *Tüi* and *Mandal* were held in the main assembly halls as well as in *aimag* temples. For example the ceremony, called the Four maóðalas of *Dar' ekh* (*Dar' ekhiin mandalshiwaa*, T. *sgrol-ma'i maóðala bzhi-ba*) was daily performed in the main assembly hall of Gandan. In some monastic schools and *aimag* temples *Jasaa* service was held on a daily basis. (*Jasaa* means temporary service, family adoration, or regular activity.) Today, in the biggest monasteries *Jasaa* consists of four lamas who do the recitals requested by individuals every day. In several temples in Bogdiin Khüree *Jasaa Sakhius*, *Jasaa Tsedew* or other *Jasaa* ceremonies related to the cult in the given temple (e.g. *Jasaa Arwanii Sendom*, *Jasaa Düdwa*, *Jasaa Gongor Namsrai*, *Jasaa Pagam*, *Jasaa jasiin unshlaga*, *Jasaa Lkham Ayuush*, *Jasaa Namjom/Namjim yadamiin chogo*, *Jasaa Manaliin bumba*, etc.) were performed daily by a couple of lamas (two, four, eight, etc.). In *Güngaachoilin datsan* they were also called *Jasaa Döröwt* ('*Jasaa* held by 4' (lamas)), or *Jasaa Naimat* ('*Jasaa* held by eight' (lamas)). However, other *Jasaa* ceremonies, mainly in the philosophical monastic schools, required the presence of all the lamas who belonged to the temple, but they were not held everyday. These ceremonies were the following: *Jasaa Ganjuur*, *Jasaa Awidiin donchid*, *Jasaa Biziyaagiin donchid*, *Jasaa Doodbii*, *Jasaa Magtaal*, *Jasaa Sanjid*, *Jasaa Nünnai*, *Jasaa Manaliin chogo*, *Jasaa Manaliin donchid*, *Jasaa Naidan chogo*, *Jasaa Jasiin dallaga*, *Düinkhor*, *Jasaa Sariin khural*, *Jasaa Khoriiin khural*, *Jasaa Tümet sakhius*, and *Jasaa Arwan tawnii khural*. *San* (T. *bsangs*) incense offering, a purification ritual was performed every day in a few temples, sometimes together with *dallaga* practice (T. *g-yang-gugs*, ritual for summoning the forces of prosperity). Moreover, in certain temples there were everyday rituals

99 M. *oron sayuča ügei boluysan učir-ača ürgülbi sakiu kümün oldaqu ügei boluysan tula eyin kesegülin ekeleü ber quraü bui*

¹⁰⁰ The glossary does not contain the name of all the 622 ceremonies, as many of them are well-known, while others could not be identified during the research. It might be a topic of an article in the future.

such as *Namsrain san* (T. *rnam-sras bsangs*), *Maidariin san*, *Namdag san* (T. *rnam-dag bsangs*), sometimes together with sacrificial cake offerings (*dorbul*, T. *gtor-'bul*) and *demberel* (T. *rten-'brel*).

Commemorations

Commemorations were held annually. *Düitsen yerööl* (*düitsen*, T. *dus-chen*, 'great day, festival') or *Daichid/Daichod yerööl* (T. 'das mchod, 'death anniversary, commemoration') ceremonies took place in each temple. The two terms are used inconsistently in the text. Apart from the "great days" that commemorated the special events of the life of Çäkyamuni Buddha, the highest religious dignitaries (*shashniig barigch deedes*) such as Tsongkhapa, Öndör gegeen Zanabazar and his reincarnations, and other eminent masters were commemorated. These ceremonies consisted of praises and eulogies (*yerööl*, *magtaal*).

Today four ceremonies are held as "great days" of the Buddha (*Burkhan bagshiin ikh düitsen ödör*) called *Tüwiin chogo* (T. *thub-pa'i cho-ga*) or *Burkhan bagshiin chogo*. All of them bear individual names referring to their purposes. In Bogdiin Khüree the New Year started with a special ceremonial period called Great Prayer Festival (*Yerööl chenbo khural*, T. *smön-lam chen-mo*), *Tsagaan sariin doodbii/dudba(i)* (T. *bstod-pa*) or shortly *Yerööl* (T. *bstod-pa*). This festival was introduced in Lhasa traditionally by Tsongkhapa. During its fifteen days which is nowadays known as 'great festival days of Buddha's miracle showing' (T. *cho-'phrul chen-po'i dus-chen* or *Choinpürel jonaa*, T. *chos-'phrul bco-lnga*, the fifteen days of miracles) the lamas commemorate Buddha's victory over the six masters, holders of heretical doctrines (*tersüüd*, T. *log-par lta-ba*), by mysterious methods of showing miracles. During the fifteen days numerous texts, like the 32 eulogies (*kharanga magtaal* or *yerööl maan*) and the six prayers (*Zurgaas yerööl*, T. *smön-lam drug*) used to be recited in a very melodious way.¹⁰¹ In Bogdiin Khüree these ceremonies lasted for 15 days only in the *datsans*, in some *aimag* temples, and in the main assembly halls of Gandan, *Dambadarjaa*, and Züün Khüree. In *Dugariin aimag* special New Year ablution and consecration (*tüi rawnai örgökh*) were performed as the final events of the period, whilst in *Güngaachoilin datsan* a ceremony called *Tsagaan sariin Sakhius* was held on the 13th day of the New Year when the protector of the monastic school was worshipped.

Nowadays, another great festival day of the Buddha is on the 15th of the first summer month. It commemorates three events of his life on the same day: his birth; the day he reached enlightenment or became a Buddha; and the day when he passed away (T. *mngon-par byang-chub-pa'i dus-chen*). The third festival of the Buddha is held on the 4th of the last summer month. It commemorates the day when Buddha first preached the Dharma, often referred to as 'the festival of his first turning of the wheel of Dharma' (*Choinkhor (düitsen)*, T. *chos-'khor bskor-ba/ chos-'khor dus-chen*). Both of these ceremonies must have been held in the main assembly hall of Züün Khüree. Pozdneev mentions one of the *Choinkhor düitsens* (1971, pp. 54-55.) that was held on the 4th of the last summer month. In other temples of Bogdiin Khüree other types of ceremonies were held on exactly this day in accordance with the given temple's tradition. (E.g. in the medical monastic school a ceremony was held in honour of the Medicine Buddha).

The next festival on the 22nd of the last autumn month is called *Lkhawawiin düitsen (yerööl)* (T. *lha-las babs-pa'i dus-chen*, 'the festival of descending from the gods (realm)'). It is the day when Buddha descended from the God realms, where he had spent 90 days teaching and spending the *Khailen* (T. *khass-len*, 'oath-taking') retreat. In the monastic schools

101 Today these ceremonies are called as *Ikh yerööl* or *Oroin yerööl* ('great or evening prayers', T. *smön-lam*, *smön-lam chen-po*) or *Choinpürel molom yerööl* (T. *chos-'phrul smön-lam*, 'prayers of miracle showing') and are held in the biggest monasteries every afternoon from 2.00pm.

Lkhawawiin dom (T. *lha-las babs-pa'i ston-mo*) was held on exactly the same day, and this event was also commemorated in some *aimag* temples.

On the 25th of the first winter month the anniversary of Tsongkhapa's passing away called *Bogd lamiin düitsen yerööl*, *Bogd Zonkhowiin düitsen yerööl*, or *Zuliin düitsen* was held. Today it is called *Zonkhowiin düitsen*, *Bogd lamiin düitsen* or, as often referred to, *Zuliin 25*, 'the 25th day of butter lamps', reflecting the tradition of lighting countless butter lamps and burning incense sticks in honour of Tsongkhapa. In the list *Bogd lamiin donchid chagchid* ceremony (T. *stong-mchod phyag-mchod*, thousand-fold offering and worship) is mentioned which is known today as *Bogd lamiin chogo* ('ceremony in honour of Tsongkhapa') when during the day and in the evening butter lamps are lit outside and the *Migzem* (T. *dmigs-brtse-ma*), and the basic prayer to Tsongkhapa, is recited numerous times.

Concerning the local dignitaries, on the 14th of the first spring month is the great feast day of Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar (today known as *Öndör gegeenii ikh düitsen ödör*) when the ceremony called *Öndör bogdiin düitsen yerööl* or *Öndör gegeenii düitsen yerööl*, *Tsagaan sariin 14-nii yerööl*, or *Tsagaan sariin yerööl*, or simply *Yerööl* was held. The lamas prayed for him and commemorated his beneficial deeds, and his passing away.¹⁰² As for his further incarnations the great feast day commemorating the 2nd Bogd, called *2-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl* was performed on the 17th of the last winter month. The commemoration of the 3rd incarnation was held on the 21st of the last autumn month, whilst that of the 4th incarnation took place on the 16th of the middle winter month. The 5th Bogd was commemorated on the 3rd of the first winter month. The 6th incarnation's ceremony was held on the 20th of the first winter month, and the 7th incarnation was worshipped on the 12th of the middle winter month. It seems that all these ceremonies were held only in *Wangain aimag* and in *Lam nariin aimag*, whereas the commemoration of the 8th Bogd was held in several temples on the 17th of the first summer month. Today, only Öndör gegeen's prayers are recited on the 14th of the first spring month, the others' cults have not been revived.¹⁰³

Furthermore, some other dignitaries' commemorations were held in few temples, such as that of *Khachin lam* (T. *mkhan chen bla-ma*), which was held on the 7th of the middle winter month in *Süngiin aimag*. The ceremony honouring *Jalkhanz khutagt* (T. *rgyal-khang rtse*, one of the main incarnation lineages in Mongolia) was recited on the 9th of the middle summer month in *Wangain aimag*, and the ceremony in honour of *Yonzon khamba* was held on the 7th of the middle winter month in *Wangain aimag* and *Erkhem toinii aimag*.

Worship of Protectors

Ceremonies to worship the wrathful protectors were held more times a year. Each temple had an image or a sculpture representing its own tutelary deity (*yadam*, T. *yi-dam*), and protector (*sakhius*, T. *bstan bsrung*). Nowadays, on the 29th day of each month the protectors are worshipped in the framework of a ceremony, called *Sakhius* or *Khangal*. In Bogdiin Khüree various rituals were held for their worship such as the ceremony dedicated to all the ten wrathful protectors, called *Arwan khangal*. These ten protectors are namely *Gongor* (T. *mgon dkar*, Skr. Sitamahākāla, White Mahākāla), *Shalsh* (T. *zhal-bzhi*, four-faced Mahākāla),

¹⁰² Today, this ceremony is known as *Dawkhar yerööl*, 'double prayer' referring to the fact that apart from the usual prayers of the Lunar New Year's 15 prayers, on this day that of Öndör gegeen is also recited.

¹⁰³ In the present-day Gandan monastery on this day there is a ceremony called *Uuliin lamiin chogo*, when the ritual text for the 8th Bogd, written by Luwsan (T. *blo-bzang*, known as *Uuliin lam*, 'the lama from the mountain'), is recited. Luwsan meditated in a cave in Chingeltei Mountain where he is said to have obtained nirvāṇa. This event is shown by the phenomena, that his footprints in the rock are said to have disappeared suddenly indicating that he had entered nirvāṇa (and disappeared from this world). His text, dedicated to the worship of the Bogds, is a specialized version of the *Lamiin chodwa/chodow* text (T. *bla-ma'i mchod-pa*, 'offering to the Master').

Jamsran, *Namsrai*, *Lkham* (shortly for *Baldan lkham*, T. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*, Skr. Çrīdevī), *Tsamba* (T. *tshangs-pa*, Skr. Brahmā), *Gombo*, *Jigjid* (T. ‘*jigs-byed*, Skr. Bhairava, epithet of Yāmāntaka), *Choijal*, *Ochirwaan*. The ceremony is aimed to protect every sentient being and the whole lama community from any hindrance. Ceremonies were performed in honour of the nine protectors (9 *khantal*), the six protectors (6 *khantal*) or only one or two of them such as *Lkham* or *Gombo*, *Gongor* and *Namsrai*. On some of these occasions, mentioned as *Sakhius danragt* or *Khangaliin danragt* thanksgiving offering (*danrag*, T. *gtang-rag*) was offered to the deities, sometimes together with *dügjüü* offering (T. *drug-bcu*). Among them *Choijal dügjüü* or *Choiyoo dügjüü* was and still is the most famous one dedicated to *Choijal*, the Lord of Death. An important ceremony to worship the wrathful deities was *Danshig(iin) khantal* (T. *brtan-bzhugs*) held for 3-4 days in the middle winter month in several *aimags* of the city. Furthermore, *Dergediin khantal* (additional / assistant (?) protector) ceremony was held in a few *aimags*. *Tümed khantal* or *Tümed sakhius* was another type of ceremony performed for the protectors.¹⁰⁴ As it is clear from the archival material this ceremony was surely held in *Güngaachoilin datsan*. *Ikh sakhius* (‘Great Protector’) ceremony was held in almost every temple on different dates that related to their protectors and traditions.

Moreover, the protector deities have significant roles in the events of the last days of the Lunar New Year. Today, the farewell to the old year starts on the 26th of the last winter month with the consecration (*Adisлага*) of the new ritual offering cakes (*balin*, Skr. *bali*). During the ceremony cymbals are played 108 times, which is a feature introduced by Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar. This consecration was supposedly held in each main assembly hall and *aimag* temple, though there is not any reference to it. In present-day large monasteries three *Sakhius* ceremonies, called the ‘old ceremonies’ (*Khuuchin nom*, *Khuuchin nomiin khural*)¹⁰⁵ are held in the next three days of the old year (from 27th to 29th) to honour the wrathful deities and to ask them to clear every obstacle of the coming year. According to the lists *Khuuchin nom* ceremony was held on the 29th of the last winter month for one day in the monastic schools and *aimag* temples honouring the main wrathful protectors of the given temples. However, in *Bargiin aimag* this period lasted for seven days from the 23rd of the last winter month. In the main assembly hall of *Dambadarjaa* monastery (and most probably in the main assembly halls of *Züün Khüree* and *Gandan*) and in *Wangain aimag* (and probably in some other big *aimags*) this ceremony lasted for three days from the 27th of the last winter month. On the night of the 29th the ceremony called *Sor zalakh* (T. *zor ‘phen*), the burning of the *Sor* (T. *zor*, pyramid shaped wooden construction with a huge sacrificial cake), that aims to remove all bad effects and prevent natural disasters such as droughts, harsh winter cold, or contagious diseases and other negative phenomena, was performed which practice has been revived in the present-day *Gandan*, *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* and *Dambadarjaa* monasteries. The old year finished with the recitation of *Tsedor Lkham*’s text, which began on the Lunar New Year’s Eve and finished at dawn on the 1st day of the New Year. The lamas worshipped and requested *Lkham* to remove the obstacles of the New Year.¹⁰⁶ These ceremonies were

104 According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 34.) *Tümet* was a ceremony held from 24th -29th of the middle autumn month by all the *aimags* and monastic schools of the city when painted scrolls and *ganzais* of the 12 wrathful deities were presented in the main assembly hall.

105 These ceremonies differ from the other *Sakhius* ceremonies as their texts are recited in a slower and more melodious way (*ikh yan*, T. *dbyangs chen*) than usual.

106 On the Eve of the New Lunar Year (*Bitüün*), *Tsedor Lkham* (T. *tshes-gtor lha-mo*, *Jiliin dorom*), the yearly ceremonial cake offering to *Baldanlkham* is held until the morning of the New Year. According to the legend, *Lkham* arrives in Mongolia as she travels around the world that day riding on her mule. A special thanksgiving offering, called *Tsedor danrag* (T. *tshes-gtor gtang-rag*) is performed to her during the early hours. This part is recited with the ‘new melody’ (*shine yan*), which was introduced during the time of the 5th Bogd; while the previous parts of the ceremony are recited with the ‘old melody’ (*khuuchin yan*), which was introduced during

and are still held in every temple today.

As all the temples had their own protectors, apart from the ten wrathful protectors other deities could be worshipped. For example in the medical monastic school *Damjin/Damjan* (T. *dam-can*, being a shortened name for *Damjan/Damjin garwanagwu*, T. *dam-can mgar-ba nag-po*, 'the black colour smith', emanation of *Damjan Dorlig*, T. *dam-can rdor-legs*, Skr. Vajrasādhū, the oath-bound protector) and *Shanlan* (T. *zhang-blon*) were the main protectors, but in other temples (*Dorj*)*Shügden* (T. *rdo-rje shugs-ldan*), *Dalkhaa* (T. *dgra lha*, deity of war, war god), the *Tawan khaan* (T. *sku lnga rgyal-po*, Five Kings), *Gürdagwa*, and others were honoured.

Furthermore, various practices were widespread related to the wrathful deities and other deities such as *sakhius dallaga* (T. *g-yang-'gugs*), *sakhiusnii ündes* (T. *rgyud*, 'tantra'), *takhilga* (T. *mchod-'bul*, 'offering'), *sakhiusnii dordow/dordüw* (T. *gtor-sgrub*, sacrificial cake offering), *sakhiusnii nyamba* (T. *bsnyen-pa*, approaching tantric practice), and *sakhiusnii tugdam/tügdem/tügdiing* (T. *thugs-dam*, spiritual practice). These practices were also relevant to other deities (see details below).

Tutelary deities

Tutelary deities (mainly Buddhas and Bodhisattvas) such as *Janraiseg*, *Dar' ekh*, *Choinstün* (T. *chos-dbyings bsrung*, Skr. protected by the dharmadhātu'), *Jidar* (or *Jadar*, *Jiddar*, T. *kye'i rdo-rje*, Skr. Hevajra), *Gürgül* (T. *rig byed-ma* or *ku-ru kul-li/le*, Skr. Kurukullā), (*Dorj*)*Pagam/Pagma* (T. *rdo-rje phag-mo*, Skr. Vajravārāhī), *Mintüg* (T. *mi-'khrugs*, Skr. Aksobhya), *Biziyaa* (T. *gtsug-tor rnam-rgyal*, Skr. Uṣṇāsavijayā), *Jalbajamts* (or *Jalwaajamts*, T. *rgyal-pa rgya-mtsho*, a form of Avalokiteṣvara), *Demchog garwu* (T. *bde-mchog dkar-po*, a white form of Cakrasaṃvara), *Günreg* (shortly for *Günreg Nambarnanzad*, T. *kun-rig(s) rnam-par snang-mdzad*, Skr. Sarvavidyā Vairocana, a form of Vairocana Buddha), *Sendom* (T. *seng gdong-ma*, Skr. Siṃhamukhā, the lion-headed dākinī), *Damdin* (T. *rta-mgrin*, Skr. Hayagrīva), *Dugar* (or *Tsagaan shükhert*, T. *gdugs dkar*, Skr. Sitāpatrā), *Namnan* (T. *rnam snang*, an epithet of Vairocana), *Tünlkha* (T. *'khrungs lha*, the deity of birth), *Lüib Demchog* (T. *bde-mchog lu-i-pa'i*, Cakrasaṃvara in the tradition of Luyipa), etc. also served as bases for practices of lamas, and their ceremonies were also performed. In a couple of temples sand maṇḍala (*dültson* or *sachog dültson*, T. *sa chog rdul-tshon*) of these deities were prepared. (For example *Dar' ekh*, *Mintügwa*, *Jadar*, *Düizichilba*, *Demchog garwu*, *Ayuush*, *Janraiseg*, *Pagam*, *Günreg*, (*Dorj*)*Namjom* (T. *rdo-rje rnam-'joms*, (Vajra)Vidharana, 'The (Vajra) Conqueror'), and *Manal*).

Chogo (T. *cho-ga*) meaning 'ritual, ceremony, way of performance' is a collective name for certain kinds of bigger ceremonies dedicated mainly to Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and other tutelary deities. These rituals required initiation in the cult and practices of the given deity. As for the Buddhas, *Awidiin chogo* with the aim of clearing away all sins and praying for the deceased to gain rebirth in the paradise of Amitābha Buddha was performed as well as *Ayuushiin chogo*, worshipping Amitāyus, the Buddha of Boundless life. *Mintügiin chogo* to honour Akṣobhya Buddha, and *Günregiin chogo* to worship Vairocana Buddha were also held. As for the Bodhisattvas *Dar' ekhiin chogo* honouring Tārā, and *Janraisegiin chogo*, the worship of Avalokiteṣvara were performed. *Sosorbaramiin chogo* was held in honour of Mahāpratisarā, *Namjomiin chogo* was held to remove all contamination and negativity, and *Sanjidiin chogo* (T. *bzang-spyod*, 'prayer of good actions') was performed, which was the main one (*Yeröoliin khaan*) of the six prayers (*yerööl*). The ceremony in honour of the sixteen

the time of Öndör gegeben Zanabazar. The ceremony ends with the tradition of paying homage to or ceremonial greeting of the lamas (*zolgokh*).

arhats or main disciples of Buddha (*Naidan chogo*) was also held. Today it is a usual ceremony held on the 30th of each month. Apart from these, *Niit chogo* (common *chogo*, or *chogo* for each deity) was held in some temples as well as *Lamiin chodwiin chogo* ('offering to the Master', Gurupūja, the ceremony of Tsongkhapa, and the teachers and masters who transmit the Yellow Stream Teaching).

Maitreya

The great Maitreya Festival, celebrating the future Buddha, *Maidar* (T. *byams-pa*), which nowadays is held in the first summer month, was one of the most spectacular events according to Pozdneev (1971, pp. 54-55.). High-ranking lamas and astrologers determined its exact date. (It was held immediately after the New Year Festival in several countryside monasteries.) The ceremony itself is called *Maidariin chogo*, *Maidar zalaach yerööl* or *Jambiin chogo* (T. *byams-pa'i cho-ga*, 'ceremony in honour of *byams-pa*'). All the lamas and the lay population gathered together and processed around the monastic quarter following the statue of *Maidar*, which was put on a huge cart with a green horse head. This festival was called *Maidar ergekh* ('circumambulation with Maitreya's statue'). There was another kind of recitation dedicated to *Maidar* (*Maidariin düitsen ödör*) on the 6th of the last summer month with a *Jasaa Jambiin chogo* ceremony.

Khailen

One of the longest celebrations was the oath-taking retreat period (*Khailen* or *Yar khailen*, T. *dbyar khas-len*, '(summer) oath-taking', also called *Yarnai*, T. *dbyar gnas*, 'summer retreat'), which began on the 15th of the last summer month and lasted for 45 days. Only *gelen* and *getsel* lamas were allowed to take part in this retreat, during which they read the Vinaya, confirmed their vows, confessed their possible mistakes and amended them. Today, it requires the participation of at least four *gelen* lamas.¹⁰⁷ *Sojin* (T. *gso-sbyong*, confession of sins, purifying and confirming vows) was a part of this ceremony. On the 15th and 30th of every month *Sojin* was held in the main assembly hall of Dambadarjaa monastery, while *Sojintoi Manal* ceremony was frequently held in *Mamba datsan*. *Dash Sojin* (T. *bkra-shis(-kyi) gso-sbyong*, 'auspicious blessed fasting') was quarterly held in the main assembly hall of Dambadarjaa monastery. Thus, supposedly *Sojin* was a live practice in the main assembly hall of Züün Khüree as well to help to keep the lamas' morals. Today, the practice of *Sojin* has hardly been revived as fully-ordained lamas are few in number.

Other ceremonies

Apart from the festivals described above, there were numerous other religious practices and events. As it is evident from the sources *Nünnai* or *Nügnee/Nügnei* (T. *smiyung gnas*, 'fasting ritual') was held from time to time by a couple of lamas. This was a fasting ritual, fasting practice or retreat lasting for 3-15 days focusing on Avalokiteśvara (*Janraisegiin nünnai*), or Vajrapāñi (*Wachirwaan' yadamiin nünnai*), Akāśbhya (*Mintügwa yadamiin nünnai*) or the Medicine Buddha (*Manaliin nünnai*). *Dörwön tsagiin nünnai* ('seasonal fasting') and *Jasaa nünnai* were also held in few places.

¹⁰⁷ This practice originates from Buddha, who practiced *Khailen* in the Realm of the 33 Gods. It also has roots in the old tradition of the confinement or retreat of lamas (*Yarnai*, T. *dbyar-gnas*) in India for the wet summer months, the original reason for which was to spend the rainy period in a retreat also with the aim of avoiding the accidental killing of insects. Originally, it lasted for three months during the summer, when lamas remained confined to their monasteries for religious meditation and contemplation. However, the duration has been reduced in Mongolia and the 'retreat' period lasts for only 45 days.

Jasiin galiin takhil(ga) was held in almost each temple on the 24th, 25th, or 26th of the last winter month by 2-4 appointed lamas. Its aim was to purify the financial unit and the treasury.¹⁰⁸

On the 25th of the last summer month, the ceremony called ‘Consecration on the fortunate day’ (*Dashnyam arawnai*, T. *bkra-shis nyi-ma rab-gnas*) was held in *Wangain aimag*. Today, this is called ‘the Great Consecration’ (*Ikh arawnai*), and on this day all the objects of worship, statues, painted scrolls, and the shrines are re-consecrated in Gandan with the aim of renewing the effects of the original consecration.

Khajid (T. *mkha’-spyod*, Skr. *khasarpaóā*, ‘goddess, ’sky goer’, ’sky traveller’, Skr. *dākinī*) ceremony was held on the 10th of each month by four appointed lamas in the relics temples of the 5th Bogd. Today, in a few Mongolian monasteries, including Gandan, the *Khajidiin chogo* ceremony is held only once a year. However, in some temples, especially in Red Stream temples, it is held monthly on the 25th and the 10th days. *Narkhajid* (T. *na-ro mkha’-spyod*, Skr. *Sarvabuddha dākinī*) was the main tutelary deity of the 5th Bogd. It is said that when he was meditating on this goddess, he saw a red light above the Bogd Khan Mountain and the River Tuul. Thus, this ceremony has been held ever since then.

Ündes (T. *rgyud*, ‘tantra’) ceremony was held not only for the wrathful deities, but for *Tārā*, *Günreg*, *Dugar* and other deities as well, and also sacrificial cake offering (*dordow*, T. *gtor sgrub*) could be made to them (e.g. *Gürgüliin dordow*). The ceremony of *Günreg* for the deceased was held regularly at the request of individuals.

In *Toisamlin aimag* on the 15th of every month the Guhyasamāja tantra (*Sanduin jüid*, T. *gsang-’dus rgyud*) was recited. Today, in almost each temple Guhyasamāja tantra is recited on this day. (Gandan’s lamas preserved the ceremonial rules of the old *Jüid datsan*). An interesting fact: the Mongolian *Sandui* was recited in *Gandantegchenlin* twice in winter according to the text.

A special practice called *Bumbiin takhilga* (‘vase offering’) such as *Gongoriin bumba*, *Namsrain bumba*, *Jambaliin bumba*, *Manaliin bumba* was performed in a few temples. *Ganjuur* ceremony was rarely held in a couple of temples.¹⁰⁹ *Tsogchid* offering (T. *tshogs-mchod*, Skr. *ganapūjā*, ‘accumulation of offerings’, feast offering) was also performed to honour the wrathful deities, such as *Gongoriin tsogchid*, or *Lkham sakhiusnii tsogchid*. *Donchid* (T. *stong mchod*, ‘thousand-fold offering’) was performed to several deities (e.g. *Biziyaagiin donchid*, *Manaliin donchid*, *Jasaa Awidiin donchid*, and *Bogd lamiin donchid*.)

Büteel is a ceremony with the recitation of the magic formula of a given deity several times. In philosophical monastic schools *Migzemiin büteel* and *Janraisegiin büteel* were held for six days in the middle summer month with the participation of hundreds of lamas, whilst in other places these were recited randomly for a day by a couple of lamas. Today, this ceremony is called *Maaniin büteel*. It is dedicated to *Janraiseg* and to reach a healthy and peaceful life. In Bogdiin Khüree *Dar’ ekhiin büteel*, *Choijingiin büteel*, and *Gürgüliin büteel* were held as well.

Ceremonies of the Medicine Buddha (*Manal*) were mostly held in the Medical monastic school. There were several types of ceremonies related to *Manal*, such as *Manaliin donchid*, *Manaliin dültson*, *Manaliin khural*, *Manaliin nünnei*, *Manaliin sachog dültson dashgaadan arawnai sakhius*, *Manaliin yerööl*, *Baga Manal*, *Sojintoi Manal*, etc.

Gürem ceremony (today called also as *zasal*) was a usual practice including healing or protective rituals. *Günreg* ceremony was held to elevate sentient beings from bad rebirth to a better one, and to save them from any inconvenient rebirth. *Jadamba* (T. *brgyad stong-pa*,

¹⁰⁸ Tibetan rituals as *me mchod* or *sbyin-sreg* can be similar to it.

¹⁰⁹ Today, on the 5th of the last summer month, the *Jasaa Ikh Ganjuur* or *Altan Ganjuur* ceremony is held as one of the annual ceremonies performed only in Gandan.

Eight thousand verses version of Prajñāpāramitā) was read in *Dugariin aimag*. In the main assembly hall of *Dambadarjaa*, *Logshiriin wan* ceremony (reading of *Logshiriin wan*) lasted for seven days from the 21st of the last summer month.

In philosophical monastic schools several *dom* (T. *sdom*) were held in winter: four *ikh dom* and four *baga dom*. Their names refer to the day when they were held, such as *18-nii dom*, *19-nii dom*, *20-nii dom*, *21-nii dom*, *25-nii dom*. Their majority was held on great days of the Buddha. Moreover, *Gawjiin damjaa*, (*Parchin*) *Domiin damjaa*, and *Lingseb* were held here as well as the debates on the five volumes of philosophy (*Tawan bot*’, or *Daj ergekh*). *Joroo*,¹¹⁰ *Jushii/Züshii dom* are also mentioned as well as *Lkhawawiin düitsen yerööl* or *Lkhawawiin dom*, and *Lyankha dom* or *Lyankhiin dom*. According to Soninbayar (1995, pp. 66-67.) before the *dom* exams (*domiin damjaa*), the lamas who studied in the *dom* classes were ordered to participate in the given feasts of the four great *dom* (*ikh*) and the three small *dom* (*baga*).¹¹¹

Seasonal ceremonies were held as well, such as *Namriin dund sariin khural* (‘ceremony of the middle autumn month’), *Khawriin süül sariin khural* (‘ceremony of the last autumn month’), *Öwliin tergüün sariin khural* (‘ceremony of the first winter month’), *Öwliin dund sariin khural* (‘ceremony of the middle winter month’), *Öwliin tergüün sariin 25-nii yerööl* (*Yerööl* ceremony on the 25nd of the first winter month), and *Arwan tawnii danrag* (‘thanksgiving offering on the 15th of the month’). *Sariin chogo* or *Sariin khural* (‘ceremony lasting for a month’) or *Namriin neg sariin khural* (‘ceremony for a month in autumn’) was held in some temples, too.

110 Exact meaning unknown. M. *Joroo*, T. ?

111 According to Soninbayar the four great feasts were the following: *Lyankh dom* which was held on the 4th of the last summer month, on the festival day when Buddha turned the wheel of Dharma; *22-nii dom* was held on 22nd of the last autumn month; *25-nii dom* was celebrated on the annual commemoration day of Tsongkhapa, and *Jüshii dom* (T. *bcu bzhi ston-mo*) was held on the 14th of the middle winter month.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, headed by the *erdene shanzodwa/shanzaw* was responsible for all the properties of the Bogd, his city and his subordinated monasteries and areas. Whilst the highest religious dignitaries and bigger monasteries had their own treasuries (*san*), financial units (*jas*) belonged to the temples to handle their incomes and expenses. Their livestock and other properties were listed from time to time by the bookkeepers. What follows here is an account of the activity of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, and the most significant texts that have remained related to the Ministry's operation. These sources serve as bases to study the development of the religious life of the city. Then, the operation, incomes and expenditures of the financial units will be discussed, based on archival materials, again. As several books written in the Soviet period (e.g. Pürewjaw, 1961) mention the misuse of power of lamas and monasteries to become rich, these statements cannot live out of consideration. As in 1924 the whole administration was extremely reformed, some conclusions will be drawn about the most significant measures.

Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs

Erdene Shanzodwiin/Shanzawiin Yaam

While for religious issues of the city the *khamba nomon khan* was the responsible person, the *erdene shanzodwa/shanzadwaa/shanzaw* ('precious treasurer', T. *phyag-mdzod-pa*), was the supreme administrator of the entire department of the Bogd, i.e. his personal catering and costs, the administration and finance of Bogdiin Khüree, and the monasteries and areas of the *Ikh shaw*'.

According to the introduction of the relevant Manchu catalogue of the Ministry (M-86) it was firstly initiated in 1723 by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar. Before that time the subordinated people of the Bogd administratively belonged under Tüsheet khan's government. The *Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam* had the same rights as the head of the aimag committee (*aimgiin chuulgan darga*, here aimag means the four Khalkh aimags). In 1822 the authority of the ministry was expanded and became subordinated directly to the Manchu Ministry (*Manj yaam*), which was located in Ikh Khüree.¹¹² The duty of the ministry was to administer the small units (*otog bag*) of the *Ikh shaw*' area, the 30 aimags and ten *datsans* of Ikh Khüree, and the big monasteries of the *Ikh shaw*' area such as *Erdene zuu*, *Baruun khüree*, *Baruun khüreenii Noyon lamiin khiid*, *Amarbayasgalant khiid*, *Kherlengiin Shaddiüwdarjaalin Züün khüree*, *Bileg ölzii Bereewengiin khiid*, *Buyaniig zalbiragch Manzshir khiid*, *Örshööliing soyogch Ninjdolbin khüree*, *Ölzii khutag nom delgerüülekh Dashchoinkhorlin lamiin khüree*, *Damchoijürmedlin Khüükhen khutagtiin khüree*, *Chültem Janchüwlingiin Rashaanii khiid*, *Öglögiig badruulsan Dashdarjaalin Dar' ekhiin khüree*, *Gandanchoilin Erdene nomon khanii khüree*, *Dorjchoilin (?) süm*, *Bod' ikh amgalant süm*, *Tüwendlin (?) süm*, *Buyan yeröolt süm or Dashchoinkhorlin khiid* (R-938), *Dayanii Shaddiüwlingiin khüree* (R-937), and *Shashniig badruulagch Dambadarjaagiin khiid* (R-939).

According to Sereeter (2004, p. 122.) in the Manchu period the *erdene shanzodwa* was appointed by the Bogd and the Manchu emperor. He had to be a Mongolian lama educated in law and an expert of Mongolian, Manchu and Tibetan scripts but did not have to be fully-ordained or have a high academic degree in religious philosophy. Two *da lams* ('great lamas'), 16 *zaisans* (chief officers), eight officer clerks (*tüshmel bicheech*), 20 guards or

¹¹² Regarding the formation of the *Erdene shanzawiin yaam*, Chuluunbaatar claims (2005, p. 9.) that it was firstly initiated in 1723. In 1761 it was subordinated to *Saidiin yaam*, and in 1822 it attained the same rights as the aimag committees (*aimgiin chuulgan*) and was given a seal by the Manchu emperor.

adjutants (*khia*, T. *sku-srung*) supported his work with several lay *zaisans*, princes and other attendants. The first *shanzaw*, Dagwalkhündew, fulfilled the position from the 1690s. He supervised Öndör geegen's treasury and managed the affairs of his subordinated people. The institution of *shanzaw* was reformed in 1767 and 1772 (Sereeter, 2004, pp. 122-131.). In 1912 the ministry became responsible for the treasury and property of the Bogd khaan, and for religious and political affairs.¹¹³ It had the same right as the other six ministries. Sereeter claims that apart from the *erdene shanzodwa* two *da lams*, and several *zaisans* run the ministry (p. 11.) and (p. 17.) the clerks of the ministry had their own calligraphy and writing system (e.g. they marked the difference between *č* and *ᠰ*, *t* and *d*, *g* and *q*). Chuluunbaatar claims (p. 15.) that some *shanzaws* supported the establishment of schools from their own properties. The last person bearing this title was Jigmiddorj who was the 22nd *shanzaw* until 1924. According to Sereeter (2004, pp. 132-143.) the rank of *da lam* originated in 1767. From this time until the position was terminated in 1925, there were 44 lamas who held this rank. Though the Ministry with a different name run its operation until 1938 there were significant changes comparing its function in the Manchu period and under the Bogd khaan's reign.

The National Archives of Mongolia inherited all the documents of the Ministry.¹¹⁴ The catalogue (M-85) of the Manchu period contains 3563 texts related to *Erdene Shanzodwiin Yaam*, that of the Bogd khaan's reign (A-74) contains 1633 texts, and that of the Modern period (F-179) includes 793 texts.

The 3563 texts of the Manchu catalogue (M-85) were written between 1731-1911 about the following topics: obligation of lamas (*alba*), registers of employees (*ajilchdiin bürtgel*), rules (*dürem khemjee*), agricultural fields (*gazar tarialan*), incomes and expenses (*orlogo zarlaga*), loans (*ör awlaga*), holy stud-farms (*seterten süreg*, T. *tshe thar*), branding irons (*tamga temdeg*), subordinated people and their livestock, names, age, numbers, origins of saints and reincarnations, and their re-locations to the *khüree* (*khutagt khuwilgaadiin ner, nas, too, ug garal, khüreeg nüülgekh*), fast stallions (*khurдан mor'*, necessary for worship and ceremonies (*shashnii khereglel*), *shaw'* families (*örkh am*), sentence and punishment (*shiitgel torguul'*), taxes (*tatwar*), gold mines, debates of laymen and princes, order of documentation, welcome of the Bogd, about landowners, danger of conflagration, registers of foreigners, establishment of schools, building of monasteries, rules of the stamping system, customs, movings, protection and commerce in the *khüree*, laws, borders and *owoos*, teachings of Mongolian script, about religion, decorations, number of subordinated people and their livestock, wealth of people who passed away, etc. Livestock of *Dambadarjaalin* and *Dashchoinkhorlin* monasteries, those of the *datsans* and *aimags* of the *khüree* were listed several times.

Even from the catalogue titles one can draw conclusions about the main events and happenings in the city. For instance, a document discusses the requisites of the performance of *Tsam* dance (M-85/48a). It was compiled in 1811, when *Khüree Tsam* was firstly introduced to the *khüree*. To worship the Bogd maóðala offering (*mandal örgökh*) and *danshüg/danshig naadam* are mentioned several times, sometimes together with the list of archers (M-85/126). These events were held annually to worship the Bogd.

There is an interesting document from 1840 relevant for ceremonies and holy texts to be recited, together with rules, and offerings in the temples of Ribogejigandanshaddüwlin, Ikh

¹¹³ Chuluunbaatar claims (2005, p. 10.) that according to the Bogd's command when the subordinated people (*shaw'*) of a *khutagt* reached the number of 700, a *shanzodwa* had to be appointed as an administrator. At the time of the 8th Bogd 13 *khutagt* with seal (*tamgatai khutagt*), and approximately 56 *khutagts* without seal (*tamgagiüi khutagt*) lived in the country. From the latter mentioned 56 *khutagts* 26 lived in the *Ikh shaw'* areas.

¹¹⁴ Catalogues of the Ministry of the Manchu governors or ministers living in Ikh Khüree (M-1), the branch office of Tüsheets khan aimag (M-11), that of Setsen khan aimag (M-33), and Sain noyon khan aimag (M-60) located in Ikh Khüree contain several texts. There is no catalogue of the branch office of Zasagt khan aimag which was located in Ikh Khüree, too. These catalogues are not analyzed in the present book.

Khüree (M-85/171). A text includes the lamas' names, and the alms (*zed*) received by those lamas who participated in ceremonies (M-85/234). There is a list of donations that were dedicated to the operation of the Maitreya temple (M-85/258) (1852-1862). A list clarifies the fact that the costs of the catering of the Bogd and several *datsans* were covered by the *otog* families (M-85/507., 1876). Several lists deal with the incomes and expenses of the *datsans* and the subordinated monasteries of the *khüree*, and other lists include the participating lamas of regular fixed date and occasional ceremonies in the *datsans* and *aimags*. Lamas of *datsans* and *aimags* who participated in the *Jasaa Yerööl* ceremony of the Lunar New Year were mentioned (1894). Lamas of *datsans* and *aimags* together with their loans were listed in 1896. Lists of incomes and expenses of *Ikh jas* and the *datsans* of the *khüree* (1898, 1899) are available as well as announcements on the renovation of Dambadarjaalin monastery (1907, 1908), and several lists of incomes and expenses of *Dambadarjaa* and *Dashchoinkhorlin* monasteries (1908-12-23, 1909-1-11). All of these documents clearly show that the *Erdene Shanzodwiin Yaam* was responsible for all the administrative issues of the temples of the city and the monasteries subordinated directly to the Bogd (*Ikh shaw'*)

In fold-out form mainly commands were issued, such as the ones about studying in religious schools, the teaching of various writing systems, the translation of the *Danjuur* and other religious books (1806), while others were written about the acknowledgment of saints and reincarnation, study procedure in religious schools, going for alms, costs of ceremonies and other questions (1807). Military service, relay stations, commerce, theft, economy, complaints (*zarga*), decorations, taxes, invitations of abbots (*shireet lam*), and the financial state of the Bogd are mentioned as well. For instance, a fold out book contains the names of people who were decorated during the *Maidar ergekh* ceremony in 1812. Stūpa erections to house the relics of the Bogds, and the ways to welcome and receive their new incarnations are often mentioned in texts (related to the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th incarnations). Pilgrimage of *khutagts* to Wu-tai-shan and Lhasa are also available in the catalogue (1824). Renovations of monasteries were ordered in 1825 as well as registration of reincarnations living in the *khüree*. A text written in 1829 is about ravage, fights, insults, and drawing attention to not putting out fire on the hill on the occasion of the *Tsam* dance. Several texts deal with the passing away of the Bogds, the building of their relics temple in Gandan (1842, 1896) and finding their next incarnations (*daraakh dūr'*) (1845). Rules of *Tsam* and *Jakhar* were written down in 1875. As it is clear from several texts the Bogd frequently visited Erdene zuu and Amarbayagalant monasteries (for example in 1887). Letters were sent to capture the people who had dug for precious stones (1894). Commands were issued to forbid women to enter the *datsans* and the monastic districts, and to prohibit lamas to trade and fight (1895). Texts were written about the regulations of school of carving (*siilber zuragiin surguul'*). Regulations of lamas (*lam nariin dagaj yawakh diirem*), establishments of schools were also discussed. There is a fold out book about the debate of lamas in Züün Khüree, and about a forthcoming war in Tibet (1896). The command of the Bogd to build *Choijin lamiin süm* and difficulties of its fundraising was written in 1902 as well as the command in order to confirm the lamas' vows. The colour of robes worn by nobles was determined in 1904. In 1907 the renovation of temples and taking *gawjiin damjaa* was ordered, and in the next year hunter lamas were notified, and lamas were ordered to participate in ceremonies. A document was written about *gawjiin damjaa* and name giving of the newly established temples in 1909. Another one was written in 1911 to inform the *otogs* about participating lamas of *tümen gelen's khailan*, and to ask for funds for the building of the great Buddha (*Ikh Burkhan*, here it refers to Avalokiteçvara) as the Bogd's eyes were injured.

1633 documents are kept in the archives from the Bogd khaan's reign (A-74), but their types are not summarized here. The two-volume catalogue (SKh-179) of the Modern period contains 793 texts dated from 1921-1938. The texts mainly concern the topics of religion,

lamas, incomes and expenses, livestock, the subordinated areas, and the danger of conflagration. Nominations, restrictions of religious places, decoration of high-ranking lamas, building and renovation of monasteries, inventories of artefacts and accessories are also available. General documentations were written about the livestock of monasteries with their herdsmen, and the population of *Ikh shaw'* and their properties. Texts including nominations and obligations of people to fulfil *jasaa* service (*jasaanii eeljiin alband suulgakh*), conditions of relay stations and their horses (*örtöö ulaan*), documents which were sent to the Bogd from the *Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam* (*Erdene Shanzowiin yaamnaas Bogd ezen khaand ailtgasan örgösön barimtuud*), registers of names and numbers of monasteries, *aimags*, and *datsans* (*Shashnii olon süm khiid aimag datsanguudiin ner, too бүртгелин kholbogdoltoi bichig barimtuud*), documents about the authorities of high-ranking lamas and nobles (*tom lam noyodiin erkhemjeenii kholbogdoltoi bichig barimtuud*), and about religious affairs, such as worshipping mountains and *owoos* (*burkhan nom бүтеех, уул owoo takhikh zereg asuudlaar khariltssan bichgüüd*) were recorded during that period.

Numerous texts of the catalogues reflect the change in the system, and the politics. For example, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs issued documents about the situation of foreign residents (*Erdene Shanzodwiin yaamnaas gadaadiin khariyaat nariin asuudlaar khariltssan barimt bichgüüd*) and religious representatives (*shashnii tölөөлөгч*) were settled near the bigger monastic sites. Registers of lamas were conducted almost every year. Official tax was levied on the livestock of the monasteries (*süm khiidiin mald alban tatwar onogduulakh tukhai zaawar dürem*) and lamas, who were at the age of military service were recorded several times (*tsergiin nasnii lam nariig nasnii baidlaar yalgawarlan todorkhoilson dans*), mainly from the 1930, as tax was levied on them (*tsergiin nasnii lam naraas möngön tatwar khuraasan tukhai бүртгел*) if they refused to join the army. Requests of lamas who wanted to disrobe are also available (*khar bolokhiig khüssen zarim lam nariin kholbogdoltoi barimt bichig*). A law was passed to separate religious and political affairs (*tör shashnii khergiig tusgaarlakh tukhai khuul' дүрмийн khuulbar*). Documents in order to enroll children in schools, and to establish schools (*Niislel Khüreeend khüükhдүүдийг суулгаж surgakh, tenkhimiin surгуул' baiguulakh tukhai asuudlaar khariltssan bichig barimtuud*) are available. Documents related to the complaints about theft and robbery (*zarga khulgai deermin asuudlaar khailtssan bichig barimtuud*) are also kept in the archives. Other texts mention customs and penalties (*gaal' türees tatwar torгуулийн kholbogdoltoi bichig barimtuud*), hunting and environmental protection (*an agnuur baigaliig khamgaalakh zereg asuudlaar khariltssan bichgüüd*), the commerce of co-operatives (*khoshoo khudaldaanii asuudlaar khailtssan bichgüüd*), and the establishment of administrative offices in the countryside (*nutgiin zakhirгаа baiguulakh tukhai asuudlaar khariltssan bichig barimtuud*). Religious representatives were sent to Moscow to participate in religious conferences (*shashnii tölөөлөгчийг Moskwad bolokh shashnii khurald oruulakh asuudlaar khariltssan bichig*). Documents aiming at teaching the alphabet to novices, registers of lamas of the 30 *aimag* of the *khüree* (*Ikh Khüreenii 30 aimgiin lam nariin бүртгел*), documents about the establishment of co-operatives to encourage lamas to do 'community-friendly' work (*lam nariig niigmiin ashigtai khödölmört tatan oruulakh zorilgoor үйлдвэрийн артылийг baiguulakh tukhai bichig barimtuud*), registers of communal lamas (*lam nariig niigmiin lam nariin бүртгел*), registers of lamas enlisted to military service (*tsergiin alband tatagdsan lam zaluuchuudiin бүртгел*), and registers of lamas who knew Mongolian script are at the researchers' disposal to study the events of the 1920-1930s.

The Bogd's Treasuries (*Bogdiin san*)

The income of the Bogd's treasury was based on donations and taxes which flowed in from the palaces, *aimags*, and *datsans* of Bogdiin Khüree, and from the monasteries that belonged

to the *Ikh shaw'* territories. The Bogd's treasury had two departments: the internal treasury (*Dotood san*) or palace treasury (*Ordni san*) which covered his personal expenses, and the great treasury (*Ikh san*) or external treasury (*Gadaad san*) which financed the operation of the *Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam*, the temples of Bogdiin Khüree, and the monasteries of the *Ikh shaw'* area. The Bogd's herds and flocks, and agricultural fields enriched the property of the *Ikh san*.

Related to the Internal or Palace treasury the archives' Manchu catalogue (M-87) contains 914 documents, the catalogue of the Bogd khaan's reign (A-173) contains 264 documents, and that of the Modern period (F-181) includes 26 texts.¹¹⁵

Related to the Great treasury its Manchu catalogue (M-86) contains 8207 texts; its catalogue of the Bogd khaan's reign (A-75) contains 1030 texts, and the catalogue of the Modern period (F-180) includes 206 texts. The Manchu period's texts were written between 1750 and 1877. Apart from the usual contents (incomes and expenses, livestock, etc.), numerous documents deal with the passing away of the Bogds. (The catalogue of the Bogd khaan's reign was not surveyed by the author.) The 206 texts of the Modern period (F-180) were compiled between 1921 and 1938. In 1921 food, brick tea, dairy products, felt, firewood and coal, livestock, agricultural fields, incomes and expenses, the collection of tax, silver with interest, debts were recorded as well as the Chinese inhabitants of the city. Moreover, a ceremony for the longevity of the Bogd was performed, thus flour, rice, milk, meat, cottage-cheese which were required for this and other ceremonies, together with catering, and the catering of the Bogd were listed. *Owoo* worshipping, and silver which were gained from donors were recorded, too.

In 1922 identity cards (*üinemlekh*) were given to the people who worked in *datsans* and other monastic sites. In 1924 the monastic sites and sculptures of Niislel Khüree were recorded. The livestock of *Ikh san* was herded in Eastern and Western pastures. In 1924 a register of Chinese merchants was compiled together with their properties (silver, etc.). As the Bogd passed away the costs of building of a stūpa and a temple to house his relics were calculated together with donations (*khandiw*) (1924-5). The treasury still had its livestock, guards (*kharuul*, *manaa managchid*) and butter-lamps. In 1926-1927 the golden, silver, coral, pearl and other jewels of the great treasury were recorded. In 1930-1931 the total incomes and expenses of the *Ikh jas* of Gandan monastery were recorded, and some other documents dealt with *Ikh jas*, too. From the last years a list of silver income coming from the official tax (*alban tatwar*) paid by *otogs* and *bags* (1936-8), a list of all the incomes and expenses of *Ikh san* (1937), a list of brick tea properties, other incomes and expenses of *Ikh san* together with the tax which was collected from the *otogs* (1938) have remained. The correspondence of lamas of *Ikh san* is also available (without date).

Apart from the treasury of the Bogd high-ranking lamas (*khutagt*, *khuwilgaan*) had their own treasuries (*san*). Devotees often offered gifts to other high-ranking lamas, such as the abbot, chanting master or disciplinary master, but their private properties did not form part of a treasury.

The Economic Life of Temples (the Institution of *Jas*)

In the time of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar *Jasiin aimag* was responsible for the proper operation

¹¹⁵ Though the former two catalogues were not surveyed by the author, the 26 texts of the latest one were thoroughly studied. They were written between 1922-1933 covering the properties and the livestock as main topics. In 1921 a register was compiled about those articles that were dedicated to the *Mandal örgökh* ceremony by several *aimags* and *datsans* of Khüree to celebrate the return of the Bogd to the city. After the passing away of the Bogd in 1924 donations were collected to perform a *maóðala* offering ceremony in his honour. In 1925 a register of accessories of worship, and other materials dedicated to the pole of the stūpa (*suwraganii shünshig*) by the South-East *san* (*züün urid san*) and the treasury of the Green Palace were recorded as well as the accessories which were moved from the Green Palace. The incomes and expenses of the treasury were registered in 1921.

of the main assembly hall and the camp. It ran the catering, mending, restorative work, etc. Later, when monasteries, temples, *datsans*, and *aimags* had their own incomes and expenses (*orlogo zarlaga*), and properties (*khöröngö*), their internal structure (*dotood zokhion baiguulalt*) consisted of several units called *jas* (T. *spyi-gsog*, public accumulation/ reserves). Physically, these units were housed in a small building or small buildings near their temple within the enclosing fence. A smaller unit also existed (called *jaw*, *jio* or *jao*). The financial units were firstly initiated from alms and donations offered by laymen to recite given ceremonies for their and every sentient being's benefit. The believers dedicated livestock, dairy products, livestock products, brick tea, silken scarves (*khadag*, T. *kha-btags*), silver, and other goods for the community and due to this capital and continuous offerings these units were able to maintain and develop themselves.

In every case *Ikh jas* (sometimes called *gol jas* 'main financial unit or great *jas*') belonged to a temple as a main unit. Furthermore, from offerings dedicated to a certain ceremony individual units could have been generated, e.g.: *Ganjuuriin jas* was established for donators' alms who wished the recitation of the Kanjur and from that time every *Ganjuur* ceremony (*Ganjuuriin khural*) became financed from the property of *Ganjuuriin jas*, and laymen who wanted Kanjur to be recited submitted their offerings to *Ganjuuriin jas*. Besides the *Ikh jas* which signifies a central or common economic unit, the other *jas* were named mainly after the names of ceremonies. In this way, from the names of the *jas* units that belonged to a given temple, one can draw conclusions about the ceremonial life. For example, in a temple with a *jas* named *Sakhiusnii jas*, ceremonies were certainly performed for the wrathful protector deities, in a temple with *Ganjuuriin jas* readings of the Kanjur were performed, with *Lkhamiin dordowiin jas* offerings of sacrificial cake (*dordow*, T. *gtor-sgrub*) to *Lkham* goddess took place, with *Günregiin jas* the ceremonies for the deceased were held, with *Awidiin chogiin jas* the ceremony for longevity was performed, while in a temple with *Buman Dar' ekhiin jas* the ceremony of reading the mantra of *Dar' ekh* 100,000 times was performed regularly.

Costs of a given ceremony were covered by the main financial unit or its own financial unit if it was relevant. On special ceremonial occasions extra income flowed into the unit. Moreover, as several lists of the archives demonstrate, it was not rare that following the initiative of the lamas a new *jas* was established which had to be sponsored and maintained by devotees (*tus aimagt olon khuwrag naraas magtaaliin jasiig baiguulsan tukhai shine baiguulsan jasd öglögiin ezdees bar'san züiliin dans*).

The property of the *jas* could be handled by the manager (*daamal*), the treasurers or bookkeepers (*nyaraw*, T. *gnyer-pa*), and the clerks (*bicheech*). They (mainly the *nyaraws*) kept annual accounts with detailed lists of all income and expenditure, such as registers or balance sheets of incomes and expenses, moveable and immoveable properties, belongings (*ed khogshil baraa tergüitniig bürtgesen dans*), changes in the number of the livestock (*maliin too*), silver which were lent by the unit. Although in the old times these data were not recorded annually but sometimes with interruption for some years, in the 20th century registers were made not only once but twice or three times a year. Whilst during the Manchu period the property of a *jas* was mainly measured in brick tea (*tsai*), later money based registers (*mönggö*) were compiled.

Income and Expenditure

Beginning from the Manchu period performing ceremonies, making offerings, catering lamas (*manz tsaw*), lighting butter-lamps, and repairing the temple buildings were all paid from the assets of the financial unit. It had a stable property to cover the usual costs of the high-ranking lamas of the temple and to divide salaries or alms (*zed pog*, T. *phog*) to ordinal lamas from time to time. Considering ceremonial expenses (*khural nomiin zardal*) usual and special

ceremonies had different costs. As for simple ceremonies only low-priced articles were required (lard for lighting butter lamps, brick tea, simple food, etc.), for special ceremonies particular accessories were needed such as precious stones, special robes, and various offering-cakes consisting of several ingredients. On special occasions lamas had different foods with rice, fruits, cakes or noodles, and meat which cost more than the usual kinds. The food portion of a lama was based on his rank.

In the National Archives of Mongolia numerous registers of various goods which were sold for ceremonial purposes (*khural nomiin züild zarsan eldew yumnii dans*) show the allocation of these costs. Special ceremonies attracted a lot of people, thus not only the expenses were more, but also the incomes (offerings). The temple buildings had to be renovated from time to time. In the case of the *datsans* a separated *jas* or *jaw* was established to fund its renovation (*dugan biireekh*).

Originally, incomes (*orlogo*) were gained from alms (*badar barikh*), offerings (*khandiw*), and donations (*örgöl bar'ts*). These donations included a wide variety of goods such as herds, flocks, brick tea, meat, dairy products, flour, butter, silken scarves, silken materials, robes, juniper, grains and fruits, and later: money. In special ceremonies or at the establishment of a new *jas* donations were higher. These alms or donations (*örgölin orlogo*) made up 20-35 % of the total income of a temple as Pürewjaw claims (1961, p. 110.). As additional income resources holy images and books were sold in temples, and lamas performed healing ceremonies and did fortunetelling as well. However, these offerings depended on the fame of a temple and the number of its visitors. Bequests of great lamas increased the properties of temples, and as Pürewjaw says (p. 60.) several elderly people approaching the ends of their lives dedicated half or the whole of their livestock to establish a new *jas* as "guarantee" for a better rebirth (*am' sünsee daatgakh*).

Besides, the capital of a *jas* was increased by other activities: progeny of the livestock (*mal süreg*), selling the livestock, owing owning and leasing huge agricultural fields (*tarialangiin gazar*), trading, and giving silver or money loans with interest. Taxes and services also increased the incomes of the units (see Pürewjaw, 1961, p. 12.).

The monasteries, temples and their financial units had thousands of livestock.¹¹⁶ According to Pürewjaw (1961, p. 68.) it comprised 40-50% of the total income of monasteries. The increase of the temple's livestock, reared and grazed in pastures by subordinates, the predicted profit from the herds, namely dairy products, felt, and leather were considered as services (*alba*). As the archival materials show herds and flocks of temples, *aimags*, or financial units of Bogdiin Khüree were herded by laymen in pastures which belonged to the given temple, mainly in the area of the present Töv aimag. Herds and flocks were distinguished as five kinds of livestock (horse, cow, sheep, goat, camel: *aduu, ükher, khon', yamaa, temee*), and mainly their yearly progeny (*ürjil*) or increase (*ösölt*) and loss (*khorgdol*) were accounted.¹¹⁷ Sometimes horses were counted according to their age, colour (*züs*) or type (mare and stallion), and horses that were prepared for military service were also listed. Bulls (called *shar ükher*) and cows were sometimes also distinguished. Depending on the wealth of a temple three kinds of livestock, four kinds of livestock, five kinds of livestock, and in some cases only sheep and goat flocks were counted. Apart from herding the livestock dairy products (milk, butter, kumis, yoghurt, cottage cheese, dried cheese: *süü, tos, airag, tarag, aarts, aaruul*), and other animal products (wool, felt, leather: *noos, esgii, ar's*) had to be given by the herdsmen to the temple or the *aimag* (*tus aimgiin busdiin gar deer baigaa*

¹¹⁶ According to Pürewjaw, the 160 acknowledged saints and reincarnations owned about the 20 percents of the whole livestock of Mongolia, i.e. two million livestock. Pürewjaw (1961, p. 64.) says that Maiskii claimed that in 1918 Ikh Khüree had 218000, in 1921 297572 livestock (Pürewjaw, p. 161.: in 1921 it was 294429).

¹¹⁷ For example *Güngachoilin datsan* possessed 7746 livestock in 1876 (Pürewjaw, 1961, pp. 61-62.): namely 6057 sheep and goats, 1377 horses, and 312 cattle. In 1893 its livestock increased to 10547.

süreg malaas süii zarts khuraan awsan ni). Numerous lists with male sheep and goats are available in the archives as well as lists of felt collected from the *otogs* (*jasiin irge, serkhonii bürtgel ba otguudaas khuraaj awsan esgiin dans*). It was usual that the *jas* leased out its bulls (*tus aimgaas busdad khölsüülsen shar ükhriin bürtgel*). The livestock of the *datsans*, temples and *aimags* of Bogdiin Khüree were different.¹¹⁸

Trading resulted in incomes, too. As it is clear from the archival materials livestock and other properties gained from donations were sold for ceremonial purposes. Although till the 1920s it was not usual that lamas traded personally, according to Pürewjaw even some lamas went China to sell horses, collaborating with the Chinese stores (*püüis*, Chinese *pu zi/ pu li*).¹¹⁹

Pürewjaw claims (1961, pp. 77-79.) that until 1911 almost none of the *aimag* and *datsan* of the *khüree* possessed agricultural fields. However, lamas asked for fields from nobles,¹²⁰ and it was usual to lease out these fields to Chinese people to cultivate them collecting grass or silver as a rental fee (1961, p. 72.).¹²¹ The archival material contains a few contracts about agricultural fields.

In the beginning brick tea was donated to the lama community as food subsidy. Later the quantity of brick tea, and finally silver or money indicated the wealth of a temple or *jas*. Brick tea and silver were used as means of payment. Firstly Chinese, later lamas, monasteries and a lot of *jas* gave brick tea and silver loans (*ör awlaga*) with interest.¹²² In this way some lamas became extremely rich. As possessing any property is not allowed by the Vinaya, the 4th Bogd issued a command in 1797 to prohibit usury activity: playing chess and *shagai*, smoking, trading, archery, and lending money were strictly prohibited. However, this

¹¹⁸ According to Pürewjaw (1961, p. 64.), when a *jas* was firstly initiated by livestock donations, its herds and flocks were not herded separately, but together with the donator's livestock. If the progeny extremely increased the livestock of the *jas* started to be herded separately. The livestock was herded as "service" (*alba*) or "social work" (*khamjlaga*), and poverty-stricken orphans became their shepherds (*süregchin*). If nobody applied, shepherds were officially appointed from the *otogs*. According to Erdenepel lama (Pürewjaw, 1961, p. 64.), who once lived in *Dashdandarlin aimag*, the Central Committee of the MPRP prohibited this herding service in 1923. Erdenepil adds that the progeny had to be 60-70% in a year. If somebody was not able to achieve this goal he had to pay the loss having occurred. Shepherds did not receive any salaries, but could have a share of animal products. As Gombodoo remembers (Pürewjaw, 1961, p. 66.) 8 meters of felt (or 40-50 buckets) was gained from 100 sheep. Five *jin* of butter and 15-20 *jin* of milk had to be gained from every milk cow and 150-200 *jin* of *airag* had to be gained from 50 mares. The leather of dead livestock had to be given to the *jas* (Pürewjaw, 1961, p. 67.). However, requirements of financial units were not integrally structured. For example Pürewjaw refers to Jamts *manaach* or *jaskhüü* who remembered that *Düinkhor aimag* required milk and butter even though it did not have any milk cows. Furthermore, five carts of firewood, and 5-10 *yanchaan* (Chinese coin) had to be paid yearly to the *aimag*. To the shepherds one sheep was given every year. The livestock was called *mönkh süreg* ('eternal livestock') as if there was loss it had to be compensated.

¹¹⁹ Pürewjaw refers to Erdenepil (1961, p. 96.) who claimed that Büttemj went to China to sell livestock.

¹²⁰ According to Pürewjaw, every noble was the only ruler of his own area (1961, p. 70., p. 72.). It was not allowed to move or herd livestock out of the area of the *khoshuu*.

¹²¹ The measurements of these lands were *tsin, mu, ald* (Pürewjaw, 1961, p. 77.). According to Pürewjaw (1961, p. 80., p. 82.), *Dashchoimbel datsan, Güngaachoilin datsan, Badamyogo datsan, Emch nariin datsan, Jüd datsan, Zoogoi aimag, Düinkhor aimag, Mergen khambiin aimag, Mergen nomon khanii aimag, Khüükhen noyonii aimag, and Dashdandarlin aimag* had agricultural fields in Töv aimag. In some cases Chinese people were hired to cultivate these fields (p. 81.). Considering their quality the fields could be good, medium or bad. In 1911-1921 one hectare field was worth 2-6,5 *lan* (a Chinese unit of weight, one *lan*=37,3 g). As it is clear from a contract (p. 81.) drawn with a Chinese in 1918 who cultivated a field, for three years he had to pay 600 *lan* of silver every year, irrespective of the quality and quantity of the yearly harvest. *Dashsamdanlin datsan* also had agricultural fields (p. 82.). From 1916 these monastic fields were exempt from tax (p. 84.). However, after the end of the Bogd khaan's reign all the fields were collectivized.

¹²² According to Pürewjaw (1961, p. 85.), Chinese gave loans to Mongols from the beginning of the 18th century. However, Mongols also started to give loans from the end of the 18th century. According to Pürewjaw (p. 87.) the first loans were given by the bursars or bookkeepers of the financial units and treasuries of Ikh Khüree.

prohibition was not enough to stop this flourishing source of income.¹²³ Pürewjaw claims (1961, p. 94.) that besides the financial units some wealthy high-ranking lamas such as Baljir gawj, Bütөmj, Tserendorj, Chimed *agramba* also gave loans (1961, p. 94.). The National Archives preserved numerous registers of cash (*belen möngö*), silver and brick tea which were lent (*busdaas khuraasan möngö, ekh tsai, khüüd khuraasan tsai, khüütei yawaa tsai*) to others (*busdiin gar deer taw'san möngö, tsai*) are distinguished together with exact percents of profit.

As this activity of the temples was not forbidden by higher authorities several *datsans*, *aimags* and financial units put silver and brick tea (*shar tsai, zuzaan tsai*)¹²⁴ out in interest (*möngö tsai khüülekh*).¹²⁵ While brick tea was the means of payment in the 18th century, at the end of the 19th century Chinese (*yanchaan*) and Russian money (*tselkow, tsulkow*) were also in use.¹²⁶ Countryside people, even nobles, applied for loans. If they could not pay it back (*ör nekhekh*) in time, compound interest (*khüügiin khüü*) was claimed.¹²⁷ Annual taxes were firstly introduced to the *shaw'* area in 1836 by the Manchu minister and tax was levied (*tatwar onogduulakh*) on the lay population of Mongolia.¹²⁸ *Ikh shaw'* was also required to pay tax in brick tea. Tax (*tatwar khuraasan*) consisted of (1961, p. 102.) flour (*gurił*), butter (*shar tos*), *aarts*, milk (*süü*), *öökön tos*, meat (*makh*), *buudai, khar chawga, khushga*, Chinese brick tea (*khyatad tsai*), silken scarves (*khadag*), and baskets of argal (*arag argal*), firewood and coal (*tülee nuurs*). One of the most exclusive obligations was to cover all the costs of the biggest ceremonies of the *khüree*, such as *Yerööl, Ganjuur, Tümt*, or *Büteel*. Other exclusive tasks were to provide the heating of the main assembly hall and cater for its high-ranking lamas.¹²⁹

Several statements of Pürewjaw are very excessive. His results are based on archival material, but also reflect the Socialist judgement of the lamas.

New Measures

Studying the catalogues of the National Archives one can find information about the most significant measurements that were introduced after 1921. This chapter draws attention to

¹²³ As Pürewjaw claims nobles did not pay the loans back to the lamas several times (1961, pp. 88-89.). Thus, interests rates were intensively increased and reached 36-48% at the end of the 19th century. Later apart from the financial units the treasury of the 8th Bogd himself lent money. Moreover, it was officially ordered that lamas had to ask for loans (Pürewjaw, 1961, p. 92.) to increase the wealth of monasteries in this forcible way. This was called *shaaltiin tsai* ('pressured brick tea').

¹²⁴ According to Pürewjaw (1961, p. 68.) one *shar tsai* (yellow brick tea, brick tea from the last year) was equal to 40 grams of brick tea. 60 *shar tsai* was worth one *khyatad zuzaan tsai* (Chinese thick brick tea) at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1913 150-200 *shar tsai* were worth one *lan* of silver.

¹²⁵ According to Chimed (1958, pp. 4-7.) in the beginning the financial units cooperated with merchants and usurers, but finally they operated and traded independently.

¹²⁶ According to Tserendorj (1961, pp. 24-29.), the following means of payment were in use in the city: *tsai* (tea), *tiiz* (paper money), *dens möngö* (*yembüü*), coins such as silver coin presenting Yüan Shih-k'ai (*Yuan'-shi-kai tolgoit gedeg möngön tögrög*), *tayagt* ('with stick'), Russian silver coin (*oros möngön tögrög*) and paper money such as *oros tsel'kow, pyog*, and *baga bolzoot temdeg*.

¹²⁷ According to Chimed (1958, p. 5.) if somebody was unable to pay, the police occupied his properties even if it was a yurt. Although the interest on brick tea was determined as three *fun* per month for one *lan* of silver lent from Manchus, the interest of the loan from monasteries was not prescribed. For example, they could gain 8-10 *fun* on lending one *lan* of silver. Originally, one thick brick tea (*zuzaan* or *khatuu tsai*) was equivalent to two narrow bricks of tea (*nimgen tsai*) which was equivalent to 60 yellow bricks of tea. One *seweg tsai* was the same as 800 *shar tsai* or 13 *khatuu tsai*. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries one *lan* of silver was worth 140, later 150-200 *shar tsai*. At the beginning of the 20th century almost all the *aimag* temples provided loans.

¹²⁸ According to Pürewjaw (1961, p. 100.) one *khutagt* had to be 700 *shaw'* to receive a *yamba* and *khamjlaga* from the Manchus. However, these requirements were not fulfilled in many cases though several reincarnations received this privilege.

¹²⁹ For example, as Pürewjaw claims (1961, p. 107.) *Sundui, Jadamba, Altangerel* ceremonies became annual in 1915 in *Güngaachoilin datsan*. Thus, the four aimags had to cover their costs.

relevant text types showing the changes year by year from 1921 until 1937.

For example in 1921 a special expression appears in some titles, namely *ordon ergekh* ('walk around the palace').¹³⁰ In 1921 documents were written about schools as well. Texts drawing attention to the robbery by the *Gamin* and Baron Ungern have remained from 1921 as well as a register of meals given to the convicts. In 1922 documents about the nomination and withdrawal of military leaders and officers were written. Veterinary hospitals were constructed.

Almost all the Chinese residents were chased from the city in the 1920s. However, there is a list of Chinese stores from 1924. Registers of victims and property losses due to the Baron's terror were compiled in 1925. In the same year men between the ages of 18-45 were recorded at first. There is a document in connection with the Buddhist temple which was established in Saint-Petersburg from Mongolian and Tibetan supports. In the same year a text about the problem of the next reincarnation of the 8th Bogd was written. The correspondence of lamas and Gomboidshin, who was the ambassador in Tibet has also remained (1927) as well as documents related to a religious conference in Moscow. In the same year the main assembly hall was destroyed in a fire and droughts struck the country.

In 1928 lamas of each *aimag* of the monastic city were recorded. In 1929 a document was written in order to specify the nationality of the *yonzon khamba*, the *soiwons* and other members of the Religious Board. A copy of the resolution which was adopted by the 6th Party Assembly, and which had come into force at the 5th Party Assembly have remained from 1930 as well as documents accepting the relief of the *khamba nomon khan* from his religious duties. The establishment of schools on monastic sites to teach Mongolian script, and attracting back the lamas who were going outside the *khüree* are current topics in 1930. A letter was sent to the middle and low class lamas from the religious authorities (*shashnii zakhirгаа*) of Gandan and Züün Khüree. Several *datsans* and temples could not pay the united taxes (*negdsen tatwar*) in 1930 and 1931 as dozens of documents confirm. In 1931 united tax was levied for example on *Dechingalaw* and other five temples, and the amount was put in the bank (*bankand tushaasan möngö*). In 1930 a large amount of the livestock of the *aimags* were transferred to co-operatives (*aimgiin mal sürgiig artyel'd khariulgasan*).

A document clarifies the number of lamas of temples and monasteries (1933), and another confirms that passports were given to foreign inhabitants. Men's requests to become lamas were addressed to the religious authority. In 1934 military tax (*tsergiin tatwar*) was gathered from lamas who were conscripted by their age but had not joined the army. In 1935 new novices of *Ekh Daginiin aimag*, *Dondowlin*, *Namdollin* and other *aimags* were recorded by the religious authority. There is a typewritten document which contains the rules (*dürem*) of lamas working in the cooperatives (1935). A plan to form circles (*bülgem*) to teach Mongolian script to lamas of Gandan and Züün Khüree, together with the names of people (who teaches?) and their permission to disrobe (*chölöönii khuudas*) have remained (1935) as well as the documentation of the internal structure of Gandan monastery. From 1936 a list with a chart and a questionnaire have remained which contains the incomes and expenses and all of the properties of each *jas* of Gandan and Züün Khüree. Two documents mention lamas who left their *aimag* and returned home to the countryside or disrobe (*chölöö awakh*, 1936-9, 1937-5), which indicates that numerous lamas left the city.

From the year of 1937 the following documents are extremely significant: a register of lamas of *datsans* under the age of 45; a register of lamas over the age of 46; a register of disrobed lamas; a list of lamas who returned to the countryside; a document in order to send

¹³⁰ According to dictionaries *ordniig ergelt* means a palace revolution or coup. Text titles contain the names of participants from *Güngaachoinlin*, *Dashchoimbel*, the Green Palace, and other temples. It seems that this activity was still vivid in 1923 as people were nominated to probably keep an eye (*ordon ergekh eeljiin alba*) on the Green Palace and other palaces (*Goliin süm zereg ordniig ergekh khümüüsiig tomilon nersiin dans*).

children (novices) to school; a register of lamas and youngsters who joined the army; a contract and documents of communal handicraft cooperatives (*lam nariin artyel*) to employ lamas who disrobed (*Lam nariin artyeliin geree; khar bolson lam nariig ajilluulakh tukhai kholbogdoltoi bichgüüd*), and a document about rules of lamas' taxation. From a religious point of view the questionnaires listing the fixed date ceremonies are the most useful as it was mentioned above.

Finally, from the last year, 1938, the following documents are important: a register of lamas of the 30 *aimags* of the khüree; a register of lamas who were permitted to leave (or disrobe); a register of religious and other properties; a register of lamas with ranks and those without; a register of lamas working in the cooperative (*negdel*), and a document in connection with the script learning groups (*bichig üsgiin bülgem*) which was established next to the religious authority.

Texts also mention *medeechins* (authorities), and *ardiin tölөөлөгchins* (people's representatives). The collection of the National Archives contains documents related to the demolition of certain temples (1938).

CITY STRUCTURE, PARTS OF THE CITY AND THEIR MONASTERIES AND TEMPLES

The city settled in its permanent place in 1855, though it can be said that, from 1778, it was situated in the present Ulaanbaatar basin. From 1855 onwards it was divided into the following main parts: the principal monastic districts of Züün Khüree, Baruun Khüree (Gandan and the area behind Gandan); the quarters inhabited by lay people (*kharchuud*) *Ikh shaw*, *Züün kharchuud*, *Züün ömnöd khoroo* and *Baruun ömnöd khoroo*; the trade quarters *Züün damnuurchin* and *Baruun damnuurchin*; the Russian quarter called *Konsuliin denj*; and the Chinese merchant quarter called *Maimaa khot* (Maimaachen).

As it has been mentioned above there were significant changes in the life of the capital in the early part of the twentieth century: in 1911 when the Manchu empire collapsed and the 8th Bogd came to power as a religious and political leader; in 1921 when Baron Ungern von Sternberg and his White Russians were chased out, the revolution was won and Mongolia become independent; in 1924 when Mongolia became a People's Republic with a constitution after the 8th Bogd's death, the name of the city became Ulaanbaatar, and the suppression of religion started; and in 1937-38 when, after more than a decade of gradual suppression, almost every active monastery was destroyed and thousands of lamas, nobles and laymen were purged. Thus it cannot be said that from 1855 onwards to the 1937/38 purges the capital always looked the same as it is described below, as it underwent continuous change. As temples and places of worship were gradually closed as a result of these changes, the city itself was reframed into a modern city from a monastic centre. However, the main parts or districts in the city remained in place until 1938. The centre of the new Ulaanbaatar city with the square and modern buildings was located south of the old centre, between the Yellow Palace and the Temple Complex of Chojjin Lama.

The Rinchen map was compiled in 1979. His intention was to represent all the temples in the old capital that he could get information about. However, this does not mean that all of the temples he marked were active in the same time. It reflects the temples existing during a more general time period of the early part of the 20th century. Not all of the marked temples were working immediately prior to the purges. Different political events also influenced these changes, such as the hounding out of the Chinese, which resulted in closing down the Chinese temples (some of them also marked on his map) in the 1920s. Jügder's painting of the capital was painted in 1913 well before the repressions started, thus represents an earlier period. It shows the monasteries and temples active at the time.

For this description of the city structure, the above mentioned two primary sources were used in addition to the descriptions given by the data providers and informants and the written evidence of other sources. Therefore, the following description of the city structure and its temples relates also to the general period from 1855 on to the first decades of the 20th century, during which the city gradually changed and developed. Firstly, the certain districts themselves are briefly introduced, then, their monasteries and temples are detailed.

ZÜÜN KHÜREE, THE EASTERN MONASTIC DISTRICT

Bogdiin Khüree was divided into two main monastic parts: Züün Khüree (M. *£egün küriyen*, Eastern monastic district) and Gandan (T. *dga'-ldan*) or Baruun Khüree (M. *Barayun küriyen*, Western monastic district). The latest was the centre of philosophical Buddhist education. Both parts were surrounded by *aimags* where lamas lived. Pozdneev uses the terms *Khüree* for Züün Khüree and *Gandan* for Baruun Khüree, which indicates that these names were commonly used at that time for the two parts, with *züün* ('East') and *baruun* ('West') being used to describe the relative position of these two principal areas of Bogdiin Khüree.

Numerous books contain detailed or sporadic data on Züün Khüree and many photos

are available in books¹³¹ and in the collection of the Film Archives.¹³² Some valuable paintings and sketches show the arrangement of this old monastic part.¹³³ Data providers helped to clarify some particulars on its temple buildings and religious life in the 1920-30s.

Züün Khüree was the biggest district in the city. The Eastern part of the capital was settled first and, as such, was the administrative centre of the capital with the fenced-off Yellow Palace (*Shar ordon*, founded first by Öndör gegeen in 1639 as his residence) of the Bogd, and the main assembly hall, called *Bat tsagaan* temple in its centre. The name *Shar ordon* or Yellow Palace comes from the fact that the fence around the courtyard was yellow (Pozdneev, 1971, p. 59.), while *Bat tsagaan* ('massive white') refers to the features of the assembly hall. The whole of the Züün Khüree area with its constituent buildings can be seen in detail on Jügder's painting.

The central part consisted of about 15 buildings and yurts, situated in and around the fenced area of *Shar ordon*. Jügder's painting shows them in details. The most imposing buildings of the *Shar ordon* and, indeed, the whole capital, were the golden roofed *Dechingalwiin khural* (R-925) within one fenced area with *Dorj powran*, the octagonal temple of the 3rd Bogd, *Ochirdariin süm*, *Eregsümgombiin süm*, and other yurt-palaces, temples and yurts which served as a place for religious and political meetings inside the enclosure of the Yellow Palace. Other buildings, yurt palaces were also situated here. Outside the court of the Bogd's residence *Baruun örgöö* or *Awtai sain khanii örgöö* ('Palace of *Awtai Sain khan*' or 'Palace on the West') was situated on the left. Behind the area of the *Shar ordon* the *Tsogchin* temple was situated. On either sides of the *Tsogchin* temple there were the following temples: *Noyon shüteenii süm* or *Manaliin süm*, *Dar' ekhiin süm*, and the *Mamba datsan* (originally founded in 1760) for medical, *Zurkhain datsan* (1789) for astrological, and *Jüid datsan* (1759) for tantric studies. These temple buildings were settled here in 1855 after the move from Tolgoit. A special place of worship was the *Maidariin süm* housing the 16m high Maitreya statue. During the reign of the 5th Bogd the *khamba nomon khan*, Agwaankhaidaw established the statue in 1834. Behind the Maitreya temple was the open-air kitchen where food for the lamas was prepared in huge metal vessels.

Moreover, as Jügder's painting shows the centre was surrounded by the 30 *aimags* where the lama population lived. The arrangement of the buildings of the various monastic assemblies of Züün Khüree and Gandan was the same, in which over 10,000 (*tümen*) lamas lived. It followed the principle of *khüree deg*, that is the arrangement of the *aimag* temples and the lamas' dwellings in a circle or, more exactly, a \cap -shape, around the central area comprising the main assembly hall and the principal monastic institutions all of which faced South.¹³⁴

¹³¹ Tsültem: intr. 12 (*Maidariin süm*), 22, 34 (*Tsogchin dugan*, *Manba datsan* and *Noyon shüteenii süm*), 43 (*Manba datsan*), 44, 45 (*Jüid datsan*), 50-52 (*Dechingalwiin dugan*), 56, 57 (*Dorj powran* or *Naiman taltai süm*), 158 (bronze stüpa); Maidar: 63 (*Maidariin süm*), 107; Sereeter: 56 (*Tsogchin dugan*, *Emch nariin datsan*), 64 (*Jüid datsan*), 66 (*Emch nariin datsan*), 70 (*Maidariin süm*), 84 (*Dechingalwiin datsan*), 90 (*Dorj powran* or *Naiman taltai süm*); Shepetilnikov: 24, 94, 27-29, 31, 57, 43, 79-82; Palsi: 103, 105, 106; Geleta/Forbáth: 120, 121, 152 (*Dechingalwiin datsan*), etc.

¹³² In the collection of the Film Archives more than 100 photos are catalogized under the name "Pictures of Züün Khüree and *Shar Ordon*" (K23997-K24101 and K23677-K23712). Some examples are: K24100 (*Maidariin süm*), K24081 (printing house), K24020 (*Dechingalwiin dugan*, *Rigsümgombiin süm*), K24030 (*Dorj powran* or *Naiman taltai süm*), K24035 (*Maidariin süm*), K23999 (*Dechingalwiin süm*), K24005 (*Dechingalwiin dugan*, *Rigsümgombiin süm*), K24009 (*Dechingalwiin dugan*, *Tsogchin dugan*, *Maidariin süm*), K24059 (*Tsogchin dugan*), K24061 (bronze stüpa), K24062 (*Emch nariin datsan*), K23699 (*Dechingalwiin dugan*).

¹³³ Painting by Jügder (1913); Tsültem 1988: intro. 26 (map sketch of Züün Khüree), Maidar: 57, Maidar's sketch of *Tsogchin dugan*, the same picture are available in Tsültem: 20

¹³⁴ Countryside monastic cities throughout Mongolia were arranged in the same way, sometimes with *aimags* (such as *Daichin wangiin khüree*, present Bulgan aimag or *Sain noyon khanii khüree* / *Uyangiin khüree*, present

Every *aimag* in Züün Khüree had many hundreds of lamas and its own square or yurt-shaped wooden or felt temple. The monastic schools, situated East of the Bogd's residence (*Zurkhain datsan*, *Jiud datsan*, *Manba datsan*), were independent from the *aimags*.

There were printing houses (*barkhan*, T. *par-khang*) in Züün Khüree, each with about ten workers carving the printing blocks and printing the religious books, which were mainly ordered by monasteries of the countryside.

According to Pozdneev (1971, p. 64.) during the daytime people were allowed to enter freely into the Züün Khüree area but, after 6 pm. women, except the old and children, were forbidden to remain in any part of the whole district. It is said that policemen secured this order.¹³⁵

Several streets crossed Züün Khüree. The zone between the former Züün Khüree *aimags* is currently the area between the present Sükhbaatar Street and Ikh surguul' Street. This area was the central square (*örgön chölöö*, *gol chölöö*) or street leading to the *Shar ordon*. It was called *Zalrakh zam*, the approach road used by the Bogd on which he arrived from his palace which was situated on the bank of the River Tuul. On all sides of the boundary of Züün Khüree there were rows of prayer wheels on the peripheral road (*goroo*, T. *skor*, 'circumambulation, circumambulate'), where hundreds of pious pilgrims made his bowings from dawn till it turned dark (see Ramstedt, 1978, p. 44.).¹³⁶ That on the South was called *Dashchoinkhoriin khüird* (*ölzii khutag nomiin khüird*, T. *bkra-shis chos-'khor*) or prayer wheels of auspiciousness.

Litter was thrown beyond the path encircling Züün Khüree, as the entire Züün Khüree area had to be kept clean. These litter heaps can be seen on the paintings of the *khüree*.

There were also stūpas throughout Züün Khüree. According to Jambal, there was a bronze stūpa outside the Yellow Palace. The lamas studying philosophy believed that if one circumambulated this stūpa from sunset until sunrise, it would help one to attain wisdom (Bawden, 1997, English text pp. 8-9., Mongolian text p. 687.). This bronze stūpa can be seen in several old photos.

Pozdneev claims (1971, p. 64.) that within Züün Khüree the streets and lanes were narrow and twisting with only a few gardens and trees. The gates of the *khashaas* (courtyards) were painted red, crowned with a tablet with the OM syllable carved on them. Within the courtyard fences there were usually two Mongol yurts, one used as a (winter) residence of the lamas with a wooden entranceway to protect it from wind and one for the kitchen. The better-off lamas also built wooden houses where they spent the summer. As it is traditional in Mongolia, the entrance of all the buildings and yurts faced to the South. In Züün Khüree as well as in Gandan yurts and sometimes small wooden residential buildings were arranged in large fenced-off courtyards next to the temple buildings, which were made of brick, wood or housed in a yurt. Pozdneev adds (1971, p. 64.) that one saw hardly any signs of life in the streets of Züün Khüree. The Bogd gave blessings in the morning and pilgrims wandered from one temple to another until 11am at which time the temple ceremonies were finished for the day and the gate of his Yellow Palace was closed. Then, the worshippers either gathered in their lama friends' yurts or spent the whole day in the open-air market place. This was where the majority of lamas, along with other residents of the *khüree*, passed their leisure time.

In spring 1938 the temples of Züün Khüree were destroyed or nationalized for use for

Öwörkhangaï aimag). Lama population and laymen lived in courtyards or yurts around the temples of monastic complexes.

¹³⁵ There was a police unit called *arwan tawnii tsagdaa* ('the police of 15'), which, according to Bawden (English text: p. 47., Mongolian text: p. 728.) was appointed by the Manchus in the later half of the 19th century to patrol the environs of Uрга and other settlements for fifteen miles around.

¹³⁶ As for the circumambulation road of Züün Khüree and Gandan Agwaankhaidaw abbot wrote a book bearing the title *Ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad sgrub gling-gi skor-tshad* (TBRC: W16808) to help lamas and devotees to achieve the proper practices.

other purposes. For today, only three yurt-shaped *aimag* temples (*Wangain aimag*, *Erkhem toinii aimag*, *Ekh daginiin aimag*) have remained intact, thus can reflect today the special atmosphere of the once existing old monastic part.

THE CENTRE OF THE EASTERN MONASTIC DISCRICT

Rinchen marks the main assembly hall or the centre of Züün Khüree under the name *Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin* (*Nomiin Ikh Khüree*) (R-910).¹³⁷ However, many name variants of the Tibetan origin *ri-bo dge rgyas dga'-ldan bshad-sgrub gling* are in use such as *Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin*, *Riwogeji Gandanshaddüwlin*, etc., and it is sometimes also mentioned in its Mongolian translation: *Ölziig badruulagch tögs bayasgalant nomlol büteeliin siim*.

Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar, establishing the first main assembly hall in 1654 named his whole complex as *Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin*. When the capital moved for the first time (to Züün Khüree, 'Eastern Khüree', in today's Khentii aimag) the *Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin* was used for the name of the great assembly hall established there. So it can be argued that Öndör Gegeen established the assembly hall named *Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin*, which, from that time onwards throughout the numerous relocations, was always the main assembly hall of the capital on each site. Also the basic components of the centre of Züün Khüree remained the same each time the capital moved.

The capital relocated to the overall area of today's Ulaanbaatar in 1778, but moved this territory before settling in its present site in 1855. From this time the Eastern part (Züün Khüree) of the capital, which included the main temple, the administrative centre of the city and the Bogd's residence, was situated on the right bank of the River Selbe. According to Banzragch (2004, p. 15.), Züün Khüree occupied around 720×720 *ald* (1 *ald*=1.6 m) (equivalent to 1,300sqm) area.

According to Sereeter (2004, p. 55.), the great treasury (*Ikh san*) of the Bogd financed all the monastic schools (*datsan*), temples and assemblies (*khural*) located in and around the fence of the Yellow Palace. The *Tsogchin* also possessed treasuries or warehouses (*san jas*) where various ritual objects and accessories needed for the ceremonies were kept. The *Tsogchin san* was regarded as the next wealthiest after that of the Bogd. Two institutions, namely *Gandantegchenlin* (R-912) and a congregation dedicated to the memory of Awtai sain khan, called *Baruun örgöö* or *Alag baiw*, were direct branches of the *Tsogchin* temple. Furthermore, the following places were also under the administration of the *Tsogchin*: *Shaddüwlin khiid* (R-937), *Büteeliin jas* (financial unit) connected to the *Maaniin büteeliin khural*, i.e. the ceremony in which *Janraiseg's* prayers were recited; *Noyon shüteen*, where the assembly of continuous fasting meditation (*Mönkh nünnain khural*) was gathered; the assembly of *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed* / *Tsegmid* (T. *tshe-dpag-med*, Skr. Amitāyus) (*Ayuushiin khural*) called *Tseteew* (probably the same as *Tsedew*, T. *tshe-sgrub*, 'long life practice'); the printing house called *Sümbüm* (*nom burkhanii bar khewleliin gazar*); the non-stop assemblies (*Duu tasrakhgüi khurluud*), *Dashsandanlin datsan* (R-935) and its *aimags*; and the congregations of *Gürem* (T. *sku-rim*), *Ganjuur* (T. *bka'-gyur*), and *Solgiin dugan* (probably T. *gsol-kha*, 'libation, request, oblation').¹³⁸ According to the introduction of the Manchu catalogue of the main assembly hall (M-98) the operation of the following temples were subordinated to the *Tsogchin*: non-stop assembly (*Duu tasrakhgüi khural*), *Ayuushiin Tsewegiin khural*, *Manaliin büteeliin khural*, *Baruun örgöönii khural*, the congregation of *Shülkh* (i.e. *Soleg*), *Gürem*, *Ikh Ganjuur*, *Noyon shüteen*, and the printing house (*Sümbüm*).

¹³⁷ The name *Rebogejai Gandanshaddüwlin* cited by Rinchen refers either to the great assembly hall itself or to the whole central area of Züün Khüree.

¹³⁸ The old lamas do not remember to the latest three. They might not exist in the 1930s.

Ochirdar' and *Dechingalaw* temples were subordinated directly to the Bogd. According to Pürewjaw (1961, pp. 32-33.) in the case of certain temples, such *Ochirdariin süm*, *Baruun örgöö*, *Tsagaan süm*, etc., where instead of regular ceremonies only *jasaa khurals* were rarely held, the staff was few in number.

In 1925, after the death of the Bogd khaan and the formation of the new government, the financial units (*san*, *jas*) were also reformed. After 1925 the operation of some of the temples was supported by the *Ochirdariin* or *Wachirdariin san* (Vajradhara treasury), the treasury belonging to the temple called *Ochirdariin süm* or *Wachiradiin süm*. According to Pürew's books (2004, p. 11., 1994, p. 36.) the administrative centre of Töv aimag (Central province) moved to the Yellow Palace area in the 1930s. In 1942, this was moved to Zuunmod, and the buildings of the Yellow Palace were used as a communal handicraft co-operative (*lam nariin artel'*) where lamas who had been forced to disrobe and leave their temples, worked. An additional large building was built for manufacturing. The wooden triumphal gate, which was a Manchu initiative in 1883 in honour of the 8th Bogd, and the wooden hedge (*shörgön khashaa*) that surrounded the main square in front of the Yellow Palace, were destroyed in 1938. The two lions that stood on either side of the main Southern entrance of the main square were saved. They are now in front of the Natural History Museum. Today the whole area has been built over and nothing has remained from the many buildings of the former centre. The main assembly hall stood in the Western part of what is now the courtyard of the present Mongolian Art Centre for Children's Creativity. *Dechingalaw* temple was situated where now the 6th building of Mongolian National University stands. The other buildings of the centre were situated surrounding them.

***Tsogchin*, the Main Assembly Hall**

Rebogejai Gandanshaddiüwlin (T. *ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bshad sgrub gling*), *Tsogchin dugan* / *Ikh Tsogchin* (T. *tshogs chen 'du-khang*), *Bat tsagaan*
GPS: N 47°55.583', E 106°55.030', elevation 1294 m

The *Tsogchin dugan* (T. *tshogs chen 'du-khang*), the great assembly hall, stood at the centre of Züün Khüree, as is usual in monastic complexes in this tradition. It was also called *Bat tsagaan* ('enormous white') referring to its features. Originally designed by Öndör Gegeen, the square-shaped white temple had 108 pillars (The actual building always retained the same design: a one-storey wooden structure on a quadrant base covered by white felt.). Pozdneev (1971, p. 55.) describes the appearance of the temple in detail. It had a square cupola with four windows and three broad folding doors, the middle being higher as it was the entrance for the Bogd. Tsültem claims in his introduction (Tsültem, 1988), that it had 108 columns, its square form was 42×42m and accommodated 2,000 lamas during the daily chanting.

According to Pozdneev (1971, pp. 54-55.), daily chanting lasted from 9am to 11am. The general assembly of lamas gathered here only four times a year, namely: on New Year's day; on the occasion of *Choinkhor düitsen* held on the 4th of the last summer month, one of the four great days of Buddha, which was combined with the reading of the *Ganjuur* which lasted for three days from the 9th to 12th of the last summer month; the *Maidar ergekh*, the circumambulation of the sculpture of Maitreya, the future Buddha in the 3rd or 4th month; and the presentation of *Danshig* offering for the longevity of the Bogd.

According to the oral history, 10,000 *gelens* (*tiimen gelen*, the expression meaning also generally 'multitude of lamas') participated in the oath-taking retreat period (*Khailen*) of Bogdiin Khüree, gathering for 45 days in the enlarged *Tsogchin* temple. On these occasions with the great number of lamas gathered, the temple space was enlarged by the use of felt-covered temporary extensions. (Though *Khailen* is mentioned in the archival materials related

to Idgaachoizinlin datsan of Gandan, the old lamas confirmed that this retreat was held in the main assembly hall.)

According to Pozdneev's description (1971, pp. 54-57.), the interior of the main assembly hall was not luxurious, and did not differ from *aimag* temples, as it had the same wooden floor full of holes, and low, bare benches for the lamas. One point of difference was the throne (*sentii*, T. *seng-khri*, 'lion throne') of the Bogd with its five cushions located in front of the altar. The sculptures were arranged on the North wall on either side of the *gegeen*'s throne in wooden display cupboards. (This is in accordance with the prescribed position for objects of worship in Buddhist temples.) As the *Tsogchin* temple lacked any kind of ornaments, it was almost the poorest temple in the *khüree* during the daily ceremonies. Öndör *gegeen*'s sitting cushion, hat, the sculptures he had made himself and the books he had brought from Tibet were kept here.

The main tutelary deity of the temple was *Jigjid* and the main protector was *Lkham* (Sereeter, 2004, pp. 54-56.).

According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 52.), a large sculpture called *Ikhiin Zuu* ('Buddha of the Great') made by Öndör *gegeen* was placed on its altar when it was enlarged. Today it is kept in *Gandan* monastery. According to Dariimaa (p. 94.), during the *Tümet Ikh khangal* ceremony the silken painted-scrolls of the wrathful deities and the silken pictures representing the various offerings dedicated to them one by one (this kind of *thangka* composition is called *ganzai* (T. *bskang rdzas*) were on full display being covered by a curtain at all other time. Out of all these painted scrolls of the wrathful deities, which decorated the old *Tsogchin* temple, the three remaining ones (*Shalsh*, *Gombo*, *Ochirwaan*') are now kept in *Gandan* (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist*, pp. 285-286.).

The National Archives includes numerous sources related to the financial unit of the main assembly hall. As the main temple in the capital city, this temple had the highest income. The temple administration was conducted in a separate wooden yurt called *Khoit örgöö*. According to Sereeter and the Manchu catalogue (M-98) of the National Archives, a lot of financial units (15 in number) belonged to the temple, such as *Ikh jas*, *Yerööl Ganjuuriin jas*, *Pogiin jas*, *Shaddüwlingiin jas*, *Düinkhoriin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Chogiin jas*, *Khailan jas*, *Duu tasrakhgüi Ochirwaaniin jas*, *Duu tasrakhgüi Gombiin jas*, *Duu tasrakhgüi Ulaan sakhiusnii jas*, *Shiirawnyambiin jas*, *Duu tasrakhgüi Nyamba Ayuushiin jas* (probably *Duu tasrakhgüi Nyambiin jas*, *Duu tasrakhgüi Ayuushiin jas*), *Duu tasrakhgüi Zagdsambariin jas*, *Maaniin büteeliin jas*. The day to day affairs of the three philosophical schools of the capital, located in Gandan, and the schools of tantra (*Jiid*), medicine (*Emch or Manba*), astrology (*Zurkhai*) and *Lamrim* were all financed by the treasury of *Tsogchin* and their own financial units.

For preparing food for the assembly, the *Tsogchin* had its own open-air kitchen behind the temple, where nearly a dozen vast brass and iron kettles were set in the ground. According to Pozdneev (1971, p. 56.) the wooden platform used for calling lamas to the ceremonies (*büreenii shat*) was situated in the South-East of the hall.

The Bogd, the head abbot (*khamba nomon khan*), the vice abbot (*ded khamba*), the five *tsorj*, the four main disciplinary masters, the four main chanting masters had their seats in the main assembly hall (*Tsogchin dugan*). The lower ranking lamas in the *Tsogchin* were the four assistants (*geyeg*, T. *dge-g-yog*), two offering preparers (*takhilch*), two offering masters (*chowombo*, T. *mchod-dpon-po*), 60 shrine keepers (*duganch*, T. 'du-khang-pa), two treasurers or bookkeepers (*nyaraw*, T. *gnyer-pa*, belonged to *Ikh jas*), one clerk (*bicheech*), and two guards (*sakhiul*).

In the *Tsogchin* temple readings were held every day, with the participation of the old lamas and young novices (while the other lamas pursued their studies in the monastic colleges of Gandan). According to Dashtseren lama there were special ceremonies on the 8th, 15th and

30th of the lunar month. The other ceremonies depended on the wishes of the donors (*jandag*, T. *sbyin-bdag*). The *Tsam* religious dance was performed twice a year in front of the Yellow Palace: a smaller one in winter (Gangaa, 2003, p. 19.) it was on the 29th of the middle winter month (presumably it was held on 29th of the last winter month); and on the 9th of the last summer month about 100 deities were represented, on which date a longevity ceremony (*Batorshil örgökh*, or *Danshig*, T. *brtan-bzhugs*) was also performed (Gangaa, 2003, p. 19.). The Maitreya procession (*Maidar ergekhe*), where the statue of the future Buddha, Maitreya was processed through the city, attracted many people. Other great annual ceremonies were held here as well, such as the celebration of the Lunar New Year (*Tsagaan sar*, 'white month') with its ceremonies commemorating Buddha's defeat of the six masters, the holders of heretical doctrines for fifteen days on in the first spring month.

The catalogues of the National Archives includes 771 titles related to the operation of the *Tsogchin* and its subordinated units. The catalogue (M-98) of the Manchu period contains 461 texts dating from 1853 till the 1900s. According to the introduction of the catalogue *Tsogchin* was firstly initiated in 1813. Apart from running its own operation, the *Tsogchin* was responsible for various religious questions, such as the recitation of the everyday chanting (*tsogchin*), the registration of new lamas and novices, and the nomination of ranked lamas of the *aimags* and *datsans*. In the beginning the main assembly hall had four disciplinary masters, a chief lama, a vice lama, a treasurer and a chief officer (*zaisan*). The Archives contains several interesting texts. For instance, lamas, nobles and high-ranking lamas were prescribed how to prepare and offer an offering plate (*tawgiin idee*) to the main abbot during the celebration of the Lunar New Year (1853). Donations were collected in 1867 in order to decorate the roof of the main assembly hall with a golden top ornament (*altan jantsan*). There are lists of silver and brick tea properties, livestock, and other goods which were donated during the *Züün sakhiusnii dordow* offering (sacrificial cake offering to the Eastern protector of the temple) (1880). Brick tea was lent to *Baga Manal jas* of *Noyon shüteenii aimag* in 1896. There are texts about the four non-stop assemblies (1897), the requisites of offerings that were dedicated to the Buddha or other deities, and about the properties of *Mönkh nügneen jas*. Moreover, camels, brick tea, meat, wheat, flour, and butter that were donated or used for fixed date ceremonies were listed as well as the livestock, the *mongo* and brick tea incomes and expenses of certain financial units. Commands prohibiting women to settle and live inside the monastic districts were issued in 1875, 1886, 1887, and 1893. The colour of robes worn by high-ranking lamas (*khamba*, *tsorj*, etc) was determined in 1892. As its clear from texts the main assembly hall was renovated in 1893. Lamas were ordered to confirm their vows in 1896. Lamas who gathered in the main assembly hall was counted many times (1896, etc.). The names of lamas who usually did not participate in ceremonies were put on a list in 1897. A command in order to raise funds for the building of *Choijin lamiin süm* was also issued in 1902.

The catalogue (A-76) of the Bogd khaan's period contains 110 items related to the main assembly hall and its subordinated institutions. *Mönkh nügnein*, the non-stop assemblies, and the *otogs* (for example *Tsuyan otog* which was situated on the North-West) that belonged under the supervision of the main assembly hall are frequently mentioned in texts. The most interesting texts are the following: donations for the renovation of the main assembly hall (1917), calculation of male sheep's number herded in *otog* areas and other pastures of the vice lama and *Noyon khutagt nomon khan* (1920), list of the three kinds of livestock of the *yonzon khamba lam*'s treasury (*Yonzon khamba lamiin san*) (1921). Every Mongolian inhabitant was ordered to put out prayer flags (*dartsag*, T. *dar lcog*) and to read the command (*liinden*) of the Bogd (1912). The lamas who left their own *aimags* without permission to move to another *aimag* (*aimag shiljsen lam nar*) were punished (1913). A contract was drawn by a Russian man in order to mend the huge tea kettle pot(s) (*manziin togoo*) of the main assembly hall

(1914). Families were encouraged to have the text “Four maóðalas of *Lkham*” recited in order to promote the prosperity of the State (1915). Rules of Police and Security in *Niislel Khüree* were determined in 1918. The incomes and the expenses of *Ikh jas* and the amount of silver that were collected to carve the Kanjur’s blocks were recorded in the same year. Some texts have remained without exact date, such as the one honouring the people who renovated the main assembly hall and the people who supported their works; or another which recorded the expenses and the incomes of the lamas who moved from the monastic parts to the lay quarters.¹³⁹

The catalogue of the Modern Period (Kh-182) contains 200 texts written between 1922 and 1937 about the *Ikh jas* of the main assembly hall. Apart from herdsmen (1922), and the number of horses (1922), the security guards or shrine keepers and cooks (*manj*) of *Tsogchin jas* were recorded (1923). As it is clear from the texts the bookkeepers, working together with some managers (*daamal*), were responsible for the administration of the livestock. The herds and flocks of the main assembly hall were herded in Northern, Southern and Eastern pastures. The *Tsogchin jas* had all the five kinds of livestock. List of incomes of *Ikh jas* (1927), expenses of wheat, flour, juniper, silken scarves and other requisites of ceremonies (1928), the equipment that was removed from the religious authorities to *Tsogchin jas* in 1926 (1929), donations and costs of renovation of the main assembly hall (in 1932 and 1935) were all recorded. The livestock belonging to the four non-stop assemblies (1921, 1922), and their required quantity of butter, meat, flour, wheat, and other goods (1921) were also listed. When the Bogd khaan passed away in 1924 many of his robes and articles were given to *Büteeiin jas*. As the documents indicate remarkable changes did not take place in the religious life of the 1920s. The incomes and expenses of the eternal butter-lamps of *Ikh jas* (1925), the three kinds of livestock of the six non-stop assemblies (1925), later that of the eight non-stop assemblies (1926) were all recorded. Moreover, the incomes of the ten non-stop assemblies with their loans in felt, butter, and leather (1926), and the three kinds of livestock of the four financial units of the ten non-stop assemblies (1927) were listed in the 1920s. As the documents show in 1927 the moveable and immovable properties of numerous financial units of Züün Khüree and Gandan were listed. In 1928 the livestock of the *aimags*, the *datsans*, the assemblies and financial units of Züün Khüree and Gandan were counted. The livestock of *Ulaan sakhius*, *Shiirawnyambiin jas*, and *Mönkh zuliin jas* were listed as well (1928). As for the 1930s documents about the presumed incomes and expenses of the *jas* concerning 1935-1936 are available. In 1936 all temples, with their values and properties, incomes and expenses were recorded. Finally, in 1937 a list clarified the value of the buildings, the temples, and the objects that were offered to *Tsogchin ikh jas*, and its subordinated assemblies and financial units. The four and six non-stop assemblies are mentioned several times in titles. Though originally there were ten kinds of non-stop assemblies, finally their number decreased to 3-4.

The Modern Period’s catalogue (F-183) includes 85 individual sources about *Mönkh nügnein jas*. They were written between 1921 and 1937. Among the several texts dealing with incomes and expenses, and the number of the livestock, the camels, horses and bulls that had been leased out were counted in 1921. In 1938 the livestock of *Mönkh nügnein jas* and two other financial units were counted. In 1934 the incomes and expenses were recorded as well as on the 13 December, 1937. On 3 October, 1937 the cash and immovable properties were registered.

The main assembly hall was destroyed in 1938. A photo of the old temple is available in the Film Archives (K24059) which also appears in Tsültem’s book (1988, picture 34). It

¹³⁹ *Dechingpuntsaglin datsan*, *Dechinchoilon khural* and *Odserdechinlhündiüwlin khural* are mentioned in titles, though these could not be identified in the present work. They might not belong to Bogdiin khüree, but were located in the countryside.

shows the main assembly hall with its surrounding fence and the entrances. It stood in the Western part of what is now the courtyard of the present Mongolian Art Centre for Children's Creativity (*Khüükhediin urlan büteekh töw*, previously known as the *Pioneerin Ordon*, 'Pioneer Palace').

Shar Ordon, the Bogd's Yellow Palace

The central part of Züün Khüree consisted of about 15 buildings and yurts, situated in and around the fenced area of *Shar ordon*. Jügder's painting shows them in details. The most imposing buildings of the *Shar ordon* and, indeed, the whole capital, were the golden roofed *Dechingalawiin khural* (R-925) within one fenced area with *Dorj powran*, the octagonal temple of the 3rd Bogd, *Ochirdariin süm* (Vajradhara temple), *Eregsümgombiin süm*, and other yurt-palaces, temples and yurts which served as a place for religious and political meetings inside the enclosure of the Yellow Palace. Other buildings, yurt palaces were also situated here: for example, *Khökh torgon tugdum/ Töriin khökh tugdum* ('the blue silken yurt palace/ the blue yurt palace of the state'), which was where the great political assembly was held once a year. The sites of other temples and shrines like *Tünlkhagiin khural*, *Namsrain khural* cannot be determined exactly, but they surrounded the residence of the Bogd. Outside the court of the Bogd's residence *Baruun örgöö* or *Awtai sain khanii örgöö* ('Palace of Awtai Sain khan' or 'Palace on the West') was situated on the left.

Dechingalaw, the Kālacakra Temple

Dechingalaw / Dechingalwa (T. *bde chen bskal-pa*, 'eon of Great Bliss'), *Ikh amgalant tsag*, *Düinkhor datsan* (T. *dus-'khor grwa-tshang*)

GPS: N 47°55.559', E 106°55.063' (site of the old *Dechingalaw* temple)

Rinchen marks this temple separately as *Dechingalawiin khural* (R-925). It was also called shortly as *Dechingalaw / Dechingalwa* or in Mongolian translation *Ikh amgalant tsag* (T. *bde-chen bskal-pa*, 'era of great bliss') or *Düinkhor datsan* (T. *dus-'khor*, Skr. Kālacakra) referring to the fact that the Kālacakra system was practiced here. Several sources mention details of this temple and its practice and photos in books¹⁴⁰ and in the Film Archives (K23699, K23999, K24005, K24009, K24020) show its beautiful outer appearance. G. Buyandelger lama provided data on its ceremonies.

The Kālacakra teachings, the 'Wheel of time' (T. *dus-'khor*, pronounced as *Düinkhor* in Mongolia, *Tsagiin khüird* in Mongolian translation), is one of the secret tantric teachings given by Çākyamuni Buddha to the first King of the legendary kingdom of Shambhala, called Suchandra (T. *zla-ba bzang-po*, *Diwaasambu*/*Dewaasambu* in Mongolian pronunciation).

The teaching became widespread in the 11th century. It illustrates the inter-relationship between the phenomenal world, the physical body and the mind-animated nature or living beings. It serves as the basis for zodiac astrology and the temporal cycle. *Düinkhor* (T. *dus-'khor*, Skr. Kālacakra) is also the name of a higher tutelary tantric deity, who is one of the five wrathful tutelary deities of the Gelukpa tradition. His standing form, in which he is embracing his consort, has four faces (blue, red, yellow, white) symbolizing the four seasons. His twelve eyes symbolize the twelve months, his 24 arms the 24 hours, and his finger joints symbolize the 360 days. He treads on evil spirits.

The first tantric assembly (*jü*d, T. *rgyud*) was founded by the 2nd Bogd in 1739 under the Tibetan name: *Bde-chen gsang-sngags gling* (*Dechinsanaglin*). Later, three places were established in the monastic camp where tantric systems were followed, namely *Dechingalaw*

¹⁴⁰ Tsültem 1988: intr: 22; 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 55, 56; Maidar: 107; Sereeter: 84; Shepetilnikov 57; Palsi: 83; Geleta/Forbáth: 152

datsan, *Badma yogo datsan* and *Jiud datsan* (R-910 and R-912). According to the information sheet in the present day *Düinkhor datsan*, the original *datsan* was constructed in 1800 after the 4th Bogd visited the *Düinkhor* temple in Lhasa and participated in the *Düinkhor* initiation (*awshig*, Skr. *abhiśeka*) performed by Lkhokh or Lkhakh Jalsrai Galsan Tüwden Jigjid Gegeen (in short form, Lkhokh jalsrai gegeen, T. ? rgyal-sras bskal-bzang thub-bstan 'jigs-byed). He founded *Dechingalawiin siim* in the area of *Düinkhoriin aimag*, which got its name after its main tutelary deity, *Düinkhor*, and after a special ceremony called *Jambal choijin* (T. 'jam-dpal chos-skyong) or small *Düinkhor* (*Baga Düinkhor*), which was held there every month. The main tutelary deity of the temple was Kālacakra, while the main protectors were *Dorjshüg* (T. *rdo-rje shugs(-ldan)*) and *Jamsran*, the Red Protector. According to Sereeter (2004, pp. 83-84.), the temple building was completed in 1806. The great treasury (*Ikh san*) covered the expenses of the temple. Sereeter claims that despite many lamas being educated in the *datsan* they could not obtain a scholastic rank. 40 lamas belonged to the temple. However, according to Buyandelger lama, the *zeerembe* rank (T. *rtsis-rims-pa*), the highest academic qualification in astrology, could be obtained in the *datsan*.

The brass portrait (*giindaa*, T. *sku-'dra*) of Jalsrai gegeen, who, according to Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 29., Mongolian text p. 706.) was the main Kālacakra tantra lama (*Düinkhoriin jüdbiin/jüdwiiin lam*, T. *dus-'khor-gyi rgyud-pa'i bla-ma*) of the 4th Bogd and the Dalai Lama (presumably the 8th, 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtso, 1758-1804) was kept in *Dechingalaw* temple.

The highest ranking lama in *Dechingalaw* temple was the *dorj lowon* (T. *rdo-rje slob-dpon*) with the first *dorj lowon* being the 4th Bogd himself. According to the article in the volume of the *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development* (p. 302.) the first disciplinary master was Chonzow noyon while the first chanting master was Badan. The second *dorj lowon* was the Tibetan *lkhaaramba* of *Shüteenii aimag*, while the third was the vice abbot of *Düinkhoriin aimag* who was followed, after his death in 1921, by Tsogt Zandan, the *tsorj lam* of (*Dash*)*Dandarlin aimag*. The disciplinary master was changed every year. There was a tradition that the outgoing disciplinary master led the Bogd to the temple, while the incoming disciplinary master led him back to the palace.

Pozdneev claims (1971, pp. 57-59.) that, thanks to the 4th Bogd's devotion to the *Düinkhor* teachings, the original temple was enlarged in 1807. From this time, many other rituals were held there apart from the *Düinkhor* ceremonies. In 1809 the temple's mezzanine and roof were solidly gilded. The Bogd then set up his yurt in its courtyard which became his personal residence. Since that time, this place, the fenced-off courtyard of the Yellow Palace, became the permanent winter residence of the Bogds. Pozdneev says that the Bogd had his quarters in two yurts, one was made from wood and covered with felt, and the other was a typical Mongolian felt yurt ('one of which is wood and covered with felt, and the other of felt alone').

According to Pozdneev (p. 58.), the *Dechingalaw* temple along with the yurts and other quarters of the Bogd, burned almost to the ground on the night of 15 January 1892 (the last winter month according to the Mongolian calendar). As he visited Mongolia in that year, he claims the rebuilding of the temple began in the same year using 50,000 *lan* (a Chinese unit of weight, one *lan*=37,3 g) of silver provided by the great treasury (*Ikh san*) and the subordinated areas (*Ikh shaw'*) to do this. Pozdneev describes how the façade and the internal plan of the temple remained the same, although the mezzanine was constructed in two tiers. Russian window panes donated by Buryads were installed in place of the former Chinese paper-covered windows. The Bogd ordered new sculptures from the famous workshops of Beijing and Doloon nuur.

As Pozdneev describes (pp. 58-59.), and old pictures show, *Dechingalaw datsan* was the most imposing building in the whole city: 'All the wooden parts of its mezzanine and roof

have been re-gilded, and now they literally burn in the sun... The cupola of the *datsan*, as before, is hung round with little bells, the low and silvery tinkle of which may be heard almost uninterruptedly.'

According to Pozdneev (1971, p. 59.), Tibetan lamas chanted everyday in *Dechingalaw* temple. They came to Ikh Khüree from Tibet to be attendants of the Bogd. They lived near the Bogd's palace and were the court staff or bodyguards. Public services were occasionally held in this temple though only when the Bogd could not go out to the main assembly hall (*Tsogchin*). In addition, a morning service was sometimes held here on the day of the Maitreya procession. Pozdneev also explains that, as *Dechingalaw* was the Uрга *khutagts*' palace temple, all the lamas of the capital assembled on the death of the *khutagt* when his remains were brought to the temple until the time that he was buried (1971, p. 59.).

Jügder's painting shows the temple in its state in 1913. According to Sereeter (2004, p. 84.) the temple burnt down once again in 1914, and was rebuilt again in 1915 from 34,500 *lan* of silver collected from the four Khalkh aimags, and the subordinates. From 1926 some financial units belonged to the *datsan*, like *Düinkhoriin jas* and *Zagdsambariin jas*.

The special ceremonies of the Kālacakra tradition were held in this temple. The most important of them was the great initiation of Kālacakra (*Düinkhoriin wan*), held in the last spring month. It is said that on the 15th of the last spring month a *Düinkhoriin chogo* (T. *dus-'khor-kyi cho-ga*) ceremony was held in Mongolian monasteries. In Bogdiin Khüree it was held only in this very site.

In the *Dechingalaw* temple, traditionally the (*Düinkhor*) ceremony began on the 1st of the last spring month. On the 2nd day a ritual dance called *Sagar* or *Gazriin büjig* (T. *sa-gar*, 'Earth-dance') was held seeking the permission of spirits for using the land where the coloured sand *maóðala* (*Dültsen jinkhor*) was to be prepared. From the 4th onwards the *Dültsen jinkhor* and the *balins* and offerings were prepared and consecrated and, on their completion, the Great *Düinkhor* ceremony began on the 13th day with the ritual dance of *Chogar* or *Takhiliin büjig* (T. *mchod-gar*, 'offering-dance') being held on the 15th. On the last day of the ceremony, a fire-offering called *Düinkhoriin jinsreg* (T. *dus-'khor-gyi sbyin-bsreg*, 'Kālacakra fire-offering') was organized. The final part of the ceremony was at the end when the *dültsen* sand *maóðala* was destroyed with the sand being taken in a ceremonial procession to the source of the River Tuul in Gachuurt (on the North-East of Ulaanbaatar) where it was offered to the spirits of land and water.

In the collection of the National Archives 64 texts are available in the individual catalogues of *Dechingalaw datsan*, while the other documents related to its operation are listed in the catalogues of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs. Its individual catalogue (M-207) of the Manchu period contains six texts dated between 1878-1906 (?). The very first text, written in 1878, is a list of donators who supported the operation of *Dechingalaw* with tea as food subsidy (*khüinsnii tsai*). A document lists the alms (*zed*) and silken scarves (*khadag*) of the ceremonies which had the most participants. There is a list of offerings that were placed to the altar in front of *Baldan Lkham*'s precious object of worship (*nandin shüteen*) at the *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony of the Lunar New Year (1890). Another document, written in 1894, is about praying (*nom örgökh*) to *Baldan Lkham*'s precious object of worship to strengthen the longevity of the Bogd (*Bogdiin shawdan batatgakh*). A text about a healing ritual (*toonii gürem buulgaj*, exact meaning unknown) having performed to the precious object of worship to strengthen the longevity of the Bogd (1898, 1902, 1906) is available as well as necessities of worship (*khural nomiin khereglet*) and the internal rules (*dotood juram*) of the *datsan*. The aim of the *datsan*'s operation was to pray for the longevity of the Bogd. The catalogue (A-230) of the Bogd khan's reign contains only one item. It consists of more documents that inform us about accessories and requisits of ceremonies (1912, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1918, 1920). There are two catalogues relevant to *Dechingalaw* from the Modern Period. One of

them (SKh-185, bearing the title *Dechingalawiin süm*) contains 39 items which were written between 1923 and 1933. There is a document about the ceremonies of the temple, a Tibeto-Mongolian bilingual list about the expenses of the *Düinkhor* ceremony held in the *datsan* in 1926, a list of necessities of offerings (1926), and the livestock property of the treasury of *Dechingalaw* (*Dechingalwiin san*) and its *Düinkhor jas* (1927). Income flowing in from alms (*badar bar'j orson*) (1928) was also listed.

Concerning the 1930s a document of the amount of money which was gained from *Dechingalaw* and the other most important five places of religion to deposit to the bank in 1931 have great importance as well as the list of *Dechingalaw*'s immoveable properties (*ül khödlökh khöröngö*), and its collectivized livestock (*khamtrald shiljүүлsen mal*). There is a list of flour, rise, and other goods which were bought by *Dechingalawiin san* (9 March, 1933). The other catalogue (TsKh-228 bearing the title *Dechingalawiin khiid*) lists 18 texts which were written between 1923 and 1935. The collection contains sources about the incomes and expenses of the units which were subordinated to *Dechingalaw*, for example *Dechingalawiin san*, *Düinkhor jas*, *Shar ordon*, *Zagdsambariin jas*, and *Bandlin süm*. *Düinkhor datsan* is mentioned once separately (1923) and *Pandelin süm* (*Bandlin süm*)'s herds and flocks, felt and other articles received from herdsmen were listed in 1926. Documents discussing such problems as fight (*temtseldek*) between the temple's lamas (1935), offerings and necessities of ceremonies (without date) are also available.

Thus, the following conclusion can be drawn from the above-mentioned titles: in the Manchu period *Dechingalaw* is mentioned mainly as *Dechingalaw*, not as a *datsan*, but as a temple (or monastery). However, its function "to pray to strengthen the longevity of the Bogd(s)" indicates privileges. *Dechingalaw* housed the venerable statue of *Baldan Lkham*, and *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony was held at New Year. *Düinkhor* ceremony was held in the temple which had its own financial unit. Only a couple of individual texts reflect the period of the Bogd khaan's reign, and its documents written in the Modern period are divided into two separate catalogues. Supposedly the majority of the texts of the Bogd khaan's period are available in the catalogues of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs. Due to the fact that after the political changes and the dethronement and the passing away of the Bogd khaan, the operation of *Shar ordon*, *Zagdsambariin jas*, and *Pandelin süm* were still maintained by *Dechingalaw*. The different titles of the two catalogues refers that relevant texts of *Dechingalaw datsan* itself are in the catalogue SKh-185, while the relevant texts of its subordinated units are in the catalogue TsKh-228. Meanwhile, the most interesting texts which require further research are about the deposit of money which was collected from *Dechingalaw* and the other five places (probably *Shar ordon*, *Pandellin* and the others) in 1931, which is a unique document among the texts of the Modern Period. This text indicates the changes of the early 1930s, as well as the texts confirming the fact of collectivization of the livestock. One of the last documents mentions fights and debates in the lama community. It is an interesting fact only some document discusses the livestock of the *datsan*.

According to an article (*Northern Buddhist*, p. 302.), *Dechingalaw temple* was closed in 1937 just before the important celebration of the great day of the 4th Bogd on 15th of the middle winter month. According to Sereeter, this temple ceased to operate in 1938. The tradition continued with a three-day *Düinkhor* ceremony using the painted maóðala, *Raibri jankhar* (T. *ras-bris dkyil-'khor*) being held in the spring of 1938 in *Düinkhoriin aimag* but this was also stopped. *Dechingalaw* temple standing where today the 6th building of the Mongolian National University is was demolished.

The *Düinkhor* ritual was not held again anywhere in Mongolia until 1961, when it was re-instated in Gandan since when it has been held once a year in spring. The tradition was revived in 1992 after which new *Düinkhor* temple building was constructed on the initiative of D. Danzan (honourable chanting master, *darkhan unzad*) and R. Sereeter (honourable

disciplinary master, *darkhan gesgüi*) lamas in Gandan (in 1994) based on the style of the pre-1938 temple. *Dechingalaw* was revived in the courtyard of Gandan monastery in 1992, with the new building being completed in 1994 (GPS: N 47°55.379'; E 106°53.743', elevation: 1278 m). The traditional ceremonies, especially the yearly Great *Düinkhor* festival, have been revived and are once again held in the new temple.¹⁴¹ The main tutelary deity of the temple is *Düinkhor* and the main protector deities being *Dorjshügden* and *Jamsran*.

Temple of the Three Protectors or Three Bodhisattvas

Rigsümgombiin süm (T. *rigs gsum mgon-po*, Skr. Trikulānātha)

O. Pürew mentioned this temple as *Tsedewgombiin süm* (T. *tshe-sgrub mgon-po*, 'longevity protector/protector of long life'). *Rigsümgombiin süm*/ *Eregsümgombiin süm* or *Gurwan yazguuriin itgel* are also used in books as name variants, though that names refer to another temple of the Buddhist Pantheon. According to Sereeter (2004, p. 86.) the 4th Bogd ordered the building of this temple in 1793. It officially opened in 1796 to celebrate rituals and chant books to the honour of the three main Bodhisattvas of Tibetan Buddhism. The 'Lords of the Three Families' or the 'Three Protectors' are Avalokiteśvara (*Khonshim bodisad* or *Janraiseg*), Mañjuśrī (*Manjushir*, T. 'jam dbyangs) and Vajrapāṇi (*Wachirwaan*/'*Ochirwaan*', T. *phyag-na rdo-rje*). The temple stood once next to *Dechingalaw* temple, on the East.

The Octagonal Vajra Palace

Dorj Powran (T. *rdo-rje pho-brang*), *Naiman taltai süm*

The Vajra Palace stood near to *Rigsümgombiin süm*, on the East. Other names as 'Octagonal temple' (*Naiman taltai süm*), referring to the shape of the building, and 'Palace of the Bogd khaan' (*Bogd khaanii lawran*) referring to its function were in use as well. According to Sereeter (1999, p. 86.) the octagonal building called 'Vajra Palace' (*Dorj Powran*) was the residence of the 3rd Bogd. After his death the palace became a temple (*süm*) where regular ceremonies (*jasaa khural*) were held.

Vajradhara Temple

Ochirdariin süm (T. *rdo-rje 'dzin-pa*), *Wachirdariin süm*, *Wachirdaraagiin süm*

Ochirdariin süm was the temple dedicated to Vajradhara (Mongolian translation *Ochir barigch*). According to Sereeter (1999, p. 85.) during the time of those Bogds succeeding Öndör gegeen a temple was built in the Yellow Palace to house a statue of *Ochirdar*', the unique masterpiece sculpture made by Öndör gegeen. (The Bogds are considered as a reincarnation of this deity.) The two-storey building was in the Eastern corner of *Shar ordon*, next to and East of *Dorj Powran*. Sereeter also says that a limited number of lamas belonged to the temple and held ceremonies (*Jasaa khural*) regularly there. The statue of Vajradhara survived, was placed and is still kept in *Ochirdariin süm* in Gandan monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist*, pp. 285-286).

Yurt Palaces and Yurts

Ger tugdam (T. *thugs-dam*)

As it is evident from Damdinsüren's paintings (*Khüree tsam* and *Naadam*), inside the

¹⁴¹ Several old traditions such as the preparation of the Kālacakra sand maṇḍala and its ceremonial procession to the source of the River Tuul in Gachuurt, ritual dances called *Sagar* and *Chogar*, and a fire-offering *Düinkhoriin jinsreg* were revived. Many of the artifacts of the temple were made by D. Danzan, the initiator of the re-erected temple, such as the statues of Buddha, *Düinkhor*, *Dorjshüg*, Jalsrai gegeen and the throne of the Dalai Lama.

courtyard of the Yellow Palace, there were many yurts and yurt palaces. According to Sereeter (1999, p. 21.) and Dariimaa (2003, p. 16.), the *Üüdnii örgöö* ('Entrance palace'), *Dundadiin örgöö* ('Middle palace'), *Mörgöliin tugdam* ('Yurt palace of worship'), and the yurts of the attendants of the Bogd (*shadar sangiinkh*) were here as well as the *Khökh torgon tugdam/ Töriin khökh tugdam* ('Blue silken yurt palace of the state'), where the great political assembly was held once a year.

Other Temples and Institutions in the Centre

Monastic Schools

According to Pozdneev (1971, p. 58.), the lamas of the *datsans* (T. *grwa-tshang*) did not belong to any *aimag* temple. The *datsan* temples in Züün Khüree were one-storey quadrangular buildings made of wood, all of very similar appearance. Although these *datsans* were places of education, it seems that while philosophical academic titles could be obtained in the *datsans* of Gandan, medical and astrological academic titles (*maaramba*, T. *smān-rams-pa* and *zeerembe*, T. *rtsis-rims-pa*) could not be obtained in the Züün Khüree monastic schools of Bogdiin Khüree but only in some countryside monasteries and in Tibet.

Medical Monastic School

Emch nariin datsan/ Manba datsan/ Mamba datsan (T. *smān-pa grwa-tshang*)

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 66.) the original Medical monastic school of the capital was established in 1760 at the initiation of the 3rd Bogd. The first leader of the temple was a Tibetan lama, Luwsannorow (T. *blo-bzang nor-bu*). Pozdneev referring to the *Erdeni-yin erike* chronicle claims that its first abbot was a lama who was summoned from Tibet and who bore the title of *Erdeni emči* (Pozdneev, 1883, p. 60., footnote 44), that is, 'precious physician'.

The main tutelary deity of the monastic school was *Shanlan*, who was honoured in a big annual ceremony, called *Shanlangiin chogo* (T. *zhang-blön-gyi cho-ga*), while its main protector was *Damjan/Damjin*. These are traditional protectors of doctors and medical schools. *Shanlan* is a blue coloured wrathful deity with flaming hair, wearing a red robe and holding a jewel in his right hand with an alms bowl in his left hand. *Damjin* is a blue coloured wrathful deity wearing a big round hat and riding a billy-goat.

The curriculum of the school was based on a combination of traditional Indian (Skr. *Āyurveda*), Tibetan (T. *rgyud bzhi*) and Chinese medicine with Mongolian folk medicine. After four years of study, the students could obtain the rank of doctor (*emch*). According to Sereeter, the *maaramba* rank (T. *smān-rams-pa*, 'professor' in medical science) could not be obtained here. At any one time about 100 lamas were training in the school but more lamas participated in the ceremonies.

As adult lamas gathered in *Manaliin süm* (*Noyon shüteenii süm*, see below), only novices gathered in *Emch nariin datsan* daily to hold ceremonies.

According to S. Dulam (pp. 90-91.),¹⁴² twice a year (in the last summer month and in the middle autumn month) four to eight lamas from the *datsan* under the leadership of a *maaramba* teacher went to collect herbs from Chingeltei Mountain. This study trip was called '*lyankhuad garna*' ('excursion to the lotus').

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 66.) the old wooden building of the temple with its

¹⁴² Dulam, S., *Khüree dörwön uuliin takhilga, belgedel*. Ulaanbaatar 2004

golden roof was situated in the area of the present Mongolian Art Centre for Children's Creativity on the East side of *Tsogchin* temple. The decoration of the temple was financed by *Doltson khuwilgaan* Galsanjamts lama from Zorigt wangiin khoshuu, Tüsheet khan aimag. Its photo is available in the Film Archives (K24059) and in Tsültem's book (1988, picture 34).

Ts. Dorj lama (1901-2007) claims that approximately 60 lamas gathered here before 1925.

According to L. Dashdorj (born 1918), who lived in *Bargiin aimag* and was a lama of *Manba datsan* or *Emchiin datsan*, the lamas of the *datsan* came from the 30 *aimags* of Züün Khüree. *Zurkhai* and *Jüd datsans* stood near the temple. *Jasaa khural* was held every day and exams were held occasionally. The Medicine Buddha, called *Manal* (T. *smān-bla*, Skr. *Bhaiṣajyaguru*) and *Damjan/Damjin* were worshipped there. Two disciplinary masters (one of them was called Baldorj) and two chanting masters belonged to the temple being nominated for a given period. The temple had many lamas who hold *maaramba* degree for example the head of the temple.

The collection of the National Archives contains 693 individual sources related to this monastic school. The catalogue (M-95) of the Manchu period lists 581 texts dated between 1818 (or 1821) and 1911. The catalogue's introduction says that the *datsan* was founded in 1760. It was devoted to religious purposes, having fixed date ceremonies and occasional ceremonies. It was a school of Tibetan medicine and healing methods. Its staff consisted of the following ranked lamas: a chief lama (*ikh lam*), a vice lama (*baga lam*), a disciplinary master, a chanting master, a shrine-keeper, a main offering master, an assistant offering master and a cook (bookkeeper is not mentioned). The *datsan* had its own incomes and expenses, and properties. Its operation changed in 1911 due to the reign of the Bogd khan. The very first text in the catalogue is about silver and brick tea properties, and about the amount of brick tea which was sold by *Manaliin jas* (1818 or 1821). There is a list of articles used for holding rituals (1838); an inventory of ceremonial accessories (1840); a list of requisites of *Danshigiin khangal* ceremony (1840), a list of butter, flour, wheat, and other articles which were sold by *Ikh jas* to finance different ceremonies (1842), a list of articles which the *jas* bought in a Chinese store (1848), a list of costs of permanent (*bainga*) ceremonies (1860), a list of expenses of *Manaliin dültsen jasaa* ceremony (1867), a list of old and new silver and brick tea, and people who borrowed them (1876), a list of articles sold by *Dültsen jas* to finance *Danshigiin khangal* ceremony (1880), and an inventory of the holy books, sculptures and accessories of the *datsan* (1882). People who gave alms to *Dültsen jas* (*khandiw*) were recorded (1887), as well as the quantity of felt and leather received from herdsmen (1891). Loans received from others were recorded in 1903.

The Bogd khan's period has two catalogues related to the medical monastic school (A-220 and A-85). Catalogue A-220 contains only one text, which informs us about the incomes and expenses on *Manba datsan* (1915). Catalogue A-85 contains 66 texts, but they are not analysed in the present work.

The catalogue (Kh-193) of the Modern Period contains 45 texts. Their majority list herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, donations, and silver with interest. A text lists the patrons of the temple (1921). The last texts are about the expenses of the *aimag* (1936, 1937). From religious point of view the most valuable source is a register written in 1937 (Kh193/42). It lists all fixed date ceremonies with their names, dates and the numbers of expected and appeared participants. All in all 17 fixed date ceremonies¹⁴³ were performed in the *aimag* temple in 1937. These were the following: *Jasaa* ceremony was held every day with the participation of nine lamas of the expected 12. *Düitsen yerööl* ceremony was held for 15 days from the 1st of the first spring month by 28 lamas. *Sakhius* ceremony was held twice a

¹⁴³ Although the ceremonies are not marked with numbers, they are listed in 17 rows. As there are more *Düitsen yerööls* mentioned in the text, the number of the fixed date ceremonies was more than 17.

month on the 15th and 29th days with the participation of nine lamas respectively. *Sojintoi Manal* ceremony was held on the 8th, and *Yandag san* on the 2nd of every month with the participation of nine lamas respectively. *Doloon otochiin Donchid* ceremony was held on the 16th of the middle spring month with the participation of 36 lamas. *Manaliin sachog dültson dashgadan rawnai sakhius* ceremony was performed for 17 (?) days from the 1st of the first summer month with the participation of 73 lamas. *Ikh Sakhius* ceremony was held on the 15th and 29th of the middle summer month with the participation of 76 lamas. *Dar' ekhiin sachog dültson dashgadan* was held for 15 days in the last summer month with the participation of the expected 32 lamas. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony lasted for a day on the 30th of the last summer month with the participation of all the expected eight lamas. *Manaliin nünnei* was performed for 15 days in the first summer month with the participation of all the appointed four lamas. *Khoyor sakhiusnii tügdin/güteg* (?) ceremony was held in autumn with the participation of all the expected 21 lamas. *Sakhiusnii dordow* was held for four days in the first winter month with the participation of all the appointed 12 lamas. *Magtaal* ceremony was held for a day on the 15th of the last winter month with the participation of 78 lamas. *Düitsen yerööl* ceremony took place on the 22nd of the last autumn month, on the 3rd, 18th and 25th of the first winter month, on the 7th and 12th of the middle winter month, and on the 25th of the last winter month. Ten lamas participated in each of these ceremonies. *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony was held on the 30th of the last winter month, when all the expected 30 lamas gathered together. From the above-mentioned data we can conclude that the everyday (*Jasaa*) and monthly ceremonies (*Yandag san*, *Sojintoi Manal* and two *Sakhius* ceremonies) were held by nine lamas, while the most lamas, above 70, participated only in the bigger annual ceremonies. In summer sand maóðalas in honour of the Medicine Buddha and Tārā (*Manaliin dültson*, *Dar' ekhiin dültson*) were prepared for more than two weeks. *Manaliin nünnei* fasting was held in summer by four lamas for 15 days. *Manal*, the Medicine Buddha had distinguished role in the ceremonial system with a monthly ceremony (*Sojintoi Manal*), a sand maóðala preparation (*Manaliin dültson*) and a meditative fasting period (*Manaliin nünnei*). The *Sakhius* ceremonies had to be performed in honour of *Damjin* and *Shanlan* who are the protectors of medical monastic schools. Feast day's prayers (*Düitsen yerööl*) were held frequently.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 66.) and the Manchu catalogue of the *datsan* (M-95) the following economic units (*jas*) belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Manaliin dültsongiin jas*, *Dar' ekhiin dültsongiin jas*, *Jambaliin jas*, *Pogiin jas*, *Naidangiin jas*, *Manaliin jas*, and *29-nii tsawiin jas* (shortly *Tsawiin jas*), etc. The Manchu catalogue says simply *Olon khurliin jas* instead of *Manaliin jas*. From the names of these units it is clear that *Manaliin dültson* and *Dar' ekhiin dültson* had own financial units.

The temple was closed in 1937. According to Pürew's book (2004, p. 11.), after 1938 the *Mamba datsan* was used as a drug factory. The building was demolished only in 1952.

Puntsogshaddiüwlin Tantric Monastic School

Jüü datsan (T. *rgyud grwa-tshang*), *Puntsogshaddiüwlin* (T. *phun-tshogs bshad sgrub gling*, 'Island of Excellence in theory and practice'), *Khotol tögs nomlol büteeliin süm*, *Puntsogshaddublin*

The site of the two-storey wooden Tantric monastic school (*jüü datsan*) called *Puntsogshaddiüwlin* was on the left side of the *Tsogchin* temple.

As it is widely known the 2nd Bogd established the first tantric assembly in 1739. However, the years 1745, 1759 and 1790 are mentioned in different sources as the foundation date of the temple, which could reflect its impermanent site due to several re-locations. According to Sereeter (1999, p. 63), the school was lead by the *dorj lowon* (T. *rdo-rje slob-*

dpon, ‘vajra master’). According to Ts. Dorj (1901-2007), a lama in *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery in Zuunmod, who once belonged to *Jüüd datsan* and lived in *Shüiteenii aimag* of Bogdiin Khüree, *Jüüd datsan* had 100 lamas before 1935. He also claimed that two *khamba* (*ikh khamba* and *baga khamba*), two disciplinary masters (*ikh gesgüi* and *baga gesgüi*) and two chanting masters (*ikh umzad* and *baga umzad*) belonged to the temple. There were no lamas bearing *tsorj* and *lowon* ranks.

The main tutelary deities and protectors of the temple were *Sandejig süm* (the collective name for the three deities *Sandui* (T. *gsang-‘dus*, Skr. Guhyasamāja), *Demchig* (T. *bde-mchog*, Skr. Cakrasaṃvara), and *Jigjid*. Apart from these deities Dorj lama mentioned *Gombo*, *Choiijoo*, and *Damdin*. He emphasized that ceremonies were held in the temple to honour *Gombo* and *Damdin*. Soninbayar (1995, p. 65.) also lists *Gombo*, *Damjan* and *Damdin Choiijil* (i.e. *Damjan Choiijil*, T. *dam-can chos-rgyal*, epithet of Yama).

Only those who attained the *gawj* degree in philosophical studies could enter this school to study higher levels of tantric studies with the aim of obtaining the highest level Tantric exam, an *agramba* (T. *sngags-rams-pa*) degree. According to Ts. Dorj lama, *agrambiin damjaa* (*agramba* exam, T. *sngags-rams-pa’i dam-bca’*) was taken in the first summer month when five or ten lamas were given the chance to become *agramba*.

The following units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Günregiin jas*, *Janraisegiin nünnain jas*, *Sanduin jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Dülsengiin jas*, *Sandejigsümiin jas* (also *Sanjidiin jas*), *Dashnyam arawnain jas*. From these names, it is obvious that fasting meditation in honour of *Janraiseg* took place, and recitations of the Kanjur, the Guhyasamāja tantra were held. *Sandui*, *Demchig*, *Jigjid*, and *Günreg* were worshipped.

The collection of the National Archives contains 515 documents regarding the operation of *Puntsogshaddüwlin* or *Jüüd datsan*. Related to this *datsan* there are two catalogues from the Manchu period. One of them (M-91) contains 312 texts dated from 1795-1910. The very first text is about the number of livestock that belonged to the *jas* (1795). There is a list which was sent to Puntsag nyaraw, who was the supervisor of *Sandejigsüm jas* of the *datsan*. (1819). A text written in 1814 provides data about the *datsan*’s brick tea loans they gave and their interests. There are registers of those lamas who undertook different tasks (*daalgawar shalguulakh*) (dated from 1796-1820), and those lamas who were responsible for yearly and seasonal tasks (1824). Lists of silver loans (1826, 1842) are available in the catalogue, as well as lists of brick tea loans (1844). The livestock offered to the *jas* (1845), the property, the silver and the brick tea (1845), and the incomes and expenses of the financial units were also listed. Articles which were sold for ceremonial purposes were recorded in 1847, as well as lamas who gathered in ceremonies and received brick tea portions. The three kinds of livestock of *Sanjidiin jas* (1871), lent pack bulls (1882), and brick tea loans of several *jases* (1889) were all listed. Various ceremonies of the *datsan* (some of them were written in Tibetan script, 1875-1908, and 1903), properties of the bookkeepers’ “treasury” and brick tea loans (1905) were listed, too. The collection contains a lot of documents about the regulations of lamas (1840, 1878), and about the salary given to the lamas who participated in various ceremonies (1862, 1863, 1864, 1871, 1873, 1874). Silver, brick tea, and silver equipment of the *jas* were recorded in 1891. The *aimag* was ordered to collect flour from the *datsan*’s agricultural activity (1896). The Bogd’s command arrived to the *aimag* in 1902 to remind people who refused to pay the costs of *Choiijin lam*’s temple to clear their debts (1902). The other catalogue of the *datsan* (M-216), called *Ikh Khüreenii Jüüd datsangiin fondiin barimtiin bürtgel* contains only two items. The first one informs us about the expenses of ceremonies that were held by a lot of or a few lamas (1864), and the other one informs us about the three kinds of livestock of the *datsan* and about inherited properties (1880, 1896, 1898).

The catalogue (A-83) of the Bogd khaan’s period contains 98 texts. *Pogiin jas*, *Jüüd*

jas, *Dashnyam (arawnain) jas*, *Günregiin jas*, *Sanduin jas*, and *Wangiin jas* are mentioned in their titles. The rules of *agrambiin damjaa* were determined in 1911. There is a list, written in Tibetan, on the silver of *Pogiin jas* which was lent (1913). Another one, written in Tibetan, informs us about the costs of the renovation of the temple building (1914), and a third one, written in Tibetan, informs us about the incomes and expenses of various ceremonies (e.g. *Sandejigsüm khural* and *Lamiin chodwiin khural*, 1915). In the archives a contract and some related texts (some of them written in Chinese) exist about the procedure of renting agricultural fields out to a Chinese store (*püüs*) which had to pay the rental fee in flour (1912). A command forbade lamas to play domino, cards and other games, to drink alcohol, to smoke and to have relationships with women (1912). There is a text about worshipping the mountains and *owoos* (without date).

The catalogue (F-184) of the Modern Period contains 102 texts written between 1921 and 1933. *Dültsen jas*, *Ikh jas*, *Baga jas*, *Jüü jas*, *Dordow(iin) jas*, *Günreg jas*, and *Dargii jas* (probably *Dar' ekhiin*, or *Dargiin* ('that of the head')) are mentioned in titles. The texts mainly inform us about the incomes and the expenses of given ceremonies and the property of the financial units. There is a text written in 1923 about how the 4th Bogd introduced *agrambiin damjaa* in *Jüü datsan*. A list of silver and other incomes which were handled by the treasurers (1923), a list of debts (1923), lists of camels and bulls used as pack livestock (1926-28) are also available. There is a text related to the internal rules of the *datsan* (without date). The last text was written in 1933. It informs us about the incomes, expenses, and livestock properties of the *datsan*.

Though materials are not available from the period after 1933, the *datsan* was shut down only in 1938. The tradition was revived in 1998 on the initiative of Gurudeva rinpoche (a highly esteemed lama originally from Inner-Mongolia who contributed greatly to the revival, restoration and re-opening of temples in Mongolia) and Yo. Amgalan, who was the vice abbot of Gandan. Today, *Jüü datsan* (GPS: N 47°55.343', E 106°53.616', elevation: 1312m) is situated in the area of Gandan. The leader (with the rank of *dorj lowon*) of the temple is N. Biziyaa, who studied in Zuunmod and *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery in Mongolia, Sera (T. *se-ra*) and Ganden (*Gandan*, T. *dga'-ldan*) monasteries in India. He was connected to an old lama, Ts. Dorj (1901-2007) who was in the old *Jüü datsan*. Biziyaa lama has been trying to revive the *Jüü datsan* tradition based on the information gleaned from the memories of this old lama. At present five other adult lamas belong to the temple and study there and about 20 young novices belonging to the temple are being trained in chanting and translating, and, especially, in Tantric studies. The three main protectors of the *datsan* are again the three main tantric deities of the Gelukpa tradition, namely *Sandui*, *Demchig*, and *Jigjid (Sandejig süm)*. During the daily chanting the text, called *Sandejig süm* is recited. Each afternoon between 1.00 and 2.00pm a shorter version of the *Sanduin jüü* (T. *gsang-'dus rgyud*, Guhyasamāja tantra) is read while on the 15th of every month it is recited in full. In 2005 the building of a permanent *Jüü datsan* was started next to the Zanabazar Buddhist University of Gandan.

Astrological Monastic School

Zurkhai(n) datsan (T. *rtsis-pa grwa-tshang*)

The Astrological monastic school was situated on the left of *Jüü datsan*. According to Pozdneev (1971, p. 60.) and Sereeter (1999, p. 67.) the 4th Bogd founded it first in *Züün Khüree* in 1789. Here lamas were trained in astrology, astronomy, various writing systems and drawing. *Zeerembe* degree (T. *rtsis-rims-pa*) could not be obtained. The most talented students could get the rank of *daa zurkhaich* ('great astrologist') and they were responsible

for solving important problems of the state. During the reign of the Bogd khaan (1911-1921) the annual state lunar calendar was written here and printed at the printing factory of Bogdiin Khüree, called *Ikh Khüreenii Sümbiim* (T. *gsung-'bum*, 'collected works').¹⁴⁴

The main tutelary deity of the temple was *Sandui Jamdor* (T. *gsang-'dus* 'jam-rdor, Skr. Guhyasamāja Mañjuśrī), while its main protector was *Choiijil*.

The following financial units (*jas*) belonged to the school: *Ikh jas*, *Khorin yesnii düütsengiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii dordüwiin jas*, *Namsrain dordüwiin jas*, *Tsogiin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Erdeniin Yumiin jas*, *Dorjzodwiin jas*. The catalogue (M-92) of the National Archives mentions *Pogiin jas* and *Magtaaliin jas* instead of *Tsogiin jas* and *Mönkh zuliin jas*.

According to Ts. Dorj lama of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery of Zuunmod (1901-2007) this *datsan* was situated next to *Jiud datsan* and ten lamas gathered here before 1935.

The National Archives contains 267 documents concerning the operation of *Zurkhai datsan*. The catalogue (M-92) of the Manchu period contains 191 items written between 1827 (?)–1911. According to the catalogue's introduction this *datsan* was firstly established in the 44th year of the reign of Tengeriig tetgesen emperor (1779). Its operation was dedicated to religious purposes. It had fixed date ceremonies and occasional ceremonies. The school trained astronomer lamas by teaching calculus, different languages and scripts, weather forecast, and astronomy. The staff of the temple consisted of the following ranked lamas: a chief lama, a vice lama, a disciplinary master, a chanting master, a shrine keeper, a main offering master, an assistant offering master, a doorkeeper, a cook, etc. The operation of the *datsan* did not change till 1911, which was the first year of the Bogd khaan's reign. As the registers indicate the *datsan* had its own incomes and expenses, livestock and properties. Apart from the numerous texts regarding the livestock, and the incomes and expenses of the *datsan*, there are texts concerning the costs of accessories (1846), interests of brick tea loans (1851); silver, livestock and other articles offered by patrons (1853). There is a list of the incomes and expenses of the ceremonies which were not financed by the financial units of the *datsan* (1853). There is a notification about the offerings given by other *jases* to the newly established *Dordow(iin) jas*. An inventory of sculptures and books was written in 1901, and the properties of the *datsan* were listed in the same year. Other texts inform us about the profit from felt and dairy products, and from selling the livestock (1879, 1908). The brick tea capital (*ekh tsai*) of fixed date ceremonies were recorded in 1909. An interesting document contains the names of herdsman who became vagabonds (1908). People who borrowed brick tea with interest from the *datsan* were listed, too.

The catalogue (A-86) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 37 texts, but they are not summarized in the present piece of work. The Modern Period's catalogue (Kh-191) mentions 29 texts written between 1921 and 1930. The first text is about the losses of livestock caused by the invasion of the Chinese *Gamin* army (1921). The four kinds of livestock of the *datsan* (1921), the camels and their rental fees (1924), the financial situation (*sankhüü*), and silver accessories of the *datsan* (1927-29) were all recorded. The last text is a contract, which was drawn about transferring the livestock of the *jas* to a communal co-operative (*artyel' khamtral*) (1930).

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 68.) the temple, which operated until 1938, stood on the area of the later Housing and Construction Ministry (*Barilgiin yaam*) which was built and operating during the Communist era. The famous statue of *Choiijil*, which was in this temple originally, is presently in Gandan monastery.

Other Temples

Maitreya Temple

¹⁴⁴ Pürewjaw list some texts which were studied in *Zurkhain datsan* (1961, pp. 38-39.)

Maidariin süm (T. *byams-pa*)

Pozdneev claims that there is no evidence for the date of the foundation of this temple, but he estimates it was built between 1820 and 1836 (1971, p. 61.). According to Sereeter (1999, p. 69), in 1834 the 5th Bogd requested *khamba nomon khan* Agwaankhaidaw, 1779-1838) to build a 16m high (50 *tokhoi*, cubit, with 1:0.32 m) statue of *Maidar*, the future Buddha, which was housed in a high wooden Tibetan-style temple. This temple was the largest and highest building in Bogdiin Khüree in Pozdneev's time. He gives a colourful description of the temple in his book (1971, pp. 61-62.).¹⁴⁵

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 69.) from 1838-55 when the *khüree* moved to the Western hill of Gandan monastery, this temple was the only one to remain on its original site as the statue was too heavy to move. The main tutelary deity of the temple was *Günreg*, while its main protector was *Gombo*. It was located in the North-Eastern part of the *Tsogchin* temple. High-ranking lamas of the philosophical schools of Gandan monastery came here every year to perform the Maitreya procession, as well as pilgrims to make a deep bow to the Future Buddha.

The following units (*jas*) belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Mönkh Günregiin jas*, *Günregiin dültsengiin jas*, *Chog Sanjidiin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*.

According to Pozdneev (p. 61.), the gilded brass statue of *Maidar* seated on a lion throne was made at Doloon nuur, in the workshop of a Chinese, whose Mongolian name was Ayushi-tunyan. The statue was made in seven separate parts, which were brought from Doloon nuur to the *khüree* where they were assembled. Pozdneev claims that the temple interior was very crowded, with five massive *burkhans* (images of deities) along the North wall behind the Maitreya statue, and along the East and West walls there were 10.000 cast images of Buddhas in cases. These were cast by the 4th Bogd in 1799. Above the cases of the ten thousand Buddhas, there was a gallery which housed the *Ganjuur* and *Danjuur*. In this temple there was no separate *khurliin süm* (separate temple or room for holding ceremonies). Thus the services were held in the *Shüteenii örgöö* (sanctuary for the holy objects), that is, the temple itself housing the statues. According to Pozdeyev, 20 lamas were appointed to do the daily chanting. They did not belong to any *aimag*, and were supported at the expense of the Bogd. According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 22.), this temple had one disciplinary master and there were no ceremonies held except the *Nünnai*, which lamas performed in three days rotations. It seems that the accounts by Pozdneev and Dariimaa contradict each other, though they may refer to different periods in time.

The Maitreya procession, one of the biggest annual ceremonies, was attended by all the lamas of Bogdiin Khüree, followed by crowds of devotees, who circumambulated Züün Khüree. (The road circling Züün Khüree was *Maidar ergekh zam*, 'the road of the Maitreya circumambulation'). It was also one of the most impressive events with the Bogd, *khamba nomon khan*, high ranking lamas, and musicians taking part in the parade with all the middle and low ranking lamas carrying the religious umbrellas of the 30 *aimags* and the ritual objects of the procession while performing the readings at the four main directions on the road encircling the *khüree*.

The collection of the National Archives has 377 individual sources related to *Maidariin datsan*. The catalogue of the Manchu period (M-94) contains 282 texts. They were written between 1832 and 1911. According to the catalogue's introduction the date of the temple's foundation is unknown. It had fixed date ceremonies and occasional ceremonies,

¹⁴⁵ The main abbot wrote an account (bearing the title *Khu-re chen-mor bzhengs-pa'i byams-pa'i dkar-chag*, TBRC: W16797.) of the construction, contents, and consecration of the great Maitreya statue at *Ribogejigandanshaddüwlin*. It was dedicated to its consecration ritual (*rawnai*, T. *rab-gnas*) having executed in 1833 by the 5th Bogd.

own incomes and expenses, and livestock. Among the sources there are several lists of herds and flocks (for example 1832). Donations of *Dülsen* ceremonies (1864), donations for the renovation of the temple building (1865), the livestock which were sold, and the profit gained from the livestock were recorded as well as the quantity of brick tea loans (1886). The debts to be paid to China were recorded, too (1865). As for Maitreya temple it the sources state that the doormen of *Maidar ergekh* became residents in 1878, and there was an attempt to settle (*dewsgar oruulakh*) the lamas of the *datsan* in 1880. Maitreya's statue was renovated in 1882, and inventories of golden and silver artefacts and accessories of the *datsan* from 1883 are available. The felt and brick tea properties of the *datsans* were listed in 1888, and the profit from male sheep (*ireg*), ram (*serkh*), felt and leather (*esgii ar's*) was recorded in 1889 and 1890. Costs of the temple's renovation were recorded in 1889, as well as tasks and duties of the Maitreya circumambulation (in 1889 and later). In 1898 the high-ranking lamas were ordered to use rugs to sit on and to have certain objects as their privilege. A reminder related to a previous fundraising to support *Choijin lam* is kept in the collection, too (1902). Numerous inventories of golden and silver objects of worship, a contract drawn with a Chinese carpenter to renovate the temple (1907), a command ordering the lamas' to keep their vows and to protect the purity of the Teachings of the Yellow Stream (*shangatgakh*, 1909) are available as well as a list of frequently used accessories (1911). Other texts are the following: a letter which was sent to the *aimag* in order to supervise the agricultural fields of some temples and *datsans* (1911); a list of donations (*khandiw*) given by other *datsans* (1911). The catalogue (A-87) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 61 titles, but the present work does not describe them. However, the catalogue of the Modern Period (SKh-190) lists 34 items written between 1921 and 1930. The ceremonies (*dülsen*, *chog*), the incomes and expenses of *Sanjidiin jas* (1921), the golden and silver accessories of the *datsan* (1921), and the butter donations to *Mönkh zul* are listed (1923) as well as the livestock, leather, felt, brick tea, and other articles that were sold from 1917-1923, and the possessed agricultural fields, and three kinds of livestock of the five *jas* belonging to the *datsan* (1927). The *datsan's* herds and flocks were supervised by the disciplinary masters and bookkeepers in 1929. An inventory informs us about the old and new sculptures and properties of the *datsan* (without date). All in all, the following conclusion can be drawn from the above-mentioned titles: in the beginning donators and other *datsans* supported the operation of *Maidariin datsan*. Its staff consisted of lama doorkeepers and lamas for whom residences were found. The expression '*Maidar ergekh*' reflects here to worship and go around the statue of *Maidar*. However, it became the name of Maitreya circumambulation in the city, too. The temple building was renovated in 1865, in 1889, and in 1907, and the statue itself in 1882. Tasks and duties of Maitreya procession were determined in 1889. It is an interesting question when the first procession could have been held in the settled city. The temple must have been rich in artefacts. Chanting of *Günreg* and *Sanjid's* texts were held and eternal butter-lamp was lighted. A disciplinary master and a treasurer surely belonged to the *datsan*. It had agricultural fields and at least three kinds of livestock. The last text related to this temple dates back to 1930.

The temple and its statue were totally destroyed in 1938. Pictures of the old temple can be seen in Tsültem's book (1988, intro. 13), Sereeter's book (70), and also in the Film Archives.

As the inheritors of Züün Khüree, the present day *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery plans to rebuild the statue and the temple close to its original site. Fundraising began with a ceremonial event held on 22th December, 2005.

West Side Palace, the Palace of Awtai Sain Khan

Baruun örgöö / Awtai sain khanii örgöö / Alag baiw

The yurt-shaped palace of Awtai sain khan was situated outside the Yellow Palace, on the left

side. According to O. Pürew this yurt-palace could hold 300 people, who came here to do prostrations and worship Awtai khan (1534-1589), who was the first propagator of Buddhism and founder of *Erdene zuu* monastery, Öndör gegeen Zanabazar, *Jamsran* and *Gombo*. The statue of *Jamsran*, created by Öndör Gegeen occupied the most prominent place in the yurt palace. The yurt-palace in Bogdiin Khüree was also established in his honour.

The armchair of Awtai khan was kept here, with the figures made of wood logs representing fellow champions of him (presumably Baatar beil/ Büüwei baatar and Shijir baatar) on its two sides. When the Yellow Palace burnt down, the armchair and the figures were transported to the Summer Palace, near the River Tuul (Pozdneev, 1971, p. 61.).

According to Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 17., Mongolian text p. 694.), during the *Tsam* dances ceremonies were also held in *Baruun örgöö*. This was also a place for performing healing or protective rituals (*Gürem*). According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 21.), only the ceremony of *Tümet khangal*, some aspects of the ritual of the *Tsam* dance and the ceremonies of the New Year were held in this palace. Pozdneev claims (1971, p. 60.), that according to the tradition, *Baruun örgöö* was the same yurt in which Awtai khan himself had lived. (Traces of the original huge yurt-palace of Awtai khan are still visible in the area of *Erdene zuu* monastery.) When it was first founded, ceremonies were held every day by 20 appointed lamas, who did not belong to any *aimag* temple, and who were directly supported by Tüsheet khan, a descendant of Awtai khan. According to Pürew, only four lamas belonged to this temple (though it seems likely that his account relates to a later period of time, when the number of lamas had decreased). Pürew claims, that the fireplace of the Mongolian State was preserved there.¹⁴⁶

Pozdneev adds that a special thanksgiving offering called *Jamsrangiin danrag* (T. *lcam-sring-gi gtang-rag*) was performed here three times a month to *Jamsran*, as the protector deity, at the same time as the *Khangal* ceremony (the same as *Sakhius*, ceremony of the wrathful deities) was held in the Bogd's palace temple. Later, it no longer functioned as a temple, and there were no seats for lamas though the yurts still housed the three statues.

The site of the palace was on the South-West of the present Children's Creativity Centre. According to Pürew's book (1994, p. 38.) it was pulled down in 1939.

Presently, the statue of *Jamsran* from *Baruun Örgöö* is kept in Gandan monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist*, pp. 285-286).

Temple of the Noble Object of Worship Presenting the Medicine Buddha

Noyon shüteenii süm / Manaliin süm (T. *sman-bla*, Skr. Bhaiṣajyaguru)

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 81.) and Pürew (2004, p. 19.) this small wooden temple was located behind the Yellow Palace, on the East of *Manba datsan*. It was founded during the time of the 2nd Bogd (1724-1758), although no exact date could be determined. However, according to Pozdneev (1971, p. 60., footnote 45), the cult of *Manlkha / Manla* or *Manal* was introduced to the *khüree* in 1805 and the temple building was erected in the same year.

Manal was worshipped here. The great treasury (*Ikh san*) financed the temple and one financial unit (*Mönkh nünnain tom jas*) belonged to it, referring to the continuous meditational fasting retreat that was used to be held here. Its operation was subordinated directly to the *Tsogchin*. 21 lamas came from different Züün Khüree *aimags* to participate in the regular ceremonies of *Manal* (*Jasaa Manal*) and in the meditation. The name of the temple relates to the worship of the unique statue of *Manal* created by Öndör Gegeen. According to Pozdneev (1971, p. 58.) adult lamas gathered in *Manaliin süm*, while young novices could gather in *Emch nariin datsan* ('the monastic school of the doctors', the same as

¹⁴⁶ The fireplace has great importance in Mongolian culture.

Manba datsan, see above) to perform daily chanting.

On the left of the temple there was a building called *Zuliinkh* ('that of butter-lamps') where butter-lamps and other offerings used in many temples were made. The temple was closed in the winter 1937.

Photo of the temple are available in the Film Archives (K24059) and in Tsültem's book (1988, picture 34) presenting the *Tsogchin temple*, *Manba datsan* and *Noyon shüteenii süm* together.

The *Manal* statue had survived and is presently in Gandan monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist*, pp. 285-286.).

White Tārā Temple

Dar' ekhiin süm (T. *sgrol-ma*), *Tsagaan Dar' ekhiin süm* (T. *sgrol dkar*)

The small wooden temple of *Dar' ekh*, situated to the North-East of the Yellow Palace behind *Noyon shüteenii süm* (Pürew, 2004, p. 19.) held the 21 statues of different emanations of the goddess created by Öndör gegeen according to Sereeter (1999, p. 85.).

In winter, 1914 the temple burned down, but the statues were rescued. In 1915 the temple was rebuilt according to a command issued by the *Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam* with funding amounting to 5,200 *lan* of silver. Today, the statue of the *Nogoon Dar' ekh* (T. *sgrol ljang*, Skr. Śyāmatārā, the Green Tārā), made by Öndör gegeen, are in the Palace Museum of the Bogd khaan. The statue of *Tsagaan Dar' ekh* (T. *sgrol dkar*, Skr. Sitatārā, the White Tārā) made by Öndör gegeen is presently in the Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts.

Vaiçravaóá Assembly

Namsrain khural (T. *rnam-(thos)-sras*)

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 87.), this temple was erected to worship the deity of wealth (*Namsrai*, T. *rnam-(thos)-sras*, Skr. Vaiçravaóá/Kuvera). Some lamas performed regular ceremonies (*Jasaa khural*) to pray for the increasing of income of the Bogd's inner treasury (*dotood san*) and great treasury (*ikh san*). There is no data on where exactly it stood.

Assembly of the Deity of Birth

Tünkhagiin khural (T. 'khrungs lha)

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 86.), this temple was erected to honour the Deity of Birth. There is a deity assigned to the day and exact time of a person's birth. The deity is determined by the combination of elements of the birth-year. It is believed that the worship of the 'birth deity' prolongs an individual's life so it must be given preference in prayer and veneration. All the reincarnations of the Bogd conducted ceremonies to the deities corresponding to their birthdays.

Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 8., Mongolian text p. 687.) describes in details the anniversary service (*Tünlekh*, T. 'khrungs, 'born, to be born, give birth') for the longevity (*Danshig*) of the 8th Bogd, who was born on the eighth day of the first month of autumn. According to him, twelve lamas read the relevant texts continuously. There were three Buddha images there, *Damjan Dorlig*, *Naichiin Choijin* (T. *gnas-chung chos-skyong* also *gnas-chung chos-rgyal*, Nechung oracle, the state oracle of Tibet) and a white-coloured Buddha wearing a helmet (*duulga ömssön tsagaan dūrtei burkhan*), which was brought from the place of Ürjin Khand (T. u-rgyan/o-rgyan mkha'-'gro, Uddiyana, to the North-West of ancient India, where Padmasambhava was born). The anniversary rituals lasted for three days being conducted from nine in the morning until twelve at night. According to Jambal, the

anniversary service lamas conducting the service had a temple (Jambal uses the word *örgöö* meaning ‘palace, residence’) where they held the ceremony. The temple, which had an ornamental red roof-cover, was to the North-West of *Ochirdariin siim* and to the South of the *Dechingalaw*. It must be the temple of *Tünlkhagiin khural*. It is presumed that it was a yurt in the courtyard, but there were several yurts situated there. The only sources are Jügder’s painting and the other paintings or painted maps. As they do not show the same arrangement of buildings, which could have changed over time, it cannot be determined exactly which one it was.

Non-stop Assembly or Threefold Assembly

Duu tasrakhgüi khural / Gurwiin khural

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 55.), some temples in Züün Khüree had continuous chanting (*duu tasrakhgüi khurluud*) of three to seven texts of the following: *Gombo*, *Jamsran*, *Dar’ekh*, *Lkham*, *Ochirwaan’*, *Gamgan’* (?), *Shiirewnyamba* (T. *shes-rab snying-po*). According to Dashtseren lama, on the left of *Shar ordon* there was an assembly with continuous chanting called *Duu tasrakhgüi khural* (‘non-stop ceremony’) or *Gurwiin khural* (‘threefold ceremony’). The disciplinary master of the *Tsogchin* temple appointed ten lamas from the Züün Khüree *aimags* to participate in these continuous ceremonies. According to Dashtseren lama, two kinds of ceremonies were held here: *Dar’ ekhiin khural* in honour of *Dar’ekh*; and *Gurwan Gürem* (T. *sku-rim rnam gsum*, ‘three kinds of protective rites’) in which the texts of *Seded*, the Green Tārā and the Heart Sūtra were recited. According to G. Buyandelger lama, there were about five different kinds of continuous assemblies in Züün Khüree. These yurt-shaped temples were situated on the left of *Shar ordon*, in front of *Zurkhain datsan*. In the collection of the National Archives the *Tsogchin*’s catalogues includes data about these 6-10 non-stop assemblies (see above), as they were maintained by the main assembly hall.

Printing House

Sümbüm (T. *gsung-‘bum*), *Barkhan* (T. *par-khang*)

On the East of the non-stop assemblies there was a large printing house (*barkhan*, T. *par-khang*) widely known as *Sümbüm* (‘collected works of an author’, hereby used in the meaning of printing house). According to Pozdneev (1971, p. 63.), the printing courtyard (*baariin khashaa*) was situated on the West of the Maitreya temple, paralleling the *khamba nomon khan*’s courtyard, which stored wooden plates for printing, which were done in the large yurt of the courtyard. In Pozdneev’s time printing in Urga operated on a very small scale with only 20 Mongolian and about 50 Tibetan works being printed. It was said that in former times numerous books were printed. During the reign of the 4th Bogd alone, 72 volumes of the 108-volume *Ganjuur* were hand-carved, which work was stopped by his death. Unfortunately, lists of printing blocks and printed books of this printing house are not available. According to Rinchen¹⁴⁷ when the Tibetan *Ganjuur* was carved and printed in Züün Khüree, the eminent lamas corrected the errata of the Tibetan Derge and Narthang’s versions. The xylographic edition of the Tibetan *Danjuur* was also started but being an enormous task finally it was interrupted. The *Sümbüm* was subordinated directly to the main assembly hall. Pürewjaw claims (1961, p. 39.) that wooden and iron blocks were used here for printing. The first 20 volumes of the *Danjuur* were printed here, too. He adds that the blocks of *Jadamba* were carved on copper (*zes*) by talented masters of Dalai Choinkhor wangiin khushuu of Tüsheet khan aimag and other countryside smiths. The head of the *Sümbüm* bore the rank of *daamal*.

¹⁴⁷ Rinchen, B. (ed.), *Four Mongolian Historical Records*. Çata-Piṭaka Series, Vol. 11., New Delhi. 1959, p. 11.

Numerous artists and painters worked here as several countryside monasteries and wealthy noblemen gave orders for Buddhist texts. The *Sümbüm* was famous all over the country for its printing activity. However, besides the *Sümbüm*, some small printing houses also existed in the capital city, such as that of the three philosophical monastic schools of *Gandan* (see details above).

Kanjur Temple

Ganjuuriin dugan (T. *bka'* - 'gyur)

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 55.) small assemblies like *Ganjuuriin khural* belonged to the main assembly hall as well. According to Pürew's drawing (2004, p. 19.), this temple was situated behind the main assembly hall with the *Khoid örgöö* (Rear Palace) on its left and *Gürmiin dugan* (Temple of protective rituals) on its right. *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid*, the first masterpiece sculpture by Öndör Gegeen, was kept there. It was also called as 'the old *Ayuush* of the Great Ganjuur (*Ikhiin Ganjuuriin öwgön Ayuush*, Dariimaa, 2003, p. 52.). The sculpture was later delivered to Gandan and is still kept there (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist*, pp. 285-286). The old informants have not confirmed the existence of this temple, thus it might not exist in the 1930s.

The name of this temple refers to the holy collection of the 'translated teachings of Buddha'. It is not clear if the 108 volumes of the *Ganjuur* were kept in the temple (though for sure they were), and, if so, which version(s). It is highly possible that the name of the temple came from the fact that the *Ganjuur* recitations were held here. Dariimaa adds that ceremonies were held here every day (p. 18.), but there is no other data on its ritual life.

Gürem Temple of Protective Healing Rituals

Gürmiin dugan (T. *sku-rim*)

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 55.) small assemblies like *Gürmiin khural* belonged to the main assembly hall as well. In Pürew's drawing (2004, p. 19.) this temple was situated behind the main assembly hall on the right of Kanjur Temple. The name of the temple, *Gürem* refers to the healing ceremonies or protective rituals performed there, part of the activities in any temple. There were also specialized temples for performing *Gürem*. The old informants have not confirmed the existence of this temple, thus it might not exist in the 1930s.

According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 18.) ceremonies were held here every day. There are no other sources on the activities of this temple.

Soleg Temple

Soleg/Solog/Solokh/Sülkh, Solgiin dugan (probably T. *gsol-kha'i* 'du-khang)

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 55.), small assemblies like *Solgiin khural* belonged to the main assembly hall as well. Dariimaa also mentions the name of the assembly (2003, p. 18.) but there is no precise data about its exact site and its ceremonies. Its name, *Solgiin dugan* cannot be identified. It can be a place of offering to the wrathful protectors (T. *gsol-kha*), but also refer to the kitchen (T. *gsol-khang*) or a burning offering (T. *bsang gsol*, see Bawden, 1997, English text p. 24., footnote 5). It is likely that this congregation was situated near the main assembly hall. The old informants have not confirmed the existence of this temple, thus it might not exist in the 1930s.

Rear Palace or Brown Palace

Khoit örgöö/Bor örgöö

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 55.) and Pürew's drawing (2004, p. 19.), this wooden yurt was situated behind the main assembly hall on the left of Kanjur Temple. Sereeter claims that the *khamba nomon khan*, the *ded khamba*, the five *tsorj*, the four disciplinary masters and the four chanting masters of the main assembly hall gathered here together and made decisions on religious questions. Dariimaa (2003, p. 26.) adds that the yurt was situated in a separated fenced-off courtyard.

Residence of the Main Abbot, the *Khamba Nomon Khan*

Khamba nomon khan (the 'Khan Abbot of the Religion') was the title of the highest ruler of the *khüree* in religious affairs, being the most significant cleric apart from the Bogd, who appointed him.

Luwsankhaimchog lama was the last to fulfil this position from 1920 to 1937. His fenced-off residence with trees in its courtyard was situated behind the Yellow Palace, on the East side of the Maitreya Temple (Pozdneev, 1971, p. 63.). It is shown in Jügder's painting and on the map kept in the Ulaanbaatar City Museum. Dashtseren lama confirms that his yurt dwelling was situated near the present building of the National University of Mongolia (MUIS). According to Choisüren lama (born 1916), *yonzon khamba* Luwsankhaimchog, the head of all Züün Khüree, lived in a small yurt with his Tibetan attendants close to *Süngiin aimag*, which seems to refer to the same place.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 108.), Luwsankhaimchog was born in Tibet in 1873. He obtained the *gachin* (T. *mkhan chen*, 'great scholar', great abbot) rank in Tashilhunpo monastery and arrived to Mongolia in 1915 as a *jawtüi lam* (T. *byabs-khrus*) of the Bogd, that performs purifying liturgies. Later, he became the personal tutor (*yonzon*, T. *yongs-'dzin*) of the 8th Bogd. In 1920 he was nominated as *khamba nomon khan*. In 1937 he was executed being one of the highest ranked lamas.

The Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs

Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam / Shanzawiin yaam (T. *phyag mdzod-pa*)

As the main administrative office of the city, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs was situated behind the *Tsogchin* temple and the Maitreya temple, South-East of the present Mongolian Art Centre for Children's Creativity. As can be seen from Jügder's painting, the *Shanzodwiin yaam* had a large fenced-off courtyard with a red gate. Pozdneev claims (1971, pp. 62-64.) that the ministry was divided into several departments divided into four courtyards, such as the administrative headquarters of the *shaw' nar* in the first courtyard, office of the Urga proper and of the *khutagt's* palace in the second courtyard, the private office and dwelling of the *erdene shanzodwa* himself in the third and the administrative headquarters for all the property, especially livestock, of the department of *shaw' nar*, in the fourth courtyard. Crowds of people waited for decisions every day all day long in front of the entrance to the ministry. Close by, those who had been sentenced sat 'in chains and wearing heavy planks on their necks' as the court was operating in a yurt opposite the ministry. The most famous ministers of the Bogd khaan's reign were the two Badamdorj and Luwsanbaldan.

THE 30 AIMAGS AND THEIR TEMPLES

There are numerous books which contain sporadic data about the *aimags* of Züün Khüree, and also several photos are available in books¹⁴⁸ and in the collection of the Film Archives¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁸ Tsültem 1988: intr. 11, 15, 16; 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 (*aimag* temples); Maidar: 40, 41 (*aimag* temples), 42

showing the *aimags*, *aimag* temples and celebrations in Züün Khüree. Old lamas living once in one of the *aimags* and belonging to *datsans* or *aimag* temples of Züün Khüree helped to clear up some particulars.

At the beginning of the 20th century the total number of *aimags* remained at 30. Each *aimag* consisted of fenced-off courts mostly with yurts within them. The *aimags* were different in size reflecting the different number of lamas residing in them. Each *aimag* had their own wooden temple either yurt (round) or square-shaped, own financial units (*jas*), and herds and flocks in the countryside. The *aimag* lamas held their own ceremonies and chanting in their own temples with their own deities, which were worshipped there. The temples contained images of the worshipped deities. The lamas joined *aimags* connected with their home countryside territory, so that lamas from the same administrative regions outside the capital lived in the same *aimag*. Many *aimags* got their names from a high-ranking lama or noble or their worshipped deities.

Several streets crossed Züün Khüree such as Wangain highstreet (Wangain örgön gudaṃj) leading to the East from the Yellow Palace (*Shar ordon*), Setsen toin highstreet and San highstreet. Pürew claims (1994, pp. 36-37.) and the map in Ulaanbaatar city museum shows that the first *aimag* on the West side of the *aimag* settlements, *Shüteenii aimag*, was situated where the Parliament is now, reaching North until the council building of Sükhbaatar district, with its temple on the North of this area, and the last *aimag* of the \cap shape on the East, *Örlüüdiin aimag*, lay to the North-East of the Parliament all the way to the present day main building of the National University of Mongolia. All the other *aimags* were situated between these two in a \cap shape to the North of these two *aimags*. Therefore, the zone between the former Züün Khüree *aimags* is currently the area between the present Sükhbaatar Street and Ikh surguul' Street. This area was the central square (*örgön chölöö*, *gol chölöö*) or street leading to the *Shar ordon*. It was called *Zalrakh zam*. The Southern area, below the area of the *aimags*, was renamed Sükhbaatar square in 1924. As well as the central section and the *aimags*, high-ranking lamas lived in Züün Khüree. For example: Jalkhanz khutagt S. Damdinbazar (1874-1923, one of the 13 great *khutagts* of Mongolia), on the East of *Shar ordon*.

The River West-Selbe crossed the area occupied by Züün Khüree. There were five bridges (*güür*) across it: *Ikhiin Zuukhiin güür*, *Anduu nariin güür*, *Setsen toinii güür*, *Düinkhoriin güür* and *Jadariin güür*, all bearing the names of the *aimags* next to which they were situated (Pürew, 2004, p. 19.).

According to Pozdneev (1971, pp. 52-53.) a total of 12,900 lamas lived in the *aimags* of Züün Khüree in 1855 and 13,850 lamas in 1889. As he observed, by that time the *aimags* had lost their original purpose and were only administrative units of lamas, coming from the same areas of the country. Every *aimag* had a separate temple, and the yurts of the lamas were situated around or nearby the temple of their *aimag*. Of the 27 *aimags* which Pozdneev described (as three *aimags* were formed after his time in Mongolia), six were independently organized by devotees' donations.

According to Jambal (Bawden, 1997, Mongolian text p. 761., English text p. 76.), who made a report on the request of Sükhbaatar, the Mongolian military leader, during the 1920s total 14,850 lamas lived in the *aimags*. There were four *aimags* with 1000 lamas (*Shüteenii*, *Sangain*, *Zoogoin* and *Ekh daginiin*), 15 *aimags* with 500 lamas (*Setsen toinii*, *Anduu nariin*,

(*Anduu nariin aimag* temple), 49; Sereeter: 51 (*aimag* temples)

¹⁴⁹ Film Archives K23997-K24101 (pictures of Züün Khüree and *Shar ordon*), K24006, K24047 (*aimag* temple), K24056 (*Anduu nariin aimag* temple), K24057 (*Ekh daginiin aimag*, *loilon*), K24092 (*aimag* temple), K24764 (Maitreya circumambulation), K24802 (Sand maóðala procession), K24803, K24804 (Maitreya circumambulation), K24832 (Sand maóðala procession), K24833 (Maitreya circumambulation), K24835, K24837 (*Dechingalwiin dugan*), K24863 (*Tsam* dance), K24888 (*Tsam* dance)

Dugariin, Wangain, Süngiin, Dününkhoriin, Erkhem toinii, Bargiin, Örlüüdiin, Lam nariin, Nomon khanii, Dondowlin, Jadariin, Toisamlin, and Darkhan emchiin), six *aimags* with 350 lamas (*Khüükhen noyonii, Biziyaagiin, Jasiin, Nomchiin, Dandarlin, Namdollin*) and five *aimags* with 250 lamas (*Makhamayaa, Choinkhorlin, Mergen khambiin, Khuwilgaanii, Bandidiin*).

Dashtseren lama, who belonged to *Choinkhorlin aimag*, described the layout of his *aimag*, which applies more or less to all the other *aimags*: the square-shaped wooden *aimag* temple building was surrounded by the yurts of the ranking lamas, administrative offices and small shops. The temple abbot (or *aimag* head) lived in his own yurt. The following ranked lamas belonged to the temple: an abbot (head), a *tsorj* or *lowon*, 2-4 chanting master, 2-4 disciplinary master, a cashier, and a bookkeeper. Each *aimag* was a self-sufficient unit having lamas to fulfil different duties or with different occupations such as doctor, chef, cleaner, carpenter, tailor, builder, and learned persons. According to Dashtseren lama, it was not allowed for lamas to participate in ceremonies in other *aimag* temples. Each *aimag* had at least two high-ranking lamas (*khamba, tsorj* and *lowon*) who were its highest authorities. In addition, the disciplinary master(s) of the *aimag* in order to keep the regulations had the right to punish the lamas. However, the disciplinary masters of the main assembly hall (*tsogchin gesgüi*) had authority over them.

Pozdneev says (1971, pp. 53-54.) that the *aimag* temples had two sections: a larger one, called the 'temple of worship' (*khurliin süm*), where services and ceremonies were held, and the so-called sanctuary (*shüteenii örgöö*) or 'abode of the holy objects', situated on the temple's North side joined by a door, where the holy idols of a given *aimag* were kept. Note that Pozdneev calls the conjoining sanctuary *shüteenii örgöö* while this is most widely called *gonkhon* (T. *mgon-khang*) and sometimes *zonkhon* (T. *gtsang-khang*).

According to Pozdneev's description, the *aimag* temples' idols were few in number, between three and seven, and painted scrolls were hung only in a few of these temples. He also explains how small shops and stands stood in the entrance of the *aimag* courts. This was the place (*jas*) where auctions were held of property donated by Mongols to the temple and the lamas. According to him (p. 56.), each of the *aimag* temples had a *büreenii shat* (a wooden platform used for calling the lamas to the ceremonies) set up on the South-East side of the *aimag* temple.

As for the sanctuaries (*shüteenii örgöö*), the separate sections of the temples for the holy objects, according to Pozdneev's observation, they were quadrangular wooden buildings with Chinese roof and *ganjir* decoration. In two *aimags*, *Sangain* and *Zoogoin*, the sanctuary was two storeys high according to Pozdneev. Inside these sanctuaries massive sculptures stood and other sculptures and painted scrolls were displayed. Pozdneev claims that lamas and laymen were forbidden to enter these sanctuaries. Except the *takhilch* who prepares and places offerings, only two other lamas were appointed who could enter to recite texts of the given ceremonies. Pozdneev says that people were allowed to enter these sanctuaries only once a year: on the 9th of the first summer month, during the *Tsam* dance festival.

What follows is some basic information about the date and circumstances of the foundation of the thirty *aimags*, their principal deities, and their financial units. (Note that the dates given are those when the *aimag* communities were founded not the dates when the *aimag* temple building that existed at the time of the purges, were built. No exact data could be found on the latter.) Most of this data is drawn from Sereeter's work (1999). As for the worshipped deities, Sereeter's data was compared with information from one of the data providers, Gonchig lama, born 1917, who is the main disciplinary master of *Dashchoimbel datsan*, and who had once belonged to the old *Dashchoimbel datsan* and lived in *Shüteenii aimag*. He had a list of the worshipped deities in a manuscript he wrote in the 1930s. A list of the *aimag* temple deities published in *Gandan* monastery's newspaper were also used (*Bilgiin*

melmii, p. 3.), which shows similarity with Soninbayar's list (1995, pp. 61-62.). This data was also used to help draw conclusion about the basic ceremonies in each temple. Some data on the type of the *aimag* temples and their exact site is given, taken from Pürew's book (2004, pp. 19., 22-23.) which also provides some data on the styles of the *aimag* temples and their exact site. GPS reading were taken for 24 of these sites, using Pürew's data to locate them. Furthermore, the *aimag* descriptions contain some data provided by other old lamas who had once lived in a given *aimag*. Furthermore, types of archival sources related to the given *aimags* will be mentioned, and the list of ceremonies written in 1937 will be fully cited if relevant (the lists of some *aimags* were not found in the National Archives). Data about the number of lamas in the different *aimags* were taken from Pozdneev (1971, p. 52.), whose data was based on a contemporary list of the *Tsogchin* temple, and Sereeter also provided information about the number of lamas in each *aimag*, even giving numbers for 1855 and for 1938. In the description below these data are given for every *aimag*.

As the *aimags* were situated in a \cap shape, the *aimags* are listed below from South-West to South-East in order. The *aimags* were registered by the 30 letters of the Tibetan alphabet (*ka, kha, ga, nga*, etc.), based on their location in the *khüree deg* (\cap) and the date of their foundation (e.g. *Shüteenii aimag* is marked with letter *ka*, and *Ekh dagina aimag*, which was founded as the last *aimag*, is marked by *A*).

1. *Shüteenii aimag*

Shüteenii aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *zhu-te-ni*), marked with letter KA of the Tibetan alphabet, was one of the first seven *aimags* being initiated by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar between 1665 and 1720 (Sereeter, 1999, pp. 18-20.). As Luuzan lama, born from Büüwei prince family, was the initiator of this *aimag*, it was called *Luuzan toinii aimag*, 'the *aimag* of Luuzan lama' at the beginning. Then, Manzshir khutagt lived here, so it became known as *Manzshir lamiin aimag*. Finally, a temple was erected to house the idol of *Gombo*, who was worshipped by Öndör gegeen's mother (*Dalai eej*), so the *aimag* was re-named *Shüteenii aimag* or 'Aimag of the Holy Object of Worship.' Its main tutelary deity was *Zügiüü Namnan* (T. *gtsug dgu rnam snang*, an epithet of Vairocana) and its main protectors were *Naichün/Naichin* and *Namsrai*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Danshigiin khangaliin jas*, *Tümen Sanjidiin jas*, *Ündesnii jas*, *Itgeliin jas*, *Tsedor Lkhamiin jas*, *Mandalshiwaagiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Dültsengiin jas*, *Dordüwiin jas*, *Ikh Dar' ekhiin jas* (from 1908: *Buman Dar' ekhiin jas*), *Garawchoghchidiin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Baga Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Shunkhan Ganjuuriin jas*, *Ikh Lamiin chodwiin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Dalai eejiin jas*, *Baga Lamiin chodwiin jas*, *Dugan(ii) jas*.

As *Shüteenii aimag* was one of the oldest and most densely populated *aimags* of the *khüree*, numerous texts have remained related to its operation (1754 in number) in the collection of the National Archives. Its catalogue (M-121) of the Manchu period lists 1406 texts dated between 1797 and 1911. According to the catalogue's introduction *Shüteenii aimag* had ten financial units from the 1800s with one leader respectively (*darga* or *geriin darga*). Later, all together 18 financial units belonged to the *aimag*, namely *Ikh jas*, *Tsedor Lkhamiin jas*, *Danshig(iin) jas*, *Tümen Sanjidiin jas*, *Itgeliin jas*, *Mandalshiwaagiin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Baga Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Ikh Lamiin chodwiin jas*, *Baga Lamiin chodwiin jas*, *Dalai eejiin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Shunkhan Ganjuuriin jas*, *Dültsengiin jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Dugan(ii) jas*. Besides, *Donchidiin jas*, *Garawchoghchidiin jas*, *Tarawchenbo jas*, *Manal jas*, *Janraisegiin jas*, *Ulaan Ganjuuriin jas*, *Khangal jas*, *Chadbogiin chog jas* (?) are also mentioned.¹⁵⁰ The 1406 documents inform us mainly about *Shüteenii aimag*'s incomes and expenses, properties, herds and flocks, numbers of lamas,

¹⁵⁰ Exact meaning unknown. Probably *zed pogiin jas*, *chogiin jas*.

novices, nobles, clericals and laymen. There are texts about debts (*ör nekhemjlekh*) settled by Setsen khan, Sain noyon khan, Zasagt khan, and Tüsheets khan aimags. The very first text of the catalogue lists the *aimag*'s properties and the silver lent to others (1797). There are registers regarding the administrators (*zakhirakh darga*) of the ten courtyards of the *aimag* (1830, etc.), and a list of equipment which were used when the *Amban Tsetsen noyon* arrived to the *khüree* is available, too (1861). The expenses of *danshig naadam*, the register of lamas (1833), the loans given to lay people (1835), the lamas who dwelled in the *aimag* and the lamas who did not dwell in the *aimag* (*dewsgertei ba engiin lam nariin bürtgel*) were all recorded as well as the costs of feasts (*dom khurakh*) of the Bogd (1866). Official letters which were sent to the *aimag*'s authorities (*erkh barigch lam nart irsen zakhidal*) are also available. Registered lamas (*danstai*) and unregistered lamas of the *aimag* were listed.

The catalogue (A-89) of the Bogd khaan's reign lists 249 texts regarding *Shüteenii aimag*. According to the catalogue's introduction 1452 lamas and 18 financial units belonged to the *aimag* during this period, such as *Ikh jas*, *Tsederlkhamiin jas*, *Danshigiin jas*, *Tümen Sanjidiin jas*, *Itgel jas*, etc. Moreover, *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Dültsen Dordow(iin) jas*, *Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Shunkhan Ganjuuriin jas*, *Garawtsogchidiin jas*, *Duganii jas*, *Shine Dar' ekhiin jas*, and *Dalai eejiin jas* are also mentioned in titles. Generally, most of the texts focus on the *aimag*'s livestock, incomes and expenses, objects or worship and received donations. Offerings given by *Erdene nomon khan lam* was recorded in 1912. Some titles indicate that Tserendorj bookkeeper (*nyaraw*), and Sodnom-Ochir officer (*tüshmel*) lived in this *aimag*. (For example: there is a list of the livestock donated by Sodnomochir *tüshmel* and other donators, in order to cover the costs of the *aimag* temple's renovation, and to initiate a separated *jas* for this activity, 1912). There is a list of banknotes which were lent in 1913, a list of the livestock herded in Eastern and Western pastures, a list of brick tea received during the usual ceremonies and during the ceremonies that were performed at the request of individuals (1918). The coins and banknotes lent with interest (1918) and the eternal butter-lamp dedicated to the Medicine Buddha in *Dalai eejiin jas* were recorded. The costs of the *aimag* temple's renovation were recorded in 1918. The list of resident nobles of the *aimags*, and the list of lamas of *Shüteenii aimag* gathering in Gandan were compiled in 1921.

The *aimag*'s catalogue (Kh-203) of the Modern Period contains 99 titles. They originated from 1921-1937 and mainly focus on the incomes and expenses of the *aimag* again. It had livestock herded in Eastern pastures. Apart from the donations (1921), there are lists about tax payments (1921), also about tax levied on the livestock (1923), and lists of loans with interest (1923, 1925), together with the supervisions of the silver of the temple (1924) even if in *tögrög* (1928). In the 1930s there were more censuses of *aimag* lamas with the aim of taxation: there are lists of the lamas who had to pay military tax (1933, 1936), lists of all lamas of the *aimag* (1934, 1935, twice in 1936, 1937), a list of ranked lamas of the *aimag* (1935), a list of the lamas who had to pay military tax because they did not join the army (1935), and a register of novices under the age of 18 (1935). The livestock of the *aimag* was counted in 1935. There are additional interesting texts without date, namely the register of the lamas holding positions (*myandag tushaaltan*), and the register of poor lamas.

Pürew whose descriptions are most probably based on the painting by Jügder, says that the *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple and it was situated on the East of what is now the Natural History Museum (*Baigaliin tüükhiiin müzei*, N 47°55.345', E 106°54.916'). A photo is available in the Film Archives (K24038) that also appears in Tsültem's book (1988, picture 27). According to Ts. Dorj lama (1901-2007), who lived in *Shüteenii aimag*, 1,000 lamas belonged to this *aimag* and the *aimag* temple had the protectors mentioned above, namely *Namsrai* and *Naichin*. According to Sereeter, in this *aimag* the number of lamas who lived there was 1,000 in 1855 and 501 in 1938.

2. Dondowlin(giin) aimag

Dondowlin aimag (T. *don-grub gling*, ‘island of accomplishment’), marked with letter ZA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1780 according to Sereeter (1999, p. 21.). In 1774 *zasag beil* (noble officer) of Tsetsen khan aimag founded a temple in his territory (*khoshuu*). He dedicated it to the 4th Bogd in 1780 and founded a new aimag with some lamas from *Shüteenii aimag*. Its main tutelary deity was *Nagbo Demchig* (T. *nag-po bde-mchog*, ‘Black Cakrasaṃvara’) or *Nagwushawlügji Demchog* (T. *nag-po ...- lugs ?-kyi bde-mchog*, the Tibetan origin of this deity’s name couldn’t be identified) (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3.) and its main protectors were *Gombo* and *Damjan Chojil*. However, Gonchig lama names the four-faced emanation of *Gombo*, namely *Shalsh* as one of its protectors. The large sculpture of *Chojil* or *Chojoo* made by Öndör gegeen, which was kept in *Dondowlingiin aimag*, and was known as ‘*Chojoo* of the Astrologic temple’ (*Zurkhain Chojoo*) is presently kept in the *Ochirdariin süm* in *Gandan* monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist*, pp. 285-286.). The following financial units belonged to the aimag: *Ikh jas*, *Dülsen(giin) jas*, *Sanjidiin jas*, *Dorjnamjimiin/Dorjnamjiliin jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*.

The National Archives contains 24 sources related to the operation of *Dondowlin aimag*. The aimag’s catalogue (M-103) of the Manchu period contains eleven texts written between 1862 and 1906. It is clear that at least six *jas* belonged to the aimag. They are the same listed above. The very first text describes the incomes and the expenses of the aimag (1862). There are lists of residential lamas of the aimag (*dewsgerten lam nar*) (1905/6). The bequest of *Bazar gelen* is also available (1906). *Bazar gelen* must have been a wealthy lama (maybe the head) of the aimag. It was usual that an aimag inherited the books, sculptures, artefacts, and the private livestock of a high-ranking lama. In the collection there is list of the lamas, who participated in the ceremonies of different monastic schools (1906). The aimag’s catalogue (A-176) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains only two texts. One of them describes the aimag’s incomes and expenses, and livestock (1913-1917), while the other one was issued in order to compensate for the value of the articles which were stolen from someone in the aimag (1921). The catalogue (SKh-222) of the Modern Period contains eleven texts. They mainly focus on the livestock and the properties of the aimag. The internal rules of the aimag and the lamas’ incomes were written down in 1925, which indicates that the internal rules changed in 1924 or had not been written down previously. An interesting piece of material indicates the political changes: it is a contract written in 1930 in order to transfer the aimag’s livestock to the co-operatives. Documents were issued in order to levy tax on lamas from 1932 to 1933 (1933), and each lama of the aimag was registered in 1934. There is a list of the lamas who knew Mongolian script (1934), a list of lamas over the age of 18, and a list register of each lama of the aimag.

Pürew claims that the aimag had a big felt yurt temple, which was situated on the North-East of the Natural History Museum (N 47° 55.424’ E 106° 54.917’). 300 lamas lived in the aimag in 1855 and 52 in 1938.

3. Jadariin/ Jiddariin aimag

Jadariin aimag (T. *kye(‘i) rdor/ kye(‘i) rdo-rje*), marked with letter KHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1745 according to Sereeter (1999, p. 22.). The aimag was named after its main tutelary deity, *Jadar/Jiddar* (T. *kye(‘i) rdo-rje*, Skr. Hevajra). According to Gonchig lama and the *Bilgiin melmii* article *Tonbajin* (T. *thod-pa-can*, ‘the one with the skull cup’, an epithet of Cakrasaṃvara) was its other main tutelary deity. Its main protector was *Gombo güir* (T. *mgon-po gur*), an emanation of Mahākāla, being worshipped by the Sakyas. Sereeter and the catalogue (M-107) of the Manchu period of the National Archives list the following financial units of the aimag: *Ikh jas*, *Dülsengiin jas*, *Ikh Tarawiin jas*, *Tsawiin jas*, *Jambiin chogiin jas*, *Donchidiin jas*, *Baga Tarawiin jas*, *Dondogiin Sanjidiin jas*, *Soiwangiin*

Sanjidiin jio (M-107: *Soiwangiin Sanjidiin jas*). Then, the catalogue adds *Tsawiin Nügneen jas*, *Ganjuur jas*, and *Mönkh Sanjidiin jas*.

The collection of the National Archives contains 230 regarding the administration of *Jadariin aimag*. The catalogue (M-107) of the Manchu period contains 142 texts dated between 1807 and 1911. Their majority informs us about the incomes and expenses, the livestock, silver and brick tea properties of the *aimag*. The very first text was written in 1807. It is about the requisites of worship. There is a list of brick tea gained as profit (*khüü ürjüülekh*) on given loans of the financial units of *Khangal* and other ceremonies (1904). The area of the agricultural fields of the *aimag* was determined in 1908. Sculptures (1908), and resident lamas of the *aimag* were listed in 1908.

The catalogue (A-93) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 35 texts. *Tarawiin jas*, *Dültsen jas*, and *Ikh jas* are mentioned in their titles. There is a register of the articles and the livestock that were offered by devotees for the renovation of the *aimag* temple in 1913.

The relevant catalogue (Kh-201) of the Modern Period includes 53 texts written between 1926 and 1937. *Mönkh nügnein jas*, *Dültsen jas*, *Ikh jas* and *Baga jas* are mentioned in their titles. The texts focus on silver with interest, leasing the livestock, incomes and expenses, recovery of debts, requisites of worship, books and offerings (1926). There is a list of taxes levied on the livestock (1927). A commercial contract was conducted with a layman in 1927. Incomes and expenses of the renovation of the temple building, palaces, etc., and the equipment of the worship of the Buddhas were written down in 1927. The properties of the financial units (1928), the requisites of worship and properties of *Jadariin aimag* were listed in 1930. The selling price of the livestock was determined in 1930. There is a document concerning the restoration of equipment and statues received as donations (1933), and a list of lamas up to the age of 18 (1934). The last document was written in 1937. It lists the expenditures of the *aimag* as well as its accessories of worship (1937).

A text lists ten ceremonies which were held in 1937 (201/58.). According to this source *Magtaal* ceremony was read for three days from the 17th of the last winter month. Instead of 112 lamas only 60 lamas participated. *Choiyoo dügjüü* ritual was performed on the 19th every month. Four lamas were expected to come, and all of them arrived. *Tsedorlkham* ceremony was held on the night of the 30th of the last winter month. Instead of 112 lamas 71 lamas came. *Jadar* ceremony was held on the 10th of each month. All the four lamas arrived who were expected to come. Öndör geegen's commemoration was held on the 14th of the first spring month, when only 33 (or 31?) lamas came, though the *aimag* had 112 lamas. The commemoration of the 8th Bogd (*8-r Bogdiin düitsen*) was held on the 17th of the first summer month. 18 lamas came to hold this ceremony from the 112. The commemoration of Buddha was held on the 4th of the last summer month. All the expected 30 lamas participated in it. *Jadariin dültzen* was prepared for three days from the 12th of the middle summer month. All the required 21 lamas gathered together. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held on the 30th of the last summer month, when only 41 lamas came from 112 lamas of the *aimag*. *Danshigiin khangal* ceremony lasted for five days from the 3rd of the middle winter month. Summarizing the information of the list we can state that *Magtaal* was recited for three days. *Jadar* ceremony took place, and *Jadar*'s sand mandala was prepared. Commemoration of the 8th Bogd took place in this temple. *Danshigiin khangal* lasted for five days in winter. 112 lamas were expected to gather for several ceremonies, but the largest number of lamas, 71, came only for the New Year celebration. The last data of participants was written down in the last summer month. Daily ceremony is not mentioned at all. As for monthly ceremonies *Jadar* was held on 10th and *Choiyil* on 19th every month. There were not any interrupted ceremonies.

Pürew claims that the *aimag* had a square shaped temple building, situated near, what is now, the Library of Sükhbaatar district. However, he represents it as yurt-shaped temple on his sketch (p. 19.). One of the most famous lamas of the *aimag* was *Agwaankhaidaw* or

Agwaanluwsankhaidaw (T. *ngag-dbang blo-bzang mkhas-'grub*, 1779-1838), the 13th abbot (*khamba nomon khan*) of the *khüree*, who was known as (*Agwaan*) *Khaidaw* Abbot of *Jadar aimag* (*Jadariin khamba*). He compiled numerous books such as the one in 1836 which is up to this day the main handbook for the preparation of the *Tsam* religious dance. The tutelary and protective deities of the *aimag* indicate that this assembly belonged to the Sakya (T. *sa-skyä*) stream of Tibetan Buddhism. In this *aimag* 300 lamas lived in 1855 and 54 in 1938.

4. *Toisamlin/ Toisomlin/Toislin aimag/ Dashtoisomlin aimag*

Toisamlin aimag (T. *thos bsam gling*, 'island of hearing and contemplating'), marked with letter RA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1798 according to Sereeter (1999, p. 23.). In the 1790s *taij* (prince) *Tsedenbishrelt* and *Rawdan* lama (*toin*) from *Orjinjawiin khoshuu* of *Tüsheets khan aimag* founded a temple in their area. They moved to the *khüree* and dedicated it to the 4th Bogd who gave *Dashtoisomlin* as the name of the assembly. Its main tutelary deity was *Sandui Mijid* (T. *gsang-'dus mi bskyod*, Skr. *Guhyasamāja Akāobhya*) and its main protector was *Gombo*. According to Gonchig lamas's manuscript and the official newspaper of Gandan (*Bilgiin melmii*), the main protector of the temple was *Lkham*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Düitsen jas*, *Mönkh Sanjidiin jas*, *Danjuuriin jas*, *Günregiin jas*, *Nünnain jas*, *Jambiin jas*. The *aimag* had a square shaped temple building. S. Dagwa lama (born 1910), who lived in *Toisamlin aimag*, claims that 300 lamas lived here. The *aimag* had a temple with golden roof and *Manzshir* (T. *'jam-dpal / 'jam-(dpal)- dbyangs*, Skr. *Mañjuçrī*) was one of its main protectors.

The collection of the National Archives contains 210 texts related to this *aimag*. The catalogue (M-116) of the Manchu period contains 116 titles. The first text is a list of incomes and expenses (1818). There is a list which contains the incomes and ceremonial expenses, and the requirements of worshipping the Buddhas (1821-31, 1832-1841), written in Tibetan. As the titles of the texts indicate *Awidiin Donchid* ceremony was held and eternal butter-lamp (*mönkh zul*) had been lighting in this *aimag*. The *aimag* had camels. There is a list, written in Tibetan, about the incomes dedicated to build a chapel (*gonkhon dugan*) to house the sculpture of the *aimag* protector (1884). Moreover, there is a document without date on the incomes and offerings of ceremonies and on the name and number of lamas who participated in the ceremonies in *Dashchoimbel datsan*, as well as resident lamas (*dewsgerten lam nar*) of the *aimag*.

The *aimag's* catalogue (A-90) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 47 titles. *Düitsen jas*, *Danjuuriin jas*, *Ikh jas*, and *Baga jas* are mentioned. Many texts were written in Tibetan. Most of the texts list herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, donations, and brick tea loans. There is a text about the *aimag's* rented out camels (1916), and another about its various properties (written in Tibetan, 1916). Announcements were sent to many *aimags*, temples and monasteries in order to purify and consecrate their sculptures and sacred objects and to quantify the number of their lamas (1913, 1915, 1917). There is a list of *Düitsenjaw's* livestock, who belonged to the *Düinkhor* assembly (1918) (perhaps he lived in *Toisomlin aimag* and participated in the ceremonies of *Düinkhor datsan*). There is an official request to pass the volumes of the Tanjur to the authorities (*alban gazar*) in order to help its Tibetan and Mongolian translations. There are lists of lamas (1918), the *aimag's* incomes and expenses, and herds and flocks (1920).

The catalogue (SKh-216) of the Modern Period lists 47 texts dated between 1921 and 1932. They focus on herds and flocks, firewood and coal, flour and wheat. There are three interesting texts without dates: a register of the *aimag* lamas, a list of ceremonies of the *aimag* temple, and a register of the *aimag's* books and properties.

There is a register (Kh216/44) in the collection of the National Archives, which contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of all the 23

ceremonies which were regularly held in the *aimag* temple. Although the year is not determined in the text, most supposedly it was prepared in 1937 as it has the same structure as the registers in the case of other temples. However, titles are missing from the text which was written with very tidy handwriting. The ceremonies were the following: *Sharshin Chojil*, *Lkham*, *Namsrai* were held every day by an appointed lama. *Dügjüü tugon* was held on the 27th of every month by five appointed lamas. *Güngreg* ceremony was performed on the 30th of every month by four appointed lamas. *Sandui* was held on the 15th of every month by four appointed lamas. *Galiin takhilga* was performed on the 24th of the last winter month by four appointed lamas. *10 khangal dügjüü danragtai* was held for a day on the 29th of the last winter month with the participation of 20 lamas of the several *aimag* lamas. *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony with thanksgiving offering and *yerööl tsoglom* was performed for a day at dawn on the 1st of the first spring month with the participation of 70 lamas of the several lamas. *Dalkhag Sanjin*¹⁵¹ was performed on the 2nd of the first spring month for a day by four appointed lamas. *Yerööl owuu maan' tsoglom* was held on the 14th of the first spring month by ten appointed lamas. *Gongoriin bumba* was performed for a day by four appointed lamas on the 13th of the middle spring month. *Lkhamiin dordow* was performed for three days in the middle spring month by 13 appointed lamas without fixed date. *Tsagiin magtaal owuu maan' tsoglom* ceremony was performed for three days in the middle spring month by 67 lamas without fixed date. *Namsrain bumba* was practiced on the 15th of the first summer month by four appointed lamas. *Günregiin dültsen* was prepared for seven days in the middle summer month without fixed date. 17 lamas from the expected 37 participated in it. *Gongoriin bumba* was practiced for a day on the 13th of the middle summer month by four appointed lamas. *6 khangal* ceremony with thanksgiving offering was performed for a day on the 28th of the last summer month by ten appointed lamas. A ceremony in honour of the ten wrathful deities and their companies, together with *dügjüü* offering and thanksgiving offering (*Arwan khangal shadar dügjüütei khoyor danragtai*) was performed for a day on the 29th of the last summer month. 30 lamas participated in this event (though plenty of them were expected to come). *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony with thanksgiving offering was held on the 30th of the last summer month with the participation of 37 lamas. *Yanjinmaa*, *Bümchin lündagnai* (?), *Dalkhag sanjin* were performed by four lamas respectively. *Gongoriin bumba* was practiced for a day on the 13th of the middle autumn month by four appointed lamas. A ceremony in honour of *Lkhamiin teedüi* (?) *shadar danrag tsoglom* was held on the 15th of the middle autumn month for a day by all the 12 expected lamas. On the 15th of the first winter month the six wrathful deities were worshipped by thanksgiving offering (*6 khangal shadar danragtai*) *Arwan khangal* with thanksgiving offering on the last day was held for three days on the 3rd of the middle winter month. *Gongoriin bumba* was practiced for a day on the 13th of the middle winter month.

It is clear from the above-mentioned list that numerous ceremonies were performed in honour of the various groups of wrathful deities. One lama fulfilled the everyday reading (*jasaa*) which consisted of texts dedicated to the wrathful deities. *Dügjüü* was performed in every month. *Sandui* ceremony was held on the 15th and *Günreg* ceremony on the 30th of each month. *Gongoriin bumba* was practiced by four lamas on the 13th of every middle month. Moreover, *Namsrain bumba* was performed once a year as well. The sand maóðala of *Günreg* was prepared in summer. It seems that the *aimag* had 37 resident lamas in 1937.

According to O. Pürew, the temple was situated on the West of, what is now, the Library of Sükhbaatar district. In this *aimag* 300 lamas lived in 1855 and 69 in 1938.

¹⁵¹ Exact meaning is unknown. M. *dalhay sangjin*, T. ?

5. *Düinkhoriin aimag*

Düinkhoriin aimag (T. *dus-'khor*), marked with letter GA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the period of the 2nd Bogd according to Sereeter (1999, p. 24.). The *aimag* was named after its main tutelary deity, *Düinkhor* (Kālacakra), while its main protector was *Gombo*. The following more than ten financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Gol jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Khawriin arwanii jas*, *Öwliin arwanii jas*, *Namriin arwanii jas*, *Namsrain jas*, *Ayuushiin jas*, *Naidangiin jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Khangaliin jas*, *Ündesnii jas*, *Puntsaldulamiin* (*Puntsagdulamiin*) *bumbanii jas*.¹⁵²

The National Archives contains 35 individual texts related to *Düinkhoriin aimag*. Its catalogue (M-105) of the Manchu period contains 13 texts dated between 1892 and 1911. These were written mainly about the incomes and expenses of *Düinkhoriin jas* (1892).¹⁵³ There are commands in fold-out form which prohibited the lay population to set up their yurts and courtyards near the monastic quarter (*khüree*), which forbade lamas to loaf in the lay quarters (*khoro*), and which discussed the question of the building of *Choiijin lamiin süm* (1902). Among the texts there is an evaluation of properties (*ed khogshil*), and robes and costumes that were received as donations (1903). A list provides the total amount of brick tea property of the *aimag* with the gained profit (1903). In the archives there are fold out forms regarding resident lamas of the *aimag* who had come from countryside *khoshuus*, and who participated in ceremonies in various *datsans* (1908) and / or resided in the *aimag* (1908). Lamas were recruited to replace the missing ones of the new monastic school (1911).

The catalogue (A-91) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains only four texts. A text informs us that the Bogd khaan acknowledged Sodnomdarjaa, the vice abbot (*ded khamba*) of the *khüree* as a *khutagt* and presented credentials (*juukh bichgiig shagnakh*) and seal (*tamga*) to him (1913). Incomes and expenses of *Düinkhoriin jas* were recorded in 1914. There are documents about fixed date ceremonies. Lamas were prohibited to trade (1912). Covering debts and paying customs duty on firewood were current topics in 1912. In 1918 the total number of the four kinds of livestock was recorded.

The catalogue (SKh-210) of the Modern Period contains 18 texts dated between 1922 and 1937. Many of them are without dates. *Gol jas* is frequently mentioned in their titles. The majority of the texts accounts about herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, and loans with interest. From the 1930s there is a document on official ranks (*alban tushaal*) and regulations of the *aimag* lamas (1934). There are lists of the lamas who belonged to this *aimag*, of the people who had voting rights (*songuuliin erkhtei khümüüs*), of the withdrawal of the voting right, and a register of lamas who had studied Mongolian script. The last document is a register of people holding official titles (1937).

Pürew claims that the *aimag* had a square shaped temple building. It was situated near, what was, the Sükhbaatar district Hospital. In this *aimag* 400 lamas lived in 1855 and 155 in 1938.

6. *Tsetsen/Setsen toinii aimag*

Tsetsen toinii aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *tshe-tshe thos-ni*), marked with letter NYA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries according to Sereeter (1999, p. 25.). It was probably founded by Tsetsen toin. Its main tutelary deity was *Sandui Jamdor/Jamdar* and its main protector was *Jamsran*. According to Sereeter and the catalogue (M-119) of the National Archives the following more than 18 financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Dar' ekhiin dültsegiin jas*, *Dültsegiin magtaaliin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain*

¹⁵² The Manchu catalogue (M-105) of the National Archives of Mongolia does not mention *Magtaaliin jas*, *Khangaliin jas* and *Ündesnii jas*, and says mistakenly *Pünsanshulmiin bumbanii jas* instead of *Puntsaldulamiin* (*Puntsagdulamiin*) *bumbanii jas*.

¹⁵³ Probably texts like this refer to *Düinkhor datsan*, instead of *Düinkhor aimag*.

jas, *Khuuchin Ganjuuriin jas*, *Namsrain dordowiin jas*, *Lkhamiin dordowiin jas*, *Dar' ekhiin nūnnain jas*, *Sereeteriin Günregiin jas* (M-119: *Ekhner Sereeten Güngeregiin jas*), *Awidiin chogiin jas*, *Demchogiin/Demchigiin donchidiin jas*, *Mintügiin dültsegiin jas*, *Buman Dar' ekhiin jas*. The catalogue of the archive adds *Satsogiin jas*, *Pogiin jas*, *Düitsen yerööliin jas*, *Mintügiin jas*, *Dürwed khamba lamiin khurliin jas* (?),¹⁵⁴ *Mandal Gandansünseriin jas* (?),¹⁵⁵ *Manaliin jas*.

The collection of the National Archives contains 402 documents related to *Setsen toinii aimag*. The catalogue (M-119) of the Manchu period lists 284 or 285 titles dated between 1819 and 1911. The ranking lamas of the *aimag* were the chief lama, the vice lama, the disciplinary master, the chanting master, the shrinekeeper, the offering preparer, the bookkeeper, and the cook. The first texts inform us about the brick tea property (1819) and other loans (1820) of the *aimag*. A register indicates that the number of lamas' courtyards increased to ten in 1823. An inventory of silver accessories and other articles was compiled in 1850. The order of services was defined in 1881. The costs of sacrificial cake offerings (*balin takhil*) and ceremonies were listed in 1883. Silver, brick tea, bulls and other goods lent were listed in 1889. There is a list of offerings dedicated to the proper rebirth of the old disciplinary master of *Tsetsen toin aimag*, who had passed away in 1890. A list notifies the profit from brick tea capital (*ekh tsai*) of some ceremonies' financial units that were independent from the *aimag* and its other financial units (1868, 1894). Several texts clarify brick tea loans, camels, milk, flour, wheat, silver, and brick tea that were sold (1898). Donations (1906) and the amount of brick tea that was sold to cover the costs of catering of the lamas (1908) were listed. Resident lamas of the *aimag* and the lamas who participated in ceremonies of monastic schools were listed in 1908.

The catalogue (A-92) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 67 texts. *Ikh jas*, *Düitsen jas*, *Mintügiin khural* are frequently mentioned, and dozens of texts deal with incomes and expenses, herds and flocks, and administrative other issues.¹⁵⁶

The catalogue (Kh-206) of the Modern Period contains 50 texts written between 1922 and 1939. *Ikh jas*, *Düitsen jas*, and *Magtaal jas* are often mentioned in their titles. Numerous texts discuss the livestock's progeny. The most interesting documents are the following: a list of the rules and fixed date ceremonies of *Tsetsen toinii aimag* (1925), a register of resident lamas (1926), a list of resident lamas and their home area in the countryside (*khoshuu nutag*) (1929). A command was sent to levy military tax on lamas of *Tsetsen toinii aimag* in 1932. There are further registers of lamas (1932). Although in most cases the last sources regarding the *aimags* of Züün Khüree were written in 1937 (e.g. the list of ceremonies with fixed date), there is a text about *Setsen toinii aimag* from 1938, which is a register of its resident lamas. Moreover, there is another text which was written in 1939 about the brick tea property of the *aimag* put out on interest. These two texts confirm that the *aimag* had lamas even after 1937, and continued its brick tea loan activities till 1939.

The list of ceremonies (206/37) was written in September 1937. It mentions the following 23 ceremonies: *Jamsrangiin dordow* was held for four days in the middle winter month without prescribed date. All the expected 13 lamas participated. The ceremony was held in order to increase the wealth of the treasury and to collect merits and virtues. *Sakhius dowogtoi* ceremony (T. *zlog-pa*) was held in the last winter month without prescribed day. All the expected 21 lamas participated. The aim of the ceremony was to save the inhabitants of the *aimag* from illness and suffering. In order to increase the wealth of the treasury and to purify the fire deity, the fire deity was worshipped by four appointed lamas on the 14th of the last winter month. *Sangdui Jamdar* (T. *gsang-'dus 'jam rdor*) and *Lamiin tsogchid* was held

¹⁵⁴ Exact meaning unknown.

¹⁵⁵ Exact meaning unknown.

¹⁵⁶ The catalogue was not thoroughly surveyed by the author.

on the 25th of the last winter month for the benefit of novices. Eight appointed lamas held these rituals. *Daichid yerööl* of the 2nd Bogd was held on the 27th of the last winter month to praise his deeds. 21 lamas participated in it instead of the numerous ones belonging to the *aimag*. *Khangal* recitation called *Khuuchin nom* was held on the 29th of the last winter month by 20 prescribed lamas in order to prevent the misfortune in the New Year. *Tsedorlkham*, the worship and encourage of *Lkham* on the 1st day of the new year, started on the 30th of the last winter month. Several lamas were expected to gather and several lamas gathered. Öndör gegeen's *Yerööl* ceremony celebrating his deeds was held on the 14th of the first spring month by 18 lamas instead of the numerous lamas who were expected to celebrate. *Magtaal* ceremony aiming at the praise of former eminent lamas lasted for three days in the first spring month by numerous lamas. *Gombo sakhiusnii dordow* was held to increase the properties of the treasury and all the merits. It was held once a year in the middle spring month for four days without prescribed date. 19 lamas performed it as it was prescribed. *Manaliin donchid* was held against illness on the 8th of the first summer month by all the 20 prescribed lamas. *Biziyaagiin donchid* and *Naidan chogo* were recited by 20 lamas to prolong life. It was held on the 15th of the first summer month. *Sangdui Jamdoriin dültson* was prepared by 19 prescribed lamas for seven days in the middle summer month. Its aim was to sharpen the pupils' mind. *Mintügiin dültson* was prepared by 13 prescribed lamas for seven days. It was prepared once a year in the last summer month to save lamas and lay people from bad faith. *Namsrain san* was held on the 15th of the last summer month to enrich the treasury. Several lamas were expected to gather and actually several lamas participated. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held on the 30th of the last summer month to generate merits and virtues. Several lamas were expected to gather and accordingly several lamas participated. *Gongoriin bumba* was held in the first autumn month to collect merits. All the prescribed four lamas participated in it. *Janraisegiin nünnai* was held by four prescribed lamas for three days from the 20th of the last autumn month. Its aim was to clear away the sins of lamas and lay people. The two *Sakhius* were offered to encourage them to achieve their tasks and to save people from hindrances. Several lamas performed it in the first winter month. *Danshigiin khangal* ceremony was performed for four days with prescribed date in the middle winter month. It was aiming at saving lamas, lay people and all sentient beings from hindrances and to make peace. Several lamas were expected to come, and accordingly several lamas arrived. *Tsagaan sakhius* (?) was celebrated on the 12th of the middle winter month by 12 prescribed lamas to preserve stealing from the treasury. Twelve lamas were expected to hold this ceremony. *Jasaa Sakhius* was recited with a daily basis two prescribed lamas. This ceremony saved the *aimag*'s inhabitants from hindrances. *Choiün* (?) was performed everyday by one lama in order to pray for the increase of the treasury's properties. From the 23 ceremonies listed above we can conclude that *Jasaa sakhius* and *Choiün* were recited every day. *Sandui Jamdor* was the main tutelary deity of the *aimag*, thus three kinds of ceremonies were held in his honour. His sand mandala was prepared for seven days as well as *Mintügiin*'s. *Janraisegiin nünnai* was held, too. The number of lamas who were expected to gather and the number of lamas who actually arrived seem to be the same. The largest number of participants of ceremonies was 21, though in some cases several lamas were expected. Neither of the ceremonies was interrupted.

According to O. Pürew, the wooden yurt-shaped *aimag* temple was situated near, what is now, the University of Fine Arts, called SUI (Soyol Uurlagiin Ikh Surguul'). The old photo of the temple is available in the Film Archives (K24083) and in Tsültem's book (1988, picture 28). In this *aimag* 600 lamas lived in 1855 and 154 in 1938.

7. *Amduu/Anduu nariin/Anduugiin aimag*

Amduu nariin aimag (T. *a-mdo*, Tibetan transliteration by Gonchig lama: *ang-dwo-nar*), marked with letter NGA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 according to Sereeter (1999, p. 26.) as dwelling of Tibetans from Amdo (a North-Eastern Tibetan district) who came to Mongolia with Öndör gegeen to spread Buddhism. Its main tutelary deity was *Jalwajamts/Jalbajamts* (T. *rgyal-pa rgya-mtsho*, a form of Avalokiteṣvara) and its main protector was *Lkham*. According to the *Bilgiin melmii* article, *Janraiseg* was also worshipped here, which must refer to the above mentioned *Jalwajamts* form. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Shagjüwiin dültsegiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Mönkh Gombiin dordowiin jas*, *Dültsegiin jas*, *Buman Itgeliin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Mönkh Günregiin jas*, *Mönkh Düdbiin jas or Tüdewiin jas*, *Mönkh Jambiin chogiin jas*, *Olon khünii mönkhölsön buman Nagoon Dar' ekhiin jas*. The catalogue M-99 of the National Archives adds *Gongor Namsrain tsawiin jas*, *Jasiin Namsrain jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Dörwön lamiin Günregiin jas*, *Naiman lamiin Jawiin chogoo (?)*,¹⁵⁷ *Shagjüwiin dültsegiin jas*, *Jasiin pogiin jas*, *Otog nyamiin Buman Nagoon Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Rentsen nariin buman Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Genden nariin*¹⁵⁸ *buman Nagoon Dar' ekhiin jas*.

The collection of the National Archives contains 352 sources about the *aimag's* operation. The catalogue (M-99) of the Manchu period contains 262 texts written between 1805 and 1910. According to the introduction of the catalogue this *aimag* was firstly initiated in 1651 and was called *Anduu nariin aimag*. Its operation was dedicated to the benefit of the Yellow Stream. Fixed date ceremonies were held here. The very first text is about the *aimag's* silver and brick tea properties, livestock and other incomes and expenses (1805). Lamas of the *aimag* were registered in 1821. A supervision of different equipment and properties (1827), the establishment of *Magtaaliin jas* initiated by several lamas (*khuwrag*) (1836), the goods that were donated to the newly established *jas* (1837), silver and brick tea properties of every financial unit (1841), the accessories of the *aimag* temple (1851), and the establishment of a *jas* initiated by believers to operate with fixed date ceremonies (1851) were all recorded. There is a list of milk and other dairy products received from herds and flocks (1855), a list of brick tea, butter and other products which were sold to cover the costs of ceremonies and required offerings (1871), a list of donations dedicated to the newly established *jas* (1885), and a list of the bulls and camels that were rented out (1897, 1909). There is a notice about the incomes of donations handled by the bookkeepers (1909). Lists of the four kinds of livestock that were herded in the North, and a list of goods of Khuwilgaan *tsorj's* external treasury (1910) are also available in the collection. The collection contains a plenty of documents in fold-out form as well. One of them was issued by the 5th Bogd in 1835 in order to hold healing rituals in temples (*gürmiig unshuulakh*), while another one forbade women to live in the monastic part of *Anduu nariin aimag* (1837). Many sources inform us about the number of livestock, incomes and expenses (1868), resident lamas (1874). The Bogd's command prescribed the design of robes (1884). There is a list of properties and objects of worship that were handed over and taken over by the *nyaraw* (1892), and a register of the bequests of deceased ones (1885). Registered lamas of the *aimag* and the lamas, who participated in the ceremonies of *Dashchoimbel datsan* were listed in 1890. Lists of silver, brick tea, robes and other properties offered by lamas and lay people to the *aimag* assembly were recorded in the 1890s. The regulation of lamas is also available (1910).

The catalogue (A-94) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 37 texts. They focus on herds and flocks of the *aimag*. There is a list of the lent brick tea properties of fixed date ceremonies, and additional offerings (1913). Further texts mention religious accessories,

¹⁵⁷ Exact meaning unknown.

¹⁵⁸ Probably *Gelen nariin buman Nagoon Dar' ekhiin jas*, i.e. financial unit supporting the recitation of the Green Tārā 10000 times by fully-ordained lamas.

loans; and goods which burnt in fire, etc. (1913, 1916, and 1918). Official orders were sent to the *aimag* about the fundraising activities of official religious events (1915, 1917, 1918, and 1921).

The catalogue (Kh-202) of the Modern Period contains 53 texts. They were written between 1921 and 1937, and provide data of loans, number of and profit from the livestock (1927), and incomes and expenses of sacrificial cake offerings (1928). There is a calculation of all herds and flocks and the income flowing in from them (a part of it was written in Tibetan in 1930). Lamas were listed in 1933, 1934, and 1936. In 1937 a register of lamas who were 26-50 years old was compiled, and a list (without date) contains the names of the lamas who knew Mongolian script.

Pürew claims that the *aimag* had a wooden square-shaped temple building (2004, p. 19.). On its site there is now a Honda repair garage (this area on Ikh toiruu has many garages). Ts. Tserenpuntsog lama (born 1914), who once lived here, confirmed that the *aimag* had a square-shaped temple. Its photo is available in Tsültem's book (1988, p. 42). In this *aimag* 600 lamas lived in 1855 and 209 in 1938.

8. *Dashdandarlin/Dandarlin aimag*

Dashdandarlin aimag (T. *bkra-shis bstan dar gling*, 'island of spreading the auspicious Teaching'), marked with letter HA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1892 according to Sereeter (1999, p. 27.) or in 1897 according to Pürewjaw (1961, p. 19.). Following the command of the 8th Bogd this *aimag* became separated from *Makhamayaagiin aimag*. It housed Luwsankhaidaw's yurt-palace (*Lawran tugdum/tugdum*), who was the younger brother of the Bogd and later became the state oracle known as *Choijin lam*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Tümet sakhiusnii jas*, *Günregiin dültsegiin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Danshigiin khangaliin jas*. Its main tutelary deity was *Makhamayaa* (T. *sgyu-ma chen-mo*, Skr. Mahāmāyā) and its main protector was *Jamsran* or *Jagonjamsran* (a form of *Jamsran*, Gonchig lama's transliteration: *tsha-kang* (?) *lcam-sring*, which Tibetan form also seems erroneous) (*Bilgiin melmii*).

In the collection of the National Archives 155 written sources are available about *Dashdandarlin aimag*. The catalogue (M-101) of the Manchu period contains 49 texts written between 1892 and 1911. According to its introduction the *aimag* was founded in 1892 having separated from *Makhamayaagiin aimag*. It had fixed date and occasional ceremonies, and own financial units, such as *Ikh jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Tümet sakhiusnii jas*, *Danshigiin khangaliin jas*, *Günregiin dültsegiin jas* which are the same as mentioned above. The very first text is a request which was sent to the Bogd requesting sculptures (*burkhan*) and books for the *aimag*'s foundation (1892). There is a roll of days of fixed date ceremonies (1892), a list of sculptures and books which were received from *Deerkhiin gegee* (the Bogd), when the *aimag* separated from *Makhamayaa* and became independent (1892, 1893), a list of donators and their offerings dedicated to the foundation of the *aimag* (1892). Lamas were forbidden to trade on market place (*zakh zeeliin gazar*) (1895). The rules of ceremonies were determined in 1897. A document was sent by the *khamba nomon khan*, the *erdene shanzaw*, and other executives to this *aimag* regarding the nomination and dismissal of ranked lamas of the 29 *aimags*, of the monastic schools, the *Erdene Shanzawiin Yaam*, and the palaces (1898). This command also ordered the study of Mongolian script. In 1902 a command was sent to this *aimag* to prohibit the putting up of private yurts and courtyards (*khuwiin khashaa*) nearby and around the monastic districts and to forbid lamas and novices to loaf in the lay quarters (*khoroos kharchuudiin gazar*) and to wear provocative robes (1902). There is a list of requisites required by the *khamba nomon khan* and *Choijin lam* when they participated in the meeting of the governors (*amban*) in 1903. In 1905 women were permitted to visit the monastic places. On special occasions such as *Düitsen*, *Tsam* dance, wrestling, and other spectacular events.

The titles of documents indicate some problems as well: one claims that the representatives of the *aimag* were unsociable to each other, and there were big contradictions in the lists of properties of the *jas* (1906). Another one counted the cash of the *jas* (1906). An order was sent to the *aimag* to make Buddhism strengthen because many lamas stole and robbed, escaped, fought, and incited other lamas (1907). There is a list of the *aimag*'s lamas who participated in monastic schools or lived in the countryside (1908), and a notice about stealing and lying (1909). Novices who were studying at monastic schools had to settle down in the monastic districts in 1900, and monastic duties and exemption from lay obligations were defined in 1911. A command arrived in order to increase the number of lamas gathering in the newly established monastic school (*Idgachoinzinlin datsan*, 1911). There is a request of a man who did not have relatives so wanted to adopt a child to bequeath his properties to him (1911). A list of the number of families and livestock of lamas, and a list of ranks and titles of the executives of the *aimag* are also kept in the archives.

The catalogue (A-95) of the Bogd khan's reign contains 62 titles. *Dültsen jas*, *Günregiin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Tümet sakhiusnii jas*, *Danshigiin khangaliin jas*, *Khangal Tümet magtaaliin jas* are mentioned in some titles. Among the texts there is an announcement of the lamas who were accepted to live in this *aimag* (1911). Honouring high ranked lamas was prescribed in 1912. There is a document about the renovation of sculptures, about the prohibition of playing cards, domino, and other games (1913), about the prohibition of gossip and about the employment of native Tibetans for *aimag* duties (1915). The collection of the loans from poverty-stricken people was also prohibited. The incomes and expenses of permanent *jasaa* ceremonies of the *aimag* were recorded in 1917. Inventories of sculptures, accessories were compiled in 1920.

The catalogue (Skh-220) of the Modern period contains 44 titles from the period of 1921-1937. Their majority recorded the herds and flocks, and the incomes and expenses of the whole *aimag* or its *Khangaliin jas*. The proposal of Tserendorj *gishiüin* (party member) about ceremonies and economic questions was written in 1923. There is a detailed register and a White List (*tsagaan dans*)¹⁵⁹ of each lama who belonged to the *aimag* (1934). The list of lamas, who were conscripted, and the tax to be collected from them was planned (1935), and another White List (1936) are also available. In 1937 fixed date ceremonies and ranked lamas were listed as well as lamas and women, and the lamas who had to pay extra military tax. An estimation of incomes and expenses was compiled on 30 December 1937.

The list of Dashdandarlin *aimag*'s rituals was written on 22 September, 1937 (220/44). The text mentions 16 ceremonies with fixed date. Two appointed lamas held *Jamsran sakhius* ceremony every day to protect the *aimag*'s lamas from illness and suffering. 12 prescribed lamas performed *Jamsrangiin dordow* for four days in winter to make it easier to obtain enlightenment. Four prescribed lamas performed *Dagdan semberem* (T. *ser-'phreng*) ceremony on the 25th of the last winter month to fasten their way to reach enlightenment. Ten prescribed lamas performed *Jasaa yerööl* called *Daichid yerööl* of the 2nd Bogd on the 27th of the last winter month. Ten appointed lamas performed *Khuuchin nom* ceremony on the 29th of the last winter month to make the way leading to enlightenment easy. Each lama of the *aimag* was expected to gather for *Tsederlkham* ceremony. It started on the 30th of the last winter month and finished in the morning of the New Year. The aim of this ceremony was to prolong life. 70 lamas participated in this ceremony. All the expected ten lamas performed *Öndör geegen*'s *Daichid yerööl* on the 14th day of the New Year. Every lama was expected to hold *Magtaal* ceremony for three days in the middle spring month. It aimed at praising Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and to increase the lamas' merits. 70 lamas gathered to achieve these goals. Ten expected lamas held the *Daichid* of the 8th Bogd on the 17th of the first summer month. 21

¹⁵⁹ The register of lamas is named as White List only in this catalogue. Other registers do not have any distinctive names.

prescribed lamas held *Dülsen* ceremony for 15 days in summer in order to fasten their way to reach enlightenment in a tantric way. Fifty lamas arrived from the whole *aimag* on the 30th day of the last summer month to hold *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony in order to avoid poverty and suffering. Four prescribed lamas performed *Gongoriin bumba* in the first autumn month in order to avoid poverty and suffering. *Tümed* ceremony was held in the last autumn month. Every lama was expected to gather to ease their way to reach enlightenment. *Danshig khangal* ceremony was held for three days from the 3rd of the middle winter month. Every lama was expected to participate in it in order to ease their way to reach enlightenment. *Tümed* ceremony was held in winter as well, when every lamas were expected to celebrate together to ease their way to reach Buddhahood. Four expected lamas held *Tseejüügiin chodow* (T. *tshes bcu mchod-pa*) on the 10th of the first autumn month in order to reach enlightenment. All of the above-mentioned ceremonies were performed for the benefit of all sentient being. From this list we can conclude that 16 ceremonies were held with fixed date: *Jamsran*'s ritual was held every day, *Tümed* ceremonies were held in autumn and in winter. It seems that the *aimag* had 70 lamas in 1937. Ceremonies were not interrupted. Today, *Tseejüü chodow* is a ceremony to worship Padmasambhava, thus this temple had Red Stream features as well. The text is very interesting as it describes the benefits and meanings of ceremonies.

According to O. Pürew the wooden square-shaped *aimag* temple was situated on the East of Bayanbürd (N 47° 55.664', E 106° 54.424'). The photo of the temple is available in the Film Archives (K24088) and in Tsültem's book (1988, picture 40-41). In this *aimag* 270 lamas lived in 1915 and 115 in 1938.

9. *Mayaa or Makhamayaagiin aimag*

Makhamayaagiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *ma-ha ma-ya*), marked with letter YA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1741 according to Sereeter (1999, p. 28.). Its founder was the father of the 2nd Bogd, *Chin wan Dondowdorj*, who moved his temple into the *khiiree*. The *aimag* was named after its main tutelary deity, *Makhamayaa* (T. *sgyu-ma chen-mo*, Skr. Mahāmāyā) and its main protector was *Jamsran* or *Jagonjamsran* (according to the *Bilgiin melmii*). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Makhamayaagiin dültsengiin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*. *Dashdandarlin aimag* separated from this *aimag* in 1892.

The National Archives preserves 46 texts regarding the operation of the *aimag*. The catalogue (M-174) of the Manchu period lists seven texts dated between 1822 and 1910. These are about the brick tea property of the *aimag*, and the regulation of the *aimag*'s lamas (1910). A register of the lamas with rug to sit on (*dewsgerten lam*) and the ordinary lamas (*engiin lam*), and an announcement to catch *Jamsran* who had stolen something are also available in the collection.

The catalogue (A-96) of the Bogd khan's reign contains 13 titles. For instance, an inventory of sculptures, books and other artefacts and accessories of the *aimag* was compiled in 1914. Lamas of the *aimag* were ordered to participate in *gawjiin damjaa* exam and in the ceremonies of the monastic schools in 1917 and 1921. Many documents refer to the connection between this *aimag* and *Dashchoimbel datsan*.

The catalogue (SKh-213) of the Modern Period contains 26 texts dated between 1922 and 1937. They were written mainly about the incomes and expenses of the *aimag*. However, registers of lamas (1936, 1937), calculations of expenses (1936), and lists of properties and the livestock are also available.

According to O. Pürew (2004, p. 22.), the wooden yurt-shaped *aimag* temple was situated near, what is now, the School No. 5 (*10n jiliin 5-r dund surguul*, N 47° 55.513', E 106° 54.917') on *Ikh toiruu*. However, he represents the temple in his sketch (p. 19.) as a wooden quadrangular building and Tsültem in his introduction (1988) also mentions this

temple as a remarkable example of a pyramid temple building. In this *aimag* 500 lamas lived in 1855 and 22 in 1938.

10. *Jasiin aimag or Puntsogtegchenlin aimag*

Jasiin aimag or “*Puntsogtegchenlin*” *aimag* (T. *spyi-gsog*, ‘public accumulation/ reserves’, or *phun-tshogs theg chen gling*, ‘island of the excellent Mahāyāna’), marked with letter CA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 according to Sereeter (1999, p. 29.). As one of the first seven *aimags* of Örgöö the lamas who were responsible for the administrative units settled here. Its main tutelary deity was *Damdin Sandiüw / Damdin Sandow* (probably T. *rta-mgrin gsang-sgrub*, secret form of Hayagrīva) and its main protector was *Jamsran*. According to Gonchig lama and the *Bilgiin melmii* article, *Lowanrünaa/Lowonrünaa* (T. *slob-dpon sku lnga* or *slob-dpon rigs-lnga?*) and *Damjan/Damjin* were also worshipped here. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Tsagaan Dar’ ekhiin donchidiin jas*, *Tarwaachembiin jas*, *Dülsengiin jas*, *Ikh Tümet sakhiusnii jas*, *Baga Tümet sakhiusnii jas*, *Awidiin chogiin jas*, *Tsedewiin jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, and *Mintügiin chogiin jas*.

The National Archives has 200 individual texts concerning this *aimag*. The catalogue (M-106) of the Manchu period enlists 152 texts written between 1815 and 1901. According to its introduction *Ikh shawiin Jasiin aimag* was firstly initiated in 1651. It had fixed date and occasional ceremonies, own financial units, own properties, and own incomes and expenses. There were five positions in the staff: chief lama, vice lama, disciplinary master, shrinekeeper and *nyaraw*. 15 financial units belonged to the *aimag*, such as *Ikh jas*, *Morpeliin Mönkh dülsengiin jas*, *Ganjuur Danjuuriin jas*, *Buman Dar’ ekhiin jas*, *Otoch Nyamiin Buman Dar’ ekhiin jas*, *Otoch Nyamiin Buman Itgeliin jas*, *Zakhiragch Galsangiin Lamiin chodowiin chogo*, *Galsangiin Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas*, *Awidiin chogiin jas*, *Morpeliin Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas*, *Gelengüüdiin jas*, *Naidangiin jas*, *Ikh Tangargiin jas*, *Janraisegiin jas*, *Dar’ ekh nügneen jas*, *Jasaa Mandalshiwaagiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Dülsen jas*.

The first text is about the *aimag*’s costs financing ceremonies and other issues (1815). The four kinds of livestock belonging to the *aimag*’s property, the silver put out on interest (1855), the ceremonial incomes and expenses (1898), the herdsman, the livestock (1901), and the lamas were listed (1901).

The catalogue (A-97) of the Bogd khaan’s reign contains 29 titles written between 1915 and 1919 (?). Some of them were written in Tibetan. The texts discuss mainly the incomes and expenses of ceremonies and all kinds of properties of the *aimag*, such as artifacts, ornaments, accessories, sculptures, benches (*jawdan*) with five pillows, etc. (1915). Cash and brick tea (*belen baigaa*) and silver with interest were recorded in 1915 as well as incomes and expenses of the ceremony dedicated to *Gürgül Lkhamiin bumba khorol büteekh* (the practice of the vase of Kurukullā). Flour was gained by renting out the agricultural field of the *aimag* (1918). Incomes and salaries of the participants of the renovation of the *aimag* temple (1919) were listed, too.

The catalogue (SKh-215) of the Modern Period bearing the title *Ikh Khüreenii Chogchin jas aimgiin fond* contains 19 texts which are dated between 1921 and 1937. They provide data about herds and flocks, the quantity of butter, wheat, milk and other products which were handled by the bookkeeper (1925). There is a summary of the *aimag*’s livestock (1926), profit and income. In 1928 the livestock of many monasteries, and financial units were sold because they were not able to pay the levied tax in other ways. There are more or less detailed registers of lamas (1934, 1936, 1937).

As for the ceremonies of *Jasiin aimag* (215/19) the list of 20 ceremonies with fixed date was written on 22 September, 1937. According to the text two appointed lamas held *Jasaa* ceremony every day to save the *aimag*’s lamas from illnesses. Four prescribed lamas held *Gündamjun* (?) *sakhius*’s ceremony with the same aim on the 2nd day of each month.

Though all lamas were expected to gather only eight of them held *Yerööl* ceremony on the 14th (of the New Year) to celebrate Buddha's deeds (actually this is the commemorating day of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar) and to collect merits. Four prescribed lamas performed *Choiyoo dügjüü* on the 29th of each month praying for long life and collecting merits. About 15 lamas gather from the *aimag* to hold *Magtaal* ceremony for seven days in the middle spring month in order to praise Buddha and to collect merits. *Damdingarwuu chogo* tantric (*ündes*) ceremony was held by four lamas instead of the prescribed 12 lamas. This ceremony lasted for two days in the middle spring month aiming at obtaining Buddha siddhi. Eight prescribed lamas held *Manal* ceremony on the 8th of the first summer month to avoid different illnesses. *Ündes* ceremony, similarly to the above-mentioned one, was held by about six lamas of the expected 12 lamas for two days in the middle summer month. 16 lamas of the whole *aimag* held *Choiyal* ceremony on the 29th of the middle summer month in order to clear all obstacles off the path leading to enlightenment. 18 lamas of the *aimag* arrived to hold *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony on the 30th of the last summer month to save people from poverty. 17 lamas of the *aimag* held *Manal* and *Naidan* ceremonies for a day in summer to save beings from illnesses and sufferings and to praise Buddhism. Six lamas participated instead of 12. *Ündes* ceremony lasted for three days in the middle autumn month with the aim described above. Four lamas were expected to participate in this ritual, which was held on the 15th of the last autumn month in order to collect merits. Every lama of the *aimag* had to participate in *Ikh sakhius* ceremony, called *Damdin Sandiüw*. This one-day ceremony took place in the first winter month in order to achieve Buddha siddhi. Each lama of the *aimag* was expected to gather for *Khangal* ceremony which lasted for four days in the middle winter month in order to spread the necessary of beneficial deeds leading to enlightenment. 12 lamas were needed to hold *Ündes* ceremony with the aim described above. It took two days in the middle winter month. Each lama had to gather for *Tümed* ceremony which lasted for a day in the last winter month for the good health of the *aimag* lamas. 12 lamas had to participate in *Dordow*. This ritual was held for five days in winter in order to pray for long life and collect merits. Twenty lamas had to participate in *Khangal* ceremony called *Khuuchin nom* taking place on the 29th of the last winter month with the aims mentioned above. Every lama was expected to participate in *Tsederlkham* ceremony, which started on the 30th of the last winter month and finished on the 1st of the New Year when Lkham was invited to ensure long life and merits. From the above-mentioned ceremonies we can conclude that *Jasaa* ceremony was held every day. *Gündamjun sakhius*'s (?) ceremony was held on 2nd day of every month and *Choiyoo dügjüü* was performed on 29th. *Ündes* ceremony was usual. *Damdin Sandiüw* was the name of the yearly *Ikh Sakhius* ceremony. Several rituals were held in winter, such as *Tümed* and *Dordow*. About twenty lamas belonged to the *aimag*. There are not any data related to participants from the middle autumn month.

Pürew claims that the *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple, situated on the left of, what is now, Dölgöön nuur Hotel (N 47° 55.735', E 106° 54.832'). In this *aimag* 500 lamas lived in 1855 and 46 in 1938.

11. *Nomchiin aimag*

Nomchiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *nom-chi*), marked with letter CHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd Bogd, as Sereeter claims (1999, p. 30.). It was founded by a disciplinary master of the main assembly hall who came from Sönöd khoshuu of Shiliin gol territory (present Inner-Mongolia). As the disciplinary master had the honorary title *ikh nomch lam* (i.e. 'the one who is expert in the Teaching'), and he had *gelen* vow, this *aimag* was called as *Nomch gelen gesgüin aimag* in that time. Its main tutelary deity was *Gürgül lkham* (T. *rig byed-ma* or *ku-ru kul-li/le*, Skr. Kurukullā) and its main protector

was *Dürteddagwa* (T. *dur-khrod bdag-po*, Skr. Citpati). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Ömnö arwanii Magtaaliin jas*.

The National Archives possess 137 documents related to *Nomchiin aimag*. The catalogue (M-114) of the Manchu period contains 104 titles. The texts were written between 1830-1909. Its introduction says that the *aimag* had the following financial units: *Ikh jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Ömnö arwnii jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, etc. The very first text was written about the heads or leaders leading ten courtyards of the *aimag* (1830). Other texts inform us about herds and flocks, pastures in the North and in the East, brick tea expenses, and renting activity of horses and bulls. The *aimag*'s lamas were listed in 1904. The catalogue (A-98) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains eight texts about the incomes and expenses, herds and flocks, and horses herded in Eastern and Northern pastures. The catalogue of the Modern Period (Kh-207) contains 22 (or 24) texts dated between 1921 and 1937. Among the texts with usual content as herds and flocks, there is a list of bulls (*shar ükher*) which were rented out (1921), a register of the lamas of the *aimag* (1931), a list of incomes and expenses of the *aimag*'s ceremonies (1934), and again a register of each lama of the *aimag* (1936), and a register of lamas of the *aimag* with voting right (1936). The internal rules of *Nomchiin aimag* and its ranked lamas were written in 1935-7. A survey of the lamas (without date) and the fixed date ceremonies that were held in 1937 are also available.

The latest source lists 15 ceremonies with fixed date (207/23.). It was written on 22 September, 1937. The 15 ceremonies were the following: *Khuuchin nom*, the ceremony of the ten wrathful deities was held on the 29th of the last winter month by all the 10 lamas who were expected to come. *Ulaan sakhiusnii dordow* ceremony was initiated by Luwsanbaldan, who financed this event for a couple of years. However, it was interrupted in 1937 as he was sentenced. *Tsedorkham* ceremony started at night on the 30th of the last winter month and finished in the morning of the New Year. Though several lamas were expected to come, only 20 celebrated the New Year together. *Öndör gegeen's düitsen yerööl* was held on the 14th of the first spring month by eleven lamas, though a lot of lamas were expected to gather. *Magtaal* was held in the first and middle spring months by 20 lamas, though a lot of lamas were expected. *Jidar* and *Shalshi* ceremonies were held on the 8th of the last spring month by ten required lamas. *Sojintoi Manal* ceremony was held on the 8th of the first summer month. Four lamas gathered instead of ten. *Mönkh maan'* ceremony was held on the 4th of the last summer month. Several lamas were expected to gather but only about 20 arrived. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony took place on the 30th of the last summer month, when about 30 lamas gathered from the whole *aimag*. *Sachog düitsen* ceremony was held in the first autumn month: *sachog* was held for seven days, and *düitsen* was prepared for seven days. For the *sachog* ten requested lamas arrived, and for the *düitsen* 15 requested lamas arrived. *Sakhius*, *Danrag* and *Tüi* ceremonies were held around the 20th of the first winter month, when 30 lamas gathered from the *aimag*. *Khangal* ceremony was held for five days at the beginning of the middle winter month. *Öwgön khambiin düitsen yerööl* ceremony was held in the evening of the 7th of the middle winter month. *Lkhogo* was held on the 28th of the last winter month by the expected four lamas. It was dedicated to the *aimag* lamas who had passed away. Two appointed lamas recited *Jasaa Sakhius* every day. *Nügnei* was held for three days from the 13 of the first summer month, and for three days from the 20th of the last autumn month. 10 lamas were expected to participate in summer and 20 in autumn. All of these ceremonies were aimed to relieve every sentient being from suffering, and to lead them to the path of enlightenment.

All in all 15 ceremonies were held in the temple. *Sachog* and *düitsen* were prepared for seven days respectively. *Khangal* lasted for five days in the middle winter month. *Nügnei* was held for three days twice a year. Participation of all lamas of the *aimag* was required but the largest number of actual participants was thirty. Two lamas recited *Jasaa sakhius* every

day.

According to O. Pürew, the *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple with metal roof. It was situated on the right of Dölgöön nuur Hotel (N 47° 55.725', E 106° 54.832'). In this *aimag* 300 lamas lived in 1855 and 48 in 1938.

12. Sangai(n) aimag

Sangain aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *sang-gas*), marked with letter JA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 as Sereeter claims (1999, p. 31.). It was one of the first seven *aimags* of Örgöö, the lamas who were responsible for the treasury of Öndör gegeen settled here. The *aimag*'s original name, *Sangiin aimag* ('*aimag* of the treasury') became distorted to *Sangain aimag* during the years. Its main tutelary deity was *Nyambawiin dulam* (T. *nying-ma-pa'i* (?) *sgrol-ma*, 'The Tārā of the Nyingmapa Stream'(?)) or according to Gonchig lama and the *Bilgiin melmii* article, *Nürshinbawuu Dolma/Dulma* (T. *myur zhi dpa'-po'i sgrol-ma* (?)) and its main protector was *Jamsran*. According to Gonchig lama and the *Bilgiin melmii* article, *Daragshad* (T. *tra-kshad*) was also worshipped here.

The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Zurkhaich Mörpeliin mönkhölsön dültsen jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Buman Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Tümet sakhiusnii jas*, *Ganjuur Danjuuriin jio*, *Otoch Nyamiin mönkhölsön Buman Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Buman Itgeliin jio*, *Zakhiragch Galsangiin mönkhölsön Lamiin chodwiin chogo*, *Zakhiragch Galsangiin Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas*.

The National Archives possesses 319 sources related to *Sangain aimag*. Its Manchu catalogue (M-115) contains 195 (or 197) texts dated between 1835 and 1911. According to its introduction the *aimag* (temple?) was firstly initiated in 1851. It had fixed date and occasional ceremonies. The *aimag*'s executives were the chief lama, the vice lama, the disciplinary master, the chanting master, the shrinekeeper, the doorkeeper, and the cook. 14 financial units belonged to the *aimag*, such as *Awidiin chogiin jas*, *Morpeliin Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas*, *Gelengüüdiin jas*, *Naidangiin jas*, *Ikh Tangargiin jas*, *Janraisegiin nügnein jas*, *Dar ekhiin nügnein jas*, *Jasaa Mandalshiwaagiin jas*, *Morpeliin Mönkh dültsenigiin jas*, *Dülsen Güngereg*, *Bumdorjiin jas* (?) ¹⁶⁰. The majority of the texts discusses the incomes and expenses, and the number of the livestock. Meanwhile, there are registers of ceremonial accessories (1887). Bulls and horses rented out, and accessories used during the yearly *Jasaa* ceremony were also recorded (1895). There is an announcement about the result of the debate of the Bogd and *wan* Dorjpalam when *wan* Dorjpalam was defeated (1891). Buryad lamas and participants of certain ceremonies in Gandan were listed in 1908. There is a document about the recruitment of lamas as the number of newly established *datsan* lamas had decreased (1911).

The catalogue (A-99) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 42 texts. Names of financial units as *Günreg jas*, *Naidan jas*, *Dülsen jas*, and *Buman Dar' ekhiin jas* are mentioned in some titles. There is a list of goods which were gained as profit from the rented out bulls (1912). An interesting text provides information about the decoration (*yamba olokh*) of Puntsog, the chief lama of the *aimag*, who became *khamba nomon khan*. Other texts details different kinds of incomes and expenses such as silken scarves, milk, kumis, and other products, and agricultural fields (1916). Lamas, who firstly initiated the *aimag* temple of Sangai *aimag* became residents in 1917, and established a religious school (*khural nomiin surguul'*).

The catalogue (Kh-205) of the Modern Period contains 82 texts dated between 1925 and 1937. Generally, they were written about the incomes and expenses, herds and flocks, and

¹⁶⁰ Exact meaning unknown. T. ? 'bum rdo-rje. The names of the financial units mentioned in the catalogue are very similar to the financial units of *Jasiin aimag*.

rented out bulls. There are lists of brick tea profit gained from rented out livestock (*ajliin mal*) (1924), lists of ceremonial expenses (1924), and the silver property of the *nyaraw* (1927). Different articles sold to cover the costs of the *aimag* temple's renovation were recorded in 1928 as well as the order of religious service (1928). A list contains the names and locations (*aimag, khoshuu*) of the *aimag*'s cattle herdsmen (1930). Artefacts and books were listed in 1931. A register informs us about the participation of poor lamas in ceremonies (1927). A list of each lama of the *aimag* is also available (1936). There is a document about levying military tax on the lamas of the *aimag* (without date), a detailed register of *aimag* lamas (1926 or 1936), a withdrawal of the voting rights of lamas of the *aimag* (1936), a list of each lama of the *aimag* (1936), and a list of ceremonial costs (1937). Lamas, who knew Mongolian script, thus were able to teach were also recorded (without date) as well as the ceremonies performed till and in 1937.

The list of 16 ceremonies with fixed date (205/79) was written in 1937. According to it *Khuuchin nom* ceremony with the texts of *Arwan khangal* was held on the 29th of the last winter month by 21 expected lamas. *Ganjuur, Yüm* and *Buman Dar' ekh* ceremonies were supported by Mörpil astrologer lama for some years, but it was interrupted in 1937. *Tsederlkham*'s ritual was held from the New Year Eve until the morning of the New Year. 21 lamas of the *aimag*'s numerous lamas arrived. *Magtaal* ceremony was held for five days from the 18th of the first spring month. Though several lamas were expected to participate, only 160 arrived. *Öndör gegeenii düitsen yerööl* was held in the evening of the 14th of the first spring month. Though several lamas were expected to participate, only 22 arrived. *Günreg* ceremony was held on the 15th of the middle spring month by 12 expected lamas. *Ündes* ceremony started on the 1st of the last spring month and lasted for ten days. Four appointed lamas gathered. *Nügnei* lasted for three days from the 13th of the first summer month by four expected lamas. *Khangal* ceremony was held for three days from the 6th of the last summer month, when 200 lamas arrived from the whole *aimag*. *Sachog* and *dültsen* were performed in the last summer month. Both lasted for seven days. All the required ten lamas participated in the *Sachog* ceremony and all the required 21 lamas participated in *Dültsen*. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held on the 30th of the last summer month. Though several lamas were expected to gather finally 240 arrived. *Jasiin Namsrai* ceremony was held in the first autumn month by 34 expected lamas. *Dar' ekhiin tui* and *Jinsreg* ceremonies were held in the last autumn month. *Sakhius* took place around the 15th of the first winter month. Several lamas had to gather. *Khangal* took place for five days at the beginning of the middle winter month. *Dordow* was planned to perform around the 20th of the middle winter month for four days. *Jasaa Sakhius* was recited by two appointed lamas every day. All of these ceremonies were aimed to relieve every sentient being from suffering, and to lead them to the path of enlightenment. All in all 16 ceremonies are listed. *Magtaal* was held for four days in the first spring month. *Ündes* was performed for ten days in the last spring month. *Nügnei* was held for three days in summer as well as *Khangal*. *Sachog* and *dültsen* were performed for seven days respectively in summer. *Khangal* lasted for five days, and *Dordow* lasted for four days in the middle winter month. 240 was the highest number of lamas who participated in ceremonies, in other cases only a few appeared. Two lamas recited *Jasaa sakhius* every day. There is a summary at the end of the text.

The sculpture of *Namsrai* from *Sangain aimag* is presently kept in *Gandan* monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist*, pp. 285-286.). According to O. Pürew, the *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple covered with felt. There is a car garage on its site today (N 47° 55.748', E 106° 55.010'). In this *aimag* 1000 lamas lived in 1855 and 317 in 1938.

13. Zoogoi(n) aimag

Zoogoin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *tso-gas*), marked with letter TA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 as Sereeter claims (1999, p. 32.). It was one of the first seven *aimags* of Örgöö. This *aimag* developed from the place where the dishes of Öndör gegeen were prepared. The *aimag*'s original name, *Zoogiin aimag* ('*aimag* of meal/dishes') became distorted to *Zoogoin aimag* during the years. Its main tutelary deity was *Chagsh Gombo* (T. *phyag bzhi mgon-po*), the four armed Mahākāla and its main protectors were *Gombo* and *Chagsh Lkham* (T. *phyag bzhi lha-mo*), the four armed Çrīdevī (Gonchig's manuscript says simply *Lkham*). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Dültsengiin jas*, *Dülbiin jas* (?),¹⁶¹ *Dordüwiin jas*, *Ündesnii jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Tsogt sakhiusnii jas*,¹⁶² *Gongor Namsrain jas*, *Danshigiin khangaliin jas*, *Derged(iin) sakhiusnii jas*, *Gelen lam nariin jas*. Instead of *Dülbiin jas*, *Ündesnii jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, and *Gongor Namsrain jas* the Manchu catalogue (M-109) refers to *Tüntew jas* (?),¹⁶³ *Pogiin jas*, *Arwanain jas* (probably *arwanii* or *arawnain*), *Renchin Sharawiin arawnain jas* (probably *arwanii*), *Mijid wan Ombiin arwanain jas* (probably *arwanii*).

The National Archives possesses 324 documents related to this *aimag*. The Manchu catalogue (M-109) lists 170 texts dated between 1809 and 1911. According to its introduction part, the *aimag*, founded in 1651, had all in all 12 financial units. The following positions were fulfilled: chief lama, vice lama, chanting master, disciplinary master, shrinekeeper, offering preparer, vice offering preparer, bookkeeper, cook. The cattle of the *aimag* were herded by herdsmen, and cattle were rented out to earn interest. The first text lists the silver which was lent by the *aimag* to certain people (1809). There are lists of herds and flocks of the fully-ordained lamas (*gelen*) of the *aimag* (1902) (one of them was written in Tibetan). (Remark: lamas are not allowed to have such properties according to the Vinaya). There is a list of sheep that were sold, a prohibition of founding private courtyards in the monastic areas (1902), and an order to prepare the way for Japanese executives who were travelling to Russia through Mongolia (1907).

The catalogue (A-100) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 86 texts. *Pogiin jas*, *Ganjuur jas*, *Khangal jas*, and *Dergediin sakhiusnii jas* are sometimes mentioned in their titles. Texts account the three kinds of livestock of the *aimag*'s fully-ordained lamas (1911), the ceremonies held by fully-ordained lamas, the livestock herded in pastures in the East and West, and the horse properties of the bondsmen (*khamjlaga*) of Gün lam (?), and Ekh dagina's *otog* (1915). Other documents summarize the accessories, ornaments, and other equipment of the financial units (1918). There is a list of the incomes earned at the time of the visit of Dembereldorj, who was the reincarnation of Darkhan *tsorj* (1919, written in Tibetan). Expenses of Baatar wangiin khushuu of TüsHEET khan aimag were listed in 1920 (written in Tibetan), and a contract was drawn with laymen to rent out cattle, and silver. Lists of loans, flags, ceremonies, lamas, the livestock, etc. are also available in the collection (1918, 1919).

The catalogue (SKh-209) of the Modern Period mentions 68 texts. All were compiled between 1921 and 1937. Names of some financial units are mentioned in titles such as *Ganjuur jas*, *Ikh jas*, *Dergediin jas*, *Sakhius jas*, *Gelen lam nariin khurliin jas*, *Tsogt sakhiusnii jas*, *Gongor Namsrain jas*, and *Dordowiin jas*. The price of felt, leather and livestock sold from the herds and flocks of *Gelen lam nariin khural* (Ceremony of fully-ordained lamas) was recorded in 1921. The cattle of the *aimag* were herded in the East and West. Ceremonial goods required by fully-ordained lamas were listed in 1921. Three kinds of livestock of the fully-ordained lamas were counted in 1928. A document clarifies that the *aimag* rented out an area with contract. There is a list of felt and cattle that were sold from the

¹⁶¹ Exact meaning unknown. T. ?

¹⁶² It is not clear who the expression '*tsogt*' refers to.

¹⁶³ Exact meaning unknown. T. ?

property of the fully-ordained lamas (1922). Offerings (*örgöl*) to *Dergediin sakhius* (1925), a register of lamas (1934), a register of the lamas who had turned 18 (1936), a list with the status of lamas' duties (*tushaal*), the monetary income of the financial unit (1936), and a data sheet of fulfilled positions and fixed date ceremonies of the *aimag* (1937) are also available in the collection. Internal rules, names of lamas, names of the lamas who were familiar with Mongolian script, and incomes and expenses of the financial units (without date) were surveyed as well.

There is a register (Skh209/66) in the collection of the National Archives, which contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of those 29 ceremonies which were performed with fixed date in the *aimag* temple in the 27th year (1937). The ceremonies were the following: *Danshigiin khangel* ceremony was held for five days from the 3rd of the middle winter month with the participation of about 100 lamas of the numerous lamas of the *aimag*. *Lkham* and *Namsrai* were worshipped for a day on the 15th of the middle winter month by about 100 lamas of the many lamas of the *aimag*. *Dergediin khangel* was held at the end of the middle winter month by about 100 of the many lamas of the *aimag*. *Lüibdemchog* (T. *bde-mchog lu'i yi-pa*, Luyipa mahāsiddha's tradition of Cakrasaḍvara) was held for a day on the 25th of the last winter month by four appointed lamas. *Gal takhikh* fire-offering was held in the last winter month by four appointed lamas, without fixed date. *Khuuchin nom* ceremony was held for a day on the 29th of the last winter month with the participation of ten lamas instead of the required 21. *Tsedor Lkham* was held for a day on the first day of the first spring month with the participation of about 100 lamas from the many lamas of the *aimag*. *Yerööl* was held for a day on the 14th of the first spring month by about 20 lamas from the several lamas. *Tünlkha* ceremony was held for a day on the 17th of the first spring month by all the expected 12 lamas. *Sakhiusnii ündes*, *Dar' ekhiin ündes* (?) were held for four days in the middle spring month without fixed date. The participation of 21 and 14 lamas were prescribed and all of them arrived. *Jambaldorj* (T. *'jam-dpal rdo-rje*, Skr. Vajra Mañjuśrī), *Sandui Demchog*, *Danjag* (?), *Günreg*, *Ayuush*, *Manal* (?) ceremonies were held for seven days in the middle spring month with the participation of all the expected 77 lamas. *Daichod yerööl* was held for a day on the 17th of the first summer month by 18 lamas of the *aimag*. *Gendendüiwiin donkhor* was held for a day to honour the 1st Dalai Lama on the 26th of the middle summer month by all the expected 21 lamas. *Demchog garwuu* ceremony was held for a day on the 4th of the last summer month with the participation of all the expected 14 lamas. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held for a day on the 8th of the last summer month by about 50 lamas of the *aimag's* lama community. *Jinkhor dünjid* (?) ceremony was held for a day on the 20th of the last summer month by 30 lamas of the *aimag*. *Tümed sakhius* was held for a day on the 21st of the last summer month by 56 lamas from the numerous lamas of the *aimag*. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was performed for a day on the 30th of the last summer month by about 30 of the numerous lamas. *Lamiin chodwiin chogo* was held for a day on the 28th of the first autumn month by all the eight required lamas. *Naidan chogo* was held on the 10th of the first autumn month (although its date is not determined) by all the 16 required lamas. *Sachog* had been prepared for seven days on the 12 of the first autumn month by all the required 12 lamas. *Dültsen* was prepared for seven days on the 19th of the first autumn month by all the expected 20 lamas. *Sakhiusnii ündes* ceremony was held for two days in the last autumn month without prescribed date. *Jambaldorj Mintiig*, *Ayuush*, *Sandui*, *Günregiin ündes* ceremonies were held for five days in the first autumn month, when 77 lamas were expected to celebrate.¹⁶⁴ 14 lamas were expected to come. *Dar' ekhiin ündes* was held for a day in the last autumn month, too, and 21 lamas were expected to come. *Nünnai* was performed for three days on the 22nd of the last autumn

¹⁶⁴ After this ceremony there is no data about the number of participants.

month, when eight lamas were expected to come. *Sakhiusnii dordow* was held for three days in the first winter month without fixed date. 20 lamas were expected to gather. *Ganjuur* ceremony was held for a day in the first winter month, too, without prescribed date. Many lamas were expected to read it. *Lkham sakhiusnii tsogchid* was held every month by four lamas. As it is clear from the text *Dergediin khangal* ceremony was held in this *aimag* as well as *Lamiin chodwiin chogo*, *Naidan chogo*, *Ündes*, and *Ganjuur* ceremony. *Jasaa* consisted of four lamas, while bigger ceremonies were held by all the lamas. On the 15th of each month *Lkham* was worshipped.

According to Pürew the *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple covered with felt. It was situated where the University of Production and Art stands today (Üildwer urlagiin deed surguul', N 47° 55.912', E 106° 55.010'). In this *aimag* 1000 lamas lived in 1855 and 80 in 1938.

14. *Dugariin aimag*

Dugariin aimag (T. *gdugs-dkar*), marked with letter THA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd Bogd according to Sereeter (1999, p. 33.). The *aimag* was named after its main tutelary deity, *Dugar* (or *Tsagaan shükhert*, T. *gdugs-dkar*, Skr. *Sitātapatrā*). Its main protectors were *Gombo* and *Damjan Choijil*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Ganjuur Danjuuriin jas*, *Dordüwiin jas*.

The National Archives possesses 307 texts related to the operation of *Dugariin aimag*. The catalogue (M-104) of the Manchu period contains 156 titles dated between 1851 and 1911. It mentions the following financial units: *Ikh jas*, *Sakhiusnii* or *Khangaliin jas*, *Ganjuur Danjuuriin jas*, *Dorduwiin jas*, *Dültsen jas*, *Magtaal jas*, *Namsrain jas*, *Sanjid jas*, and *Günreg jas*. The first text written in 1851 is a list of the herds and flocks of *Sakhiusnii jas* of the *aimag*. There is a text of articles and materials of *Namsrain san* (1868), and it is clear that the bulls of *Dültsen jas*, *Magtaal jas* and *Khangal jas* (1873) were lent. There are lists of the livestock herded in Northern pastures (1881, etc.) and Southern pastures (1881), the bulls which were rented out (1884), the quantity of felt and butter brought by herdsmen (1891), the profit from rented out bulls (1894), the total expenses of the *aimag* (1905), and usual loans (1907). Brick tea loans with interest were recorded in 1911. Other lists are available about the profit from the financial units' livestock, rental of the *aimag*'s agricultural fields, about resident lamas, and offerings of worship. A document was sent to this *aimag* to ask their lamas to relocate to *Yadgaachoijinlin datsan* as there was a lack of lamas there (1911).

The catalogue (A-101) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 57 texts. *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Dugariin jas*, and *Ikh jas* are mentioned in their titles. Accessories, equipment and decorations, properties and brick tea lending activities (1912), herded livestock in Northern and South-Western pastures are listed. There is a document about the nomination of Luwsantseren as *da lam* (1912) (Note: his name is not mentioned by Sereeter though he gives an account about all of the *da* lamas (1999, pp. 132-143.)). An order was issued to have the lamas' vows confirmed and to settle down (*aimaglakh*) the subordinated people of Dariganga in *Dugariin aimag* (1912). Arresting and punishing of lamas who became thieves were determined in 1918.

The catalogue (Kh-208) of the Modern Period contains 94 texts which were written between 1921 and 1930. Texts talk about *Ikh jas* and *Sakhiusnii jas*, the herds and flocks herded in the Northern and South-Western pastures, the money of financial units flowed in in 1926 and in 1927, and the monetary income of certain ceremonies (1931). There is a register of the lamas of the *aimag* who had to pay military tax (1932). Calculations of the selling price of herds and flocks are also available (1933). A data sheet surveys the exact number of lamas who belonged to the *aimag* (1934). Sold accessories, flour, brick tea, money and other goods were also listed (1934). There is a register of military tax to be collected from lamas of the

aimag (1934), a list of money incomes and expenses of the *aimag*, and a contract about herding the livestock (1935 and 1936). Registers of each lama of the *aimag* (1936), a list of fixed date ceremonies (1937, see below), a register of all kinds of occupation (*ajil töröl*) that were fulfilled in the *aimag* (1937) and a contract of herding the livestock of the financial unit (1937) are also available in the collection. There is a list of each lama together with their moveable and immovable properties (without date). There is a register of the people who were candidate for the election (without date, probably in 1932) and a document about the internal rules of *Dugariin aimag* (without date, probably in 1925).

Among these texts a register (Kh208/73) that contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of the 14 ceremonies which were performed in the *aimag* temple every year before 1937 is the most significant. These ceremonies were the following: *Jasiin galiin takhilga* took place on the 24th of the last winter month by four appointed lamas. *Dugariin ündes dagdan* (?) ceremony was held on the 25th of the last winter month with the participation of all the expected 21 lamas. *Khuuchin nom* recitation was held on the 29th of the last winter month by all the expected 12 lamas. *Tsedor Lkham* recitation was performed on the 30th of the last winter month by 87 lamas of the numerous *aimag* lamas. *Yerööl* ceremony was held for a day on the 14th of the first spring month by 22 lamas of the numerous lamas of the *aimag*. *Sakhius* ceremony was performed for two days from the 1st of the middle spring month. 174 lamas gathered together from the numerous lamas of the *aimag*. *Magtaal* was held for three days from the 10th of the middle spring month by 84 of the several lamas of the *aimag*. *Jasaa Ganjuur* was held on the 8th of the first summer month by 65 of the many lamas of the *aimag*. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held on the 30th of the last summer month with the participation of 125 lamas of the *aimag*. *Dugariin ündes* ceremony was performed for seven days from the 1st of the first autumn month by all the expected 21 lamas. *Gombiin dordow* was held for four days of the last autumn month. *Danshig khangal* was held for four days from the 1st of the middle autumn month. *Jadamba* (*Jödamba* in the document) was held for a day in the middle summer month by 60 lamas of the numerous lamas of the *aimag*. *Tsedew* was held for a day in the middle summer month by 50 lamas of the *aimag*. We can conclude that *Dugariin ündes* ceremony refers to *Dugar*, the main tutelary deity of the *aimag*. *Gombiin dordu* was dedicated to the main protector, *Gombo*. *Ganjuur* was read which refers that *Ganjuur* was available in the *aimag*. There is no data about the participants from the last autumn month, so the list must have been written before that time. The most, 174 lamas came to celebrate, which shows the population of the *aimag*.

According to Pürew the *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. The Narlag Hotel stands on its site today (N 47 55.337', E 106° 55.039'). In this *aimag* 500 lamas lived in 1855 and 102 in 1938.

15. *Choinkhorlin aimag*

Choinkhorlin aimag (T. *chos-'khor gling*, 'island of the wheel of Dharma'), marked with letter SHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1877. As Sereeter claims (1999, p. 34.), this *aimag* broke away from *Mergen khambiin aimag*. Its main tutelary deity was *Demchog lkhan* (T. *bde-mchog lha lnga*, the five deities of Cakrasaṃvara) and its main protector was *Shalsh*. According to Gonchig lama and the *Bilgiin melmii* article, *Jamsran* was also worshipped here. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Dorduwiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Dülsengiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Khuuchin nomiin jas*.

The National Archives preserves 45 documents related to *Choinkhorlin aimag*. Its catalogue (M-120) from the Manchu period contains ten texts dated between 1877 and 1908. The catalogue's introduction confirms that the *aimag* was established in 1877. It had fixed date and occasional ceremonies. Its ranking lamas were the disciplinary master, the chanting master, the shrinekeeper, the main and vice offering preparers and the cook (chief lama and

vice lama seems to be omitted by chance). *Dorduwiin jas* is not mentioned in the introduction, but the above-mentioned other five financial units are mentioned. The very first text is a register of offerings donated by numerous *aimags* of the *khüree* and lay patrons during the smoke-offering consecration of the *aimag* (1877). There is a document sent to the *aimag* from a given *khoshuu* to order lamas who were responsible for the operation of the financial units to keep the rules (1880). Lamas were forbidden to wander in the countryside and to trade in the market (1895). The lamas who gathered together for ceremonies were listed in 1908. In 1912 lamas were forbidden to wander in the lay quarters, and to leave for the countryside without permission, or to return to the city with delay, and to live together with women. It also forbade the daughters and wives of laymen to wear red or yellow clothes (robes), and made the rules and traditions of the Yellow Stream strictly protected (1902).

Choinkhorlin aimag's catalogue (A-102) from the Bogd khaan's period contains 12 texts, mainly supervisions of the livestock from the 5-9th year (1915), and the number of the total (1915), the three (1915, 1916, twice in 1917, 1921) and the four (1918, 1919, 1920) kinds of livestock possessed by the *aimag*. There is a text about requisites of ceremonies (1912).

Choinkhorlin aimag's catalogue (SKh-225) of the Modern Period contains 23 texts written between 1921 and 1937. Their majority focuses on incomes and expenses, properties, herds and flocks of the *aimag*. Properties or financial units such as *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Ikh jas* and *Baga jas* were also counted. There are lists of every lama and people who belonged to the *aimag* in 1934. A register of the lamas who had paid military tax was compiled, and a document about the forecast of incomes and expenses of the financial unit, and a description of the staff were also prepared (1933-37).

Dashtseren lama belonged once to *Choinkhorlin aimag*, which had a square-shaped wooden temple building. The temple abbot (or *aimag* head) lived in his own yurt. The *aimag* had an abbot (head), a *tsorj* or *lowon*, two chanting master, two disciplinary master, a cashier, and a bookkeeper.

According to Pürew, the *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. However, Dashtseren lama said that the *aimag* had a square-shaped temple building. The present School No. 3. (*10n jiliin 3-r dund surguul*) on Ikh toiruu stands on its site today. (N 47° 55.771', E 106° 55.150'). In this *aimag* 600 lamas lived in 1855 and 30 in 1938.

16. *Mergen khambiin aimag* or *Khambiin aimag*

Khambiin aimag (T. *mkhan-po*), marked with letter DA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd Bogd. As Sereeter claims (1999, p. 35.), its founder was *Mergen khamba* ('wise abbot') Baitaw or Baidüw, who was one of the seven great *khutagts* of the subordinated areas.¹⁶⁵ *Choinkhorlin aimag* separated from this *aimag* in 1877. Its main tutelary deity was *Chagsh Janraiseg* (T. *phyag bzhi spyen-ras gzigs*, the four armed Avalokiteçvara) and its main protector was *Gombo*. More correctly, according to the *Bilgiin melmii* article, *Chagsh Gombo*, the four-armed emanation of Mahākāla, and *Shalsh*, the four-faced emanation of Mahākāla were worshipped here. Gonchig simply says *Gombo* and *Shalsh*. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Zuliin jas*, *Ündesnii jas*, and *Nünnain jas*.

To study the administration of this *aimag* 165 texts are at the researchers' disposal in the National Archives. The catalogue (M-112) of the Manchu period contains 120 texts written between 1803 and 1911. Its introduction says that the first initiation of the *aimag* is unknown. It had fixed date and occasional ceremonies. The financial units were supported

¹⁶⁵ For further information on him see Dashbadrakh, D. *Mongoliin khutagtuudiin namtriin oillogo /XVII-XX zuun/*, Ulaanbaatar 2004, p. 167.

from donations, and the *aimag* had its own incomes and expenses. Its ranked lamas were the chief lama, the vice lama, the disciplinary master, the chanting master, the bookkeeper, and the offering preparer. At least four financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Ganjuur jas*, *Zuliin jas*, and *Nügnein jas*. There are a lot of texts about herds and flocks, about the progeny of the livestock, profit from flour, wheat, felt and leather. The first text originates from 1803 and counts the livestock. A list of felt, butter, milk, and leather is available (1869). The proper wearing of special ceremonial robes (1896), and the rules of compiling accounts were determined in 1897. In 1900 a command forbade the founding of private courtyards in the monastic districts, and a command ordered the arrest and disciplining the lamas who put up yurts or built courtyards in the lay quarters (*khoroо kharchuud*), or wandered in provocative robes. In 1908 lamas who were disturbing piece in the lama community were ordered to participate in ceremonies instead. A command of the Bogd also came to punish the disturbance of peace (1909). There is a text about the private livestock of Mergen khamba lam (1909). Young lamas of the *aimag* were requested to relocate to the newly established *datsan* (1911).

The catalogue (A-103) of the Bogd khaan's period lists 24 texts. Some of them was written in Tibetan script. There are texts about the four kinds of livestock of the *aimag*, and the three kinds of livestock of Mergen khamba lam's treasury (1918). Documents prohibiting gambling, drinking alcohol, smoking, and entertainment with women were issued in 1913 and 1916.

The catalogue (SKh-218) of the Modern period lists 21 texts written between 1922 and 1937. There is a diplomatic letter (*khariiltssan bichig*) sent by the *Erdene Shanzodwa* to the abbot and the informer (*medeechin*) of the *aimag* (1922). Two texts accounts about *Dalai khamba lam*'s (i.e. Dalai Lama) artefacts, sutras, objects of worship, robes, book coverings, etc. (1924, 1926). Lamas of the *aimag* (1934), and the ceremonies with fixed date were recorded in 1937.

The latest one (Kh218/18) contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of the 12 ceremonies which were performed in the *aimag* temple with fixed date. The text was written on 22 of the 9th month of the 27th year (1937.)

According to this source, *Düitsen* ceremony was held on the 25th of the last winter month by all the appointed four lamas. *Khuuchin nom* ceremony was held on the 29th of the last winter month by nine lamas from the expected 26. *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony was held on the 30th of the last winter month with the participation of 18 lamas instead of the expected 26. *Yerööl* ceremony was held on the 14th of the first spring month with the participation of 11 lamas of the expected 26. *Magtaal* ceremony was held on the 12th of the middle spring month with the presence of 9, 12, 18 (all the three numbers are written under each other) lamas of the expected 26. *Jadar Shalsh Maidariin san* was held on the 12th of the last spring month by all the four appointed lamas. *Sojintoi Manal* was held on the 8th of the first summer month by all the four appointed lamas. *Ündes* ceremony was held on the 10th of the first summer month by 8, 12, 21 lamas (all the three numbers are written under each other) of the expected 26. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held on the 30th of the last summer month by 13 of the expected 26 lamas. *Danshig khangal sakhius* ceremony was held on the 3rd of the middle winter month.¹⁶⁶ *Dörwön tsagiin nünnai*, i.e. four seasons fasting practice could not be take place in this year due to the poverty of its financial unit. *Jasaa Sakhius* ceremony was held every month with the participation of the appointed two lamas.

There is no reference to everyday ceremony. *Jasaa Sakhius* ceremony was held every month by two lamas. *Nünnai* fasting ceremony was originally held in every season but was not held in 1937 having not enough property of its treasury. Usually 26 lamas were expected

¹⁶⁶ No data about the number of lamas.

to visit the ceremonies which number reflects to the total number of *aimag* lamas. However, 4-18 lamas participated in ceremonies.

According to Pürew, the *aimag* had a felt yurt temple and he also states that presently Kameleon Centre (*Khameleon töw*) stands on its site today. However, this place could not be identified. In this *aimag* 400 lamas lived in 1855 and 12 in 1938.

17. *Biziyaagiin aimag*

Biziyaagiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *be-za-ya*, Sanskrit origin: Vijayā, T. *rnam rgyal-ma*), marked with letter NA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1750. Sereeter claims (1999, p. 36.) that its initiator was *Darkhan giin Möngö*, the *zasag* noble of Tüsheet khan aimag. The *aimag* was named after its main tutelary deity, *Biziya* or *Jügder/Jügdor namjil* (T. *gtsug-tor rnam-rgyal*, Skr. Uāōīāavijayā), and its main protector was *Gombo*. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Danshigiin khangaliin jio*.

Related to this *aimag* 28 texts are preserved in the collection of the National Archives. There is no data from the Manchu period. The catalogue (A-104) of the Bogd khan's reign contains five texts written between 1914 and 1919. They are about the artefacts and ceremonial accessories of the *aimag* (1914), the catering (*manz*) of its *Khangal* ceremony (1914), the three kinds of livestock of the *aimag* (1918), the costs of sacrificial cake offerings (1912), and the incomes and expenses of the *aimag*'s treasury (1919). The catalogue (Kh-198) of the Modern Period lists 23 texts written between 1921 and 1938. Among them there are registers of the *aimag*'s incomes and expenses (1921), its livestock, properties, lamas (1931), and donations (1935). A very detailed (77 pages) register of the lamas of the *aimag* was written in 1937 as well as the list of fixed date ceremonies. A list, written in 1938, clarifies the incomes and expenses of the *aimag*.

The list of ceremonies (198/23.) that was written on 22 September 1937 describes 11 ceremonies. *Biziyaagiin ündes* was held on the 25th of the last winter month by all the 21 lamas who were expected to participate. *Khuuchin nom* was held on the 29th of the last winter month, when 20 lamas arrived, though every lama who belonged to the *aimag* was expected to gather. *Tsederlkham* was celebrated on the 1st day of the New Year, by only 20 lamas of the whole *aimag*. *Düitsen yerööl* was held on the 14th of the first spring month by 20 lamas, though every lama was expected to gather. *Magtaal* lasted for 3 days from the 10th of the 6th month. 60 lamas participated, though each lama of the *aimag* was expected to gather. *Sojintoi Manal* ceremony was held on the 8th of the last summer month by eight prescribed lamas. *Düitsen yerööl* was held on the 17th of the 8th month by 16 lamas of the whole *aimag*. *Sakhius* was held on the 29th of the 10th month with the participation of 50 lamas of the *aimag*. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held on the 30th of the 10th month by 40 lamas of the *aimag*. *Biziyaagiin ündes* was held again for five days from the 4th of the first autumn month. All the expected 21 lamas participated in this ritual. *Danshigiin Khangal* ceremony was held for four days from the 3rd of the middle winter month. Each lama of the *aimag* was expected to celebrate it. From this list we can conclude that although all lamas of the *aimag* were expected to gather in several cases, the most, 60, arrived only once. The text does not mention everyday ceremony. *Biziyaagiin ündes* was held by 21 lamas. *Magtaal* was held for three days in summer with the participation of 60 lamas. *Sojintoi Manal* was held on the 8th of the 8th month by eight lamas. *Danshigiin Khangal* was performed for four days. The text has an interesting feature: it uses numbers of month (6th, 8th) instead of the traditional system (summer month).

According to Pürew, this *aimag* had a felt yurt temple. Today, The National Sports University, Oyuun College and Khan-uul College (situated in the same building) on Ikh toiruu stand on its old site. (N 47° 55.736', E 106° 55.124'). 300 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 43 in 1938.

18. *Khüükhen noyonii aimag* or *Noyonii aimag*

Noyonii aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *no-yon-ni*), marked with letter PA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651. Sereeter claims (1999, 9., 37.) that as one of the first seven *aimags* of Örgöö, this *aimag* was founded on the initiation of Öndör gegeen's wife (*gergii*), Khüükhen noyon, the noble lady. Its main tutelary deity was *Demchig/Demchog Ikhanaa* and its main protector was *Gongor*, the White Mahākāla. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Ur'dakh arwanii Magtaaliin jas*, *Khoidokh arwanii Magtaaliin jas*.

Considering this *aimag*, 206 texts can be surveyed in the National Archives. The catalogue (M-118) of the Manchu period mentions 115 texts. Although the *aimag* was established in 1651, the available texts were written between 1867 and 1911. The *aimag* had ceremonies with fixed date or without fixed date. Apart from the above-mentioned financial units the catalogue mentions *Maidar jas*, and *Naidan jas*. In the beginning the operation of the *aimag* had four financial units which covered the ceremonial costs. The ranked lamas of the *aimag* were the chief lama, the vice lama, the disciplinary master, the chanting master, the shrinekeeper, the main and vice offering preparer, and the cook. Every ten courtyard of the residentials were governed by leaders (*darga*). This system operated without change till 1911. The financial units rented out livestock: bulls, and camels with interest. The first source is an inventory of sculptures, books and accessories (1867). Commands forbade the lamas to visit the lay quarters (1873), and to wander and play domino there (1874). The lamas who had been participated in ceremonies were listed in 1874, and orders called back the lamas who had left to the countryside without permission and did not return, and to prevent ceremonies from any interruption (1876). Lamas who thrown stones at the officer of the Russian Consulate had to be arrested, and lamas who started to conspire had to be stopped (1878). A document instructed women not to wander at monastic sites and determined the rules of their visits as official tasks or worship (1887). A command stopped lamas' turbulence, gambling, wearing of provocative robes, and other affairs which were incompatible with the religious traditions (1890). A document informed the *aimag* about the debate of *wan Dorjpalam* and the Bogd (1891). Another one ordered the *aimag* to increase the number of lamas who participated in the ceremonies that were dedicated to the health of the Bogd, and also ordered the financial units to finance these ceremonies (1894). A command was issued in order to stop lamas' trading, quarrelling, and fighting in the lay quarters (1895). There is a document about the collection of leather of dead livestock (1898). A command ordered the high-ranking lamas to wear their honorific robes and equipment (1898). Lamas' useless wandering in the lay quarters was forbidden in 1902. A disapproval related to the delay payment of the costs of *Zankhan süm*'s building was issued in 1901. A command was issued in order to stop trading, quarrels, and throwing stones at officials (1908 and 1909). The resident lamas of the *aimag*, who participated in the ceremonies and who went to the countryside were listed in 1908. Ceremonial requisites (*burkhan takhil*), incomes and expenses of different financial units, and donations were listed in 1908. In 1909 attention were drawn to the danger of conflagration. In 1911 the *aimag* was ordered to enrol young novices to the newly established monastic school (*Idgaachoinzinlin datsan*). There is a summery of the *aimag*'s incomes and expenses (1911). A document, without date, ordered the lamas to live in accordance with religious traditions, and to strictly keep their religious vows. It forbade (*tseer*) them to wear provocative robes in public places, and asked for young children to join the newly established temple due to the small number of its lamas.

The catalogue of the Bogd khan's reign (A-105) contains 64 texts written between 1919 (?) -1928 (?). Financial units like *Dordowiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Arawnain jas* are mentioned in some titles. There is a Tibetan text about the officers (*tiüshmel*) of the *aimag* (1913). A command was sent by the *khamba nomon khan*, the *erdene shanzodwa*, and the *da*

lam strictly prohibited lamas to play domino, cards, chess, football, to curse and swear (*kharaal khelekh*). The restoration of statues, wearing shawl (*orkhimj*) and proper robes in ceremonies were also prescribed in 1913. The *erdene shanzodwa* and the *da lam* sent a letter to the four aimag executives (*chuulgan darga*) and to the heads of all subordinated monasteries in order to supervise the nobles, officers, assemblies and lamas of their territories (1915). There is a document about the exemption of subordinated people (*shaw' nar*) from relay-station service (*örtöö*), sentry duty (*kharuul*), and military service (*tsergiin alban*). The *Erdene Shanzawiin Yaam* issued a command to stop the use of Tibetan letters on branding irons, to save *Gandantegchenlin khiid* from the danger of fire, and to prescribe *Dambachoiimi molom*¹⁶⁷ to be recited every day in every monastery and monastic complex (1916, 1918).

The catalogue (Kh-221) of the Modern period contains 27 texts dated from 1921-1937. Its texts describe the financial positions and the livestock of the *aimag*. There is a document about the increasing rights of lamas opposing progression (1922). A source mentions that a 15 *chin* of agricultural field of Tüsheet khan aimag's pastures was given to this *aimag* for 15 years (1924). Livestock and silver were dedicated to renovate the *aimag* temple in 1926. Registers of lamas (1928, 1936-1937) and a register of ceremonies with fixed date are also available (1937).

The latest mentioned source lists ten ceremonies that were held with fixed date till 1937 in this *aimag* (Kh-221/26.). It claims that *Demchog* ceremony was held on the 25th of the last winter month by all the appointed four lamas. *Khuuchin nom* was recited on the 29th of the last winter month for a day. In the previous year twenty lamas participated in it. However, in 1937 only eight lamas arrived. *Tsederlkham* was held on the 30th of the last winter month. Though in the previous years several lamas participated in this ceremony, in 1937 only 25 lamas arrived. *Yerööl* was recited on the 14th of the first spring month. Previously, several lamas participated in this event, but in 1937 only 14 lamas gathered. *Magtaal* ceremony was held for two days from the 20th of the first spring month. Instead of the expected several lamas only 15 lamas arrived. *Sakhius* ceremony was held on the 15th of the middle spring month. In the previous years several lamas had gathered, but in 1937 only 13 lamas gathered. *Düitsen yerööl* was held on the 17th of the first summer month. Several lamas were expected to participate, but actually only 17 lamas participated. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held on the 30th of the last summer month. Instead of numerous lamas only 20 gathered. *Sanjid* (? , cannot be make out) ceremony was held on the 1st of the first autumn month, when only 15 lamas gathered of the several expected ones. *Jasiin Sakhius* was recited every day, but instead of four lamas only one lama recited it, as the others had disrobed. Among the ten ceremonies listed above we can conclude that *Jasiin Sakhius* was recited with a daily basis. Before 1937 several lamas gathered for ceremonies, but in 1937 the largest number of participants was 25.

According to Pürew, the *aimag* had a yurt-shaped temple building. The present building of Önöödör Newspaper's Office, known as Ardiin Erkh (after another newspaper which had its office there previously), stands on its site today. (N 47° 55.732', E 106° 55.257'). In this *aimag* 300 lamas lived in 1855 and 27 in 1938.

19. *Darkhan emchiin aimag*

Darkhan emchiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *dar-hang 'em-chi*), marked with letter PHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651 as one of the first seven *aimags*. Sereeter claims that this *aimag* was founded for a honourable Tibetan doctor (*emch*), who was invited by Öndör gegeen (1999, p. 38.). Its main tutelary deity was *Düzeichalba/ Dүdziichilba* (T. *bdud-rtsi dkyil-ba/ 'khyil-pa*, 'Amrita Pooler') and its main protectors were *Gүrdagwa* (T. *gu-ru drag-po*, 'Wrathful Guru') and *Gombo*. According to Gonchig lama, *Tsamba* was also

¹⁶⁷ Exact meaning unknown. T. *dam-pa chos ? smon-lam*

worshipped here. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Düütsengiin jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*. According to Dendew (Nawaan, 1961, p. 11.), who also claims that the *aimag* was named after a very famous doctor, some of his famous medicine (*mankhagtai em*, T. *sman khug*, 'medicine bag') hung in a bag from the smoke hole of the yurt-shaped temple of the *aimag*.

Related to this *aimag* 191 texts are kept in the collection of the National Archives. The Manchu catalogue (M-102) contains 159 texts written between 1799 and 1909. Its introduction confirms that the *aimag* was firstly initiated in 1651. All of its four financial units had their ceremonies, incomes and expenses. Later, *Pogiin jas* was formed. The staff of the *aimag* bore the titles of chief lama, vice lama, chanting master, disciplinary master, offering preparer, bookkeeper, and cook. The very first text is a notification of loans that the *aimag* received from others (1799). There is a nomination of leaders (*darga*) as heads of every ten courtyard of the *aimag* (1833). Registers about the accessories of *Ikh jas* (1842, 1844), lists of the livestock and progeny of the four kinds of livestock, a notification of sacrificial cake offerings dedicated to the ceremony of *Gombiin dordow* (1883) are all available. A document contains the names of the people who rented out bulls from the *aimag* (1894). A list of horses and sheep of *Pogiin jas* (1908), flour, wheat, butter, meat, and other products which were sold for religious purposes are also available (1909).

The catalogue (A-106) of the Bogd khaan's period contains 13 titles. Apart from the texts of the three kinds of livestock of the *aimag* and its *Ikh jas*, there is a document about the costs of various ceremonies of the *aimag* (1915). The catalogue (SKh-214) of the Modern period contains 19 texts written between 1922 and 1939. Apart from incomes and expenses, herds and flocks there are registers, such as the one which contains the tax share of lamas (1933). There is a source about the ceremonies of the *aimag* (1935), and a register of lamas and lay people who belonged to *Darkhan emchiin aimag* from 1931-1939.

Moreover, a text lists 16 ceremonies which were held in 1937 in the *aimag* (SKh-214/19.). Every month on the 10th and 25th day *Gürdagwa sakhius*'s ritual was performed by the required four lamas. The expected 20 lamas held *Khuuchin Khangal* ceremony on the 29th of the last winter month. *Tsederlkham* ceremony started on the 30th of the last winter month and finished on the 1st of the first spring month. From the numerous lamas of the *aimag* 60 arrived. From the numerous lamas of the *aimag* 20 lamas came to perform *Düitsen yerööl* ceremony on the 14th of the first spring month. *Magtaal* ceremony was held by 80 lamas for four days from the 24th of the middle spring month when lamas of *Noyonii aimag* gathered here as well. *Sojintoi Manal* ceremony was held on the 8th of the first summer month. All the expected eight lamas participated in this ceremony. *Günreg* ritual was held on the 15th of the first summer month, when all the expected ten lamas arrived. *Düdzüichilba* tutelary deities' *sachog* was prepared for seven days from the 11th of the middle summer month by ten expected lamas. From the 18th of the middle summer month *khurlag dünchid* (?) was held for seven days by the appointed 21 lamas. *Tügden takhilga* was held on the 26th of the middle summer month by eight appointed lamas. *Jasiin Namsrain dallaga* was held on the same day by nine appointed lamas.¹⁶⁸ *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held on the 30th of the last summer month, when 70 lamas arrived from the *aimag*. *Gombiin dordow* was performed for four days from the 13th of the first winter month by 13 appointed lamas. *Khangal* ceremony was held for four days in the middle winter month when numerous lamas were expected to come. On the 15th of the middle winter month *Sakhius* ceremony had to be performed by a lot of lamas. *Jasaa Sakhius* was recited every day by two appointed lamas.

Among the 16 above-mentioned ceremonies *Magtaal* lasted for four days in spring, *Düdzüichilba sachog* lasted for seven days. *Khangal* was held for four days in winter. At most

¹⁶⁸ Two different ceremonies indicated on the same day with different number of participants.

80 lamas gathered for ceremonies. Two lamas performed *jasaa* ceremony every day. On the 10th and the 25th of each month Gürdagwa was really worshipped in this *aimag*. Interrupted ceremony is not mentioned in the text.

According to Pürew, the *aimag* had a wooden square shaped temple building. The Customs Bureau (*Gaaliin yerökhii gazar*) east of the present *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery, on the right, stands on its site today. (N 47° 55.692', E 106° 55.257'). 400 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 99 in 1938.

20. *Erkhem toinii aimag*

Erkhem toinii aimag (Tibetan transliteration: 'er-khem), marked with letter BA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated after 1737 during the reign of the 2nd Bogd according to Sereeter (1999, p. 39.). He claims that Rampildorj, the third son of Tsembeldorj, a *zasag* noble from Tüsheets khan *aimag*, became a lama in 1737, a decade after inheriting his father's charge, which he could not fill anymore as he became ill. When he became a lama his name changed to Danzanyarimpil. He unified the tutelary deities in the lineages inherited from his uncle, Öndör gegeen Zanabazar, his grandfather Sijir and his father Tsembeldorj, and established a temple. The 2nd Bogd awarded him the title of *Erkhem toin* and named his temple *Erkhem toinii aimag*'s temple. The *aimag*'s main tutelary deity was *Dorjpagam* (T. *rdo-rje phag-mo*, Skr. Vajravārāhī) and the main protector was *Tsambashadag/ Tsambashidag* (T. *tshangs-pa gzhi bdag* ?). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Tsogiin jas*, *Sanduin jas*, *Nünnain jas*, *Garawchogchidiin jas*, *Günreg Mintügwaagiin jas*, *Olon khuwragiin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*. At the beginning of the 20th century, it had about 300-400 lamas and more than ten small financial units such as *Sanduin jas* and *Nünnain jas*. According to Oyuunbileg (Dashnyam, 1999, p. 265.), the wooden yurt-shaped temple was built in 1778. During the reign of the 5th Bogd it had about 300 lamas.

The National Archives owes 473 documents related to this *aimag*. The Manchu catalogue (M-123) contains 383 texts dated between 1796 and 1911. *Ikh jas* and *Mönkh nügnein jas* surely belonged to the *aimag*. There were pastures in the West and in the North. The *aimag* rented out bulls. The pastures of *Mönkh nügnein jas* were situated near the River Tuul. The first text from the Manchu period is a supervision of the livestock's progeny and loss (1796). There is a list of leaders of the ten courtyards (1823), a list of silver and brick tea which were handled by Rentsen, Galsanchaimbol, and Lkhasüren *nyaraws* in 1825. Artefacts and accessories were listed in 1825, holy sculptures and pictures in 1838, golden and silver objects, ornaments, decoration and other equipment in 1849. There is a document prescribing the proper distribution of dishes to high-ranked lamas, lay officers (*tiishmed*), and ordinary lamas. A document claims that the *Yonzon lam* gave initiation (*wan*) in this *aimag* in 1863. There is an invitation for the young Bogd to visit the *aimag*, and a determination of ceremonial rules to be observed by lamas and nobles (1876). A fold out book was written about the quarrels over loans among people (1890), and a register of lamas residing inside and outside the *aimag* (1900) is also available. A list of offerings dedicated to the proper rebirth of Baldandorj¹⁶⁹ (1898), and a list of properties inherited from the deceased ones of the *aimag* to develop religious life (1901) are interesting sources from the turn of the century.

The catalogue (A-107) of the Bogd khaan's period lists 34 texts. There is a Tibetan text about the various books of the *aimag* (1911). A list, written in Tibetan script as well, includes brick tea loans, the quantities of firewood and coal of *Khangaliin jas* (1913). Requisites of ceremonies and worship, the livestock progeny, and the lamas who participated in *Khailan* ceremony were listed in 1921. A document without date describes the families and areas (*otog khoshuu*) which sent lamas to *Erkhem toinii aimag*.

¹⁶⁹ He had to be a high-ranking lama of the *aimag*.

The catalogue (TsKh-227) of the Modern Period mentions 51 texts dated between 1921 and 1937. They contain facts about herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, and horses and camels of the *aimag* or its *Ikh jas*. However, there is a text that lists the incomes and expenses spent on the renovation of the temple, its top ornament (*ganjir*), and its courtyard (1926). Costs of the renovation of the *aimag* temple and its offering hall (? , *belgiin örgöö*) were recorded in 1929. Religious accessories (1930), the lamas of the *aimag* who had to pay military tax (1933), each lama of the *aimag* (1934 and 1936), and the costs of fixed date annual ceremonies (without date), the executives (*erkh barigchid*) of the *aimag*, and the lamas living in the *khüree* and familiar with Mongolian script (1936) were listed in the 1930s. A register of fixed date ceremonies of the *aimag* was written in 1937.

It (TsKh227/48) contains the name, date and the number of participants expected and appeared on the more than 23 ceremonies which were yearly performed in the *aimag* temple.¹⁷⁰ *Jasaa Pagam* ceremony was held for one day respectively on the 10th and 28th of every month by six required lamas, *Khuuchin nom* with special *Sakhius* reading for a day on the 29th of the last winter month by 20 appointed lamas. *Tsedor Lkham*'s recitation was held on the first day of the first spring month with the participation of 50 lamas of the expected 110. *Öndör bogdiin düitsen yerööl* was performed on the 14th of the first spring month by all the 20 lamas who were expected to come. *Jasaa Magtaal* was recited for four days from the 20th of the first spring month. 40 lamas of the expected 100 lamas participated in this ceremony. *Jasaa Tümet sakhius* recitation was performed for a day on the 15th of the middle spring month. From the 100 expected lamas 45 appeared. *Jasaa Manaliin chogo* recitation was performed on the 8th of the first summer month for a day with the participation of all the expected 40 lamas. *Jasaa Awidiin donchid* was held for a day on the 15th of the first summer month by all the expected 40 lamas. *8-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl* was recited for a day on the 17th of the first summer month by 30 lamas of the expected 35. *Jasaa Tümet sakhius* recitation was held for a day on the 15th of the middle summer month by 45 lamas of the expected 100 lamas. *Pagma yadamiin sachog* (T. *sa mchog*) was performed on the 7th of the middle summer month by ten appointed lamas while *Pagma yadamiin dültson chogo* ceremony was held by the 20 expected lamas. *Dültson taslakh* ritual was performed on its next day when the sand maóðala was demolished by 50 lamas of the expected 110. *Ganjuur* recitation was performed for a day on the 8th of the last summer month by 30 lamas of the expected 60. *Gongor Namsrai sakhius* ceremony took place for a day on the 30th of the last summer month by 25 from the expected 50 lamas. *Jasaa Tümet sakhius* ceremony was held for a day on the 15th of the middle autumn month by 25 from the expected 100 lamas. *Jasaa Jasiin dallaga Düinkhor lündagaajüg* (?) recitation was held for a day in the last autumn month. Its day was not determined and 12 lamas were expected to come.¹⁷¹ *5-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl* was read for a day on the 3rd of the first winter month. 50 lamas were expected to come. *Bogd lamiin düitsen yerööl* was recited for a day on the 25th of the first winter month. 50 lamas were expected to come. *Günser bürelgüü(?) yonzon khambiin düitsen yerööl* was recited for a day on the 7th of the middle winter month. 20 lamas were expected to come. *Danshigiin khangal*, which was a ceremony for several *sakhius*, was held for five days in the middle winter month. Its exact date was not determined and 100 lamas were expected to come. *7-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl unshlaga* was held on the 12th of the middle winter month. 20 lamas were expected to read it. *Jasaa Tümet sakhius* recitation was held on the 15th of the middle winter month when 100 lamas were expected to gather together.

Concluding the above mentioned data *Pagam yadam* was the main tutelary deity of the *aimag*. Her sand maóðala was prepared by lamas in summer. *Jasaa Tümet sakhius* recitation was held every season on the 15th of the middle month. *Ganjuur* recitation was held which

¹⁷⁰ The texts indicate the duration of ceremonies lasting for one day as well as lasting for more days.

¹⁷¹ The number of participants of the following ceremonies is not indicated.

indicates that the volumes of the *Ganjuur* were available in the *aimag*. In some cases 110 lamas were expected, but 50 lamas were the most, who came to ceremonies.

400 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 37 in 1938. Its wooden yurt-shaped temple survived the purges. According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 114.), during the purges, it was decided around the 10th of the first summer month in 1938, that all the intact sculptures, artefacts, books and other belongings from the *datsans*, temples and *aimag* temples throughout the country, were to be collected and transported to a central storage place. So it was that, for over a year, carts and wagons delivered a stream of religious objects to the three remained *aimag* temples, namely that of *Erkhem toinii aimag*, *Ekh Daginiin aimag* (see below) and *Wangain aimag* (see below), and their courtyards until a decision on their fate was finally decided: the piles of objects were either kept and transported to museums, annihilated, burnt or transported to Russia for other uses.

Thus, the temple building of *Erkhem toinii aimag* survived and was used as storage of the nearby Circus, which was operating in the remained temple of *Ekh Daginiin aimag*. The temple building is now used as the Temple of the Protector deities (*Sakhiusnii dugan*) of *Züün Khiiree Dashchoilin* monastery (N 47° 55.657', E 106° 55.247').

21. *Ekh daginiin aimag*

Ekh daginiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: er-he tā-ki-ni (?), marked with letter A of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1903 according to Sereeter (1999, p. 40.). Several books contain sporadic data about it. Rinchen marked this *aimag* temple separately on his map (R-926) even though it was one of the 30 *aimag* temples and he did not mark the others. Sereeter claims that in 1903 the 8th Bogd founded the last of the 30 *aimags*, called *Ekh daginiin aimag* in honour of his wife, Dondogdulam. She was given the following honorific names or titles: *Achlalt noyon* in 1890, *Erdene tsetsen/setsen noyon* in 1905 and *Ulsiin Ekh dagina* ('the mother dākini of the country') in 1911. Consequently, this *aimag* was also became known variously as the *aimag* of *Achlalt noyon*, the *aimag* of *Erdene tsetsen noyon* and the *aimag* of *Ekh dagina* in order. The main tutelary deities of the *aimag* were *Jadar* and *Jüdenee/ Jüdenaa* or *Jigdor jüdenaa/ Jigdor jüdenee*. (T. kye-rdor rgyud sde lnga). Its main protector was *Jamsran*, though Gonchig lama's list says it was *Jigjid*, who, according to the *Bilgiin melmii* article (15/57 February 2005, p. 3.), was also worshipped here similarly to *Gombo*. According to Oyuunbileg (Dashnyam, 1999, p. 265.), about 1,000 lamas gathered here to worship *Choinkhor* deity (T. chos-'khor, Skr. Dharmacakra). Pozdnev claims (1971, p. 52.) that 830 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and according to Sereeter (1999, p. 40.) 52 lamas lived here in 1938. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Öndör geegenii jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Ekh daginiin sakhiusnii jas*, *Shambaliin jas*.

Dendew (Nawaan, 1961, p. 42.) accounts that when the *Ekh daginiin aimag* was founded, many talented masters were gathered to create the three-dimension maóðala palace (*loilan* or *loilon*, T. blos bslangs) of Kālacakra (*Düinkhoriin loilon*, T. dus-'khor blos bslangs). Tsogtzandan *tsorj* was responsible for its creation, working together with Tawkhair bor from *Anduu nariin aimag*, Chültemsüren from *Wangain aimag*, Dugarjaw from *Shüteenii aimag*, layman Lojoo, Tsagaan Jamba from *Sangain aimag* and others. The *loilon*'s measure was 20 *chii* (1 *chii* = 32 cm) in each side. At the top of its main temple the small masterpiece of the Prajñāpāramita sūtra in Eight Thousand Verses (*Jadamba*) made by Shagj was placed. This huge Kālacakra relief image or three-dimension maóðala for meditation was displayed in a building in this *aimag*, presumably in a temple located behind the main yurt-shaped temple. According to B. Daajaw, this large white temple building where it was displayed was called *Burkhadiin oron* ('the palace of the deities'). There was also a wooden carving of Shambala (*Shambaliin khot*), the mythical realm in the temple. There are some photos of this *Düinkhor*

loilon in the Film Archives (Box 93: 24057, 24024, 24055, 24058). According to Sereeter (1999, p. 40.) other buildings, which also can be seen on Jügder's painting, were also situated here, including *Öndör gegeenii süm* ('the Temple of Öndör gegeen'), *Baruun lawran tugdum/tugdam* ('the Western yurt palace'), and *Khoit ikh nogoon lawran* ('the big green Northern palace').

196 documents are kept in the National Archives related to this *aimag*. The catalogue (M-124) of the Manchu period contains 44 texts about *Erdene setsen noyonii aimag*, dated between 1884 and 1911. *Ganjuur jas*, *Dültsen jas*, and *Öndör gegeenii jas* are mentioned in several titles. The first text is about the ceremonial incomes and expenses (1884). Other texts inform us about the herds and flocks that were herded in Eastern and Western pastures. There is a register of silver, brick tea, and other offerings dedicated to the establishment of the temple building (*süm*) in 1903. A list of silver properties and profit from the livestock gained from subordinated families (*otog*) (1904), and a list of incomes and expenses of the *aimag* to be paid to *Maidar*, *Lamrim* and other monastic schools in 1910 are also available in the collection. A command was issued in 1908 to stop and prohibit the aversion against religion and ceremonies, and the fights with Chinese. A summary of the livestock of the *jases* and that of the *khamba nomon khan*, and the names of their herdsmen were recorded in 1908. An order sent by the *Erdene shanzaw* prohibited the mixing of lamas and women in the monastic district, and any kind of resistance (*zörchid*) (1910). A letter was sent to this *aimag* in 1909 to draw attention to the prevention of conflagration. Lamas were ordered to participate in ceremonies in the *aimag* temple (1909).

The catalogue (A-108) of the Bogd khaan's period contains 66 texts. Financial units as *Öndör bogdiin jas*, *Deed sakhiusnii jas*, *Dültsen jas*, and *Ikh jas* are mentioned in their titles. There are lists of silver, brick tea, and other offerings donated in the rural *Baruun Khüree* to creat *Düinkhoriin loilon* in the capital city (1913). A list contains the values of offerings which were offered by lamas and laymen for the consecration of *Düinkhoriin loilon* (1913). Furthermore, there is a document about the foundation of the *Loilon temple*. It lists the accessories and religious implements of *Düinkhor burkhan* (1913). A document summarizes the livestock which was dedicated to the initiation of the separate *Düinkhoriin loilon jas* by the subordinated areas (*shaw'*) and the four *aimags* (1914). Thus, from these titles it is clear that the *loilon* was created in 1913, and was sponsored by the *Ikh shaw'* areas. A separate temple was built to house it, and a separate financial unit was founded from the support of the four *aimags* and the *Ikh shaw'* areas. There is a document in the archives which prescribes the non-stop recitation of *Banzragch*, *Nogoon Dar'ekh*, and other holy texts (1914). Requisites of the ceremony held for the longevity of the Ekh dagina were listed in 1915. Offerings were also listed in 1915. Lamas wearing provocative robes were punished in the same year. A document mentions the moving of the temple of *Düinkhoriin loilon*, the reparation of the image of Ekh Dagina, and the prohibition of the use of Tibetan letters on branding irons (1917). The livestock of the *aimag* was herded in the East and in the West. The accessories of the temple were listed in 1920.

The catalogue (SKh-226) of the Modern Period contains 85 texts dated between 1922¹⁷² and 1937. They discuss the progeny of the livestock, the incomes and expenses, the silver property with interest, the quantity of felt. In 1922 stablemen who were responsible for the horses (*unakh joroo alag züsiin mor'*) of the Bogd, the Ekh Dagina and Manzshir khutagt were listed as well as every lama of the *aimag*. Some documents were written in 1923 concerning the building of temples, the requisites of the army, and other administrative and financial issues. In 1923 a register of lamas of the living in the countryside was written, too. Incomes and expenses, artefacts, books, golden and silver accessories were registered in 1926.

¹⁷² Text No. 2. is surely dated in 1922. The date of text No. 1. is not known by the author.

The bookkeepers wrote summaries in 1931. Internal rules and duties were written down in 1935. Ranked lamas (1935), and every lama of the *aimag* were registered in 1931, 1934, 1936.03.17.–1936.12.28, 1937.02.21.–1937.03.20.

The operation of the wooden yurt-shaped *aimag* temple was closed in 1938. The building was not burnt during the purge but was used as a circus from 1940. Its wooden yurt-shaped temple building survived, but has been re-built and refurbished many times. Today it is used as the Circus College (N 47° 55.609', E 106°55.177', elevation 1325 m) situated on the West of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery, near Baga toiruu, Sükhbaatar düüreg, 8th khoroo.

22. Wangai(n) aimag

Wangain aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *wang-gas*), marked with letter MA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1757 as Sereeter claims (1999, p. 42.). *Zorigt wan* Sanzaidorj, a *zasag* noble from Tüsheet khan aimag, established a temple in the *khüree* in 1740. The 2nd Bogd accepted it as a real *aimag* in 1757 with the name *Wangiin aimag* or *Wan guain aimag* ('*aimag* of the prince'), as it had been initiated by a person with the *jün wan* rank. Later, its name became pronounced in a distorted form, so it became known as *Wangain aimag*. The main tutelary deities of the temple were *Ochirwaan'* and *Dorjnamjim* (T. *rdo-rje rnam-'joms*, Skr. Vajravidhāraśa) and the main protector was *Gombo*. Gonchig lama's list adds *Dolmanaljor* (T. *sgrol-ma rnal-'byor-ma*) as its tutelary deity. North of the temple there was a separate chapel for worshipping deities (*gonkhon*, T. *mgon-khang*). The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Naidangiin jas*, *Düdbiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Tsanidiin jas*, *Ikh Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Dar' ekhiin бага jas*, *Jasaa Gürmiin jas*, *Namsrain dorduwiin jas*, *Gawj nariin Günregiin jas*. According to the Manchu catalogue (M-100) of the *aimag* it had 12 financial units. To the above-mentioned ones the following should be added: *Dordowiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas*, *Dültseniin jas*, *Namjomiin jas*, *Yadam Dorjnamjiliin jas* (probably *Dorjnamjim*).

The National Archives preserves 91 documents related to *Wangain aimag*. The Manchu catalogue (M-100) includes 57 texts related to the *aimag*. They were written between 1819 and 1908. The introduction of the catalogue says that the date of foundation of this *aimag* is unknown. It had its own livestock, incomes and expenses. The very first text is a list of silver property which was lent to others (1819). There is a list about the brick tea property which was lent with interest by *Dordowiin jas* (1874), and another one which includes the names and paying interest on brick tea property which was lent at *Magtaal* ceremony (1873). A list of brick tea donations (1882), and brick tea which was lent at *Yadam Dorjnamjiliin chogo* and by *Dültsen jas* (1886) are also listed. There is a register that clarifies the incomes dedicated to the correction of the *Danjuur* (1890). Offerings in *Buman Dar' ekh* ceremony (1891), expenses of *Gongoriin bumba* ceremony (1892), requisites of offerings of *Noyonii ikh shüteen* (1903.10.08) were also recorded. Stallions and flocks of *Yadam Dorjnamjiliin jas* were recorded in 1904. A list of silver and brick tea properties lent to people with interest (1910), and a list of herdsman, and resident lamas of the *aimag*, and the lamas who belonged to *Dashchoimbeldatsan* are available in the collection, too (without date).

The catalogue (A-109) of the Bogd khaan's period lists 12 texts, discussing mostly the livestock, the incomes and the expenses. There is a list of the *aimag*'s artefacts, accessories, and other properties (1916), and a list of lamas with *gelen* and *getsel* vows (1920). The catalogue (Kh-200) of the Modern period contains 22 texts written between 1921 and 1937. Among them there are lists of incomes and expenses, herds and flocks. Artefacts and other accessories of the *aimag* were listed again in 1921. There is a long list of brick tea property that was divided to people (1926). Registers clarify the prosperity of the *aimag* lamas (1930), and the *aimag* itself (1932, 1937). The internal rules of *Wangain aimag* (without date)

were also determined. There is a list of lamas with their tax shares (1933), and a list of ceremony names of the temple (1937).

This latest register (Kh200/21) contains the name, date and the number of expected and arrived participants of 48 ceremonies which were yearly performed in the *aimag* temple until the 30th of the 2nd month of the 27th year (1937). The ceremonies were the following: *Jasaa Manal Gendendüiwiin khorol* was performed on the 8th of every month by four appointed lamas. *Sakhius* recitation, called *Jasaa arwanii Sendom* was performed on the 10th of every month by four appointed lamas. *Sakhius* recitation, called *Jasaa* and *Gürem* were held every day by four lamas. *Jasaa Jasiin unshlaga* recitation was performed every day by one lama. *Jasaa Lkham Ayuush* recitation was held on the 29th of every month by four appointed lamas. *Jasiin galiin takhilga* was performed on the 23rd of the last winter month by four appointed lamas. *2-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl* was performed on the 27th of the last winter month by all the 25 expected lamas. *Sakhius* recitation, called *Khuuchin nom* was held for three days from the 27th of the last winter month with the participation of all the expected 25 lamas. The *sakhius* of the New Year, *Tsedor Lkham* was worshipped on the 1st of the first spring month with the participation of 45 lamas of the expected 50. *Öndör bogdiin düitsen yerööl* was held on the 14th of the first spring month by all the 25 expected lamas. New Year ablution and consecration ritual of the statues (*Shine jild burkhan shüteend tüi rawnai örgökh*) was held on the 15th of the first spring month by four appointed lamas. *Jasaa Magtaal* recitation was held for three days at the beginning of the middle spring month. 205 lamas appeared from the 249 expected ones. *Jambal norjmaa* recitation was held on the 15th of every middle month of the four seasons by 11 appointed lamas. *Damjin sakhius* and *Dalkhaa* were worshipped on the 15th of every middle month of the four seasons, too, by four appointed lamas. *Jasaa Namjom yadamiin chogo* was recited on the 16th of every middle month of the four seasons by 16 appointed lamas. *Jidor* and *Shalsh sakhius* were worshipped on the 8th of the last spring month by all the 25 expected lamas. *Ochirwaan' yadamiin nünnai* was held for three days from the 6th of the first summer month by four expected lamas. *Jasaa Manaliin donchid* was held on the 8th of the first summer month by all the 25 expected lamas. Thanksgiving offering on the 15th to the wrathful deities (*sakhius*), called *Arwan tawnii danrag* was held on the 15th of the first summer month with the participation of all the appointed 25 lamas. *8-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl* was read on the 17th of the first summer month by all the expected 25 lamas. *Namjom yadamiin chogo* was performed for seven days at the beginning of the middle summer month. All the 16 expected lamas participated in it. *Namjim yadamiin dültson chogo* was held for seven days in the middle summer month. All the expected 29 lamas participated. *Namjom yadamiin dültseidiin dashgadan* (?) was held for a day in the middle summer month. All the expected 249 lamas participated. *Ikh Dar' ekhiin khural* was held for a day in the middle summer month. All the expected 249 lamas participated. *Jalkhanz lamiin düitsen yerööl* was held on the 9th of the middle summer month by four appointed lamas. *Jasaa Naidan chogo* was recited on the 4th of the last summer month with the participation of all the 25 expected lamas. *Gongoriin bumba* was performed on the 15th of the last summer month with all the expected 19 lamas. Consecration of the sculptures (*Burkhan shüteend Dashnyam arawnai örgökh*) was held on the 25th of the last summer month with the participation of all the expected 25 lamas. *Gongor* and *Namsrai* were worshipped for a day on the 30th of the last summer month. 105 lamas of the expected 249 arrived. *Sakhiusnii tügdan* (?) was held on the 30th of the last summer month by all the expected 12 lamas. *Dodwa takhikh ba Gendendüiwiin khorol* was held on the 30th of the last summer month by the appointed four lamas. *Dar' ekh yadamiin dültson sachog* was held for 15 days in the last autumn month (without fixed date) by all the 21 lamas who were expected. *Myangat* (probable *Mintüg*) *sakhius* ceremony lasted for a day on the 15th of the last autumn month when 120 lamas of the total 249 participated. The ceremony called *3-r bogdiin düitsen*

yerööl was held on the 21st of the last autumn month by ten appointed lamas. *Jasaa Naidan chogo* was held on the 15th of the first winter month by all the 25 expected lamas. *Naidan chogo* was held again on the 16th of the first winter month by four appointed lamas. *5-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl* was performed on the 3rd of the first winter month by ten appointed lamas. *6-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl* was held on the 20th of the first winter month by ten appointed lamas. *Bogd Zonkhowiin düitsen yerööl* was performed on the 25th of the first winter month by all the 25 lamas who were expected. *Yonzon khambiin düitsen yerööl* was performed on the 7th of the middle winter month by all the 25 lamas who were expected to come. *Ikh sakhiusnii dordow* offering was performed once a year for four days in the first winter month without fixed date. All the 20 lamas, who were expected, gathered. Meditative practice (*nyamba*) reading called *Ikh sakhiusnii nindüw* was held for seven days in the first winter month every three year. Its exact date was not prescribed, but all the expected 13 lamas gathered. *Namsrain dordow* offering was held once a year without fixed date in winter for four days and all the 21 expected lamas participated in the ceremony. *Danshigiin khangal*, which is a recitation and offering for several protectors, was held for five days from the 3rd of the middle winter month. 201 lamas of the total 249 participated. *Ikh sakhius* offering (*takhilga*) was held for a day in the middle winter month, when 220 of the total 249 lamas participated. *7-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl* ceremony was held on the 12th of the middle winter month. 15 of the expected 25 lamas participated in it. *Ikh sakhiusnii tügden (?) takikh* was held on the 15th of the middle winter month by all the 13 expected lamas. *4-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl* was held on the 16th of the middle winter month. 16 lamas came instead of 25. From the number of lamas who were expected to participate in ceremonies it is evident, that the *aimag* had 249 lamas in 1937. 48 ceremonies were held with fixed date. Among the questionnaires of the annual ceremonies of the temples one by one it is clear that the most ceremonies were held in *Wangain aimag*. Thus, we can conclude that it had the most vivid religious life before the purges. According to Oyuunbilig (Dashnyam, 1990, p. 265.), the temple of *Wangain aimag* was built around 1790 and later 500-600 lamas belonged there. 600 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 121 in 1938.

Wangain highstreet (Wangain örgön gudamj) leading East of the *Shar ordon*, on which this *aimag* temple was situated, was one of the principal streets in Züün Khüree. The wooden yurt-shaped temple of the *aimag* survived, and became used as storage of the nearby Circus which was operated in the remained temple of *Ekh Daginiin aimag*. Nowadays, the temple of *Wangain aimag* operates as the main assembly hall (*Tsogchin*) in Züün Khüree *Dashchoilin* monastery (N 47° 55.628', E 106° 55.240') which opened its gates in 1990. According to its lamas the *aimag* was famous for its 12 volumes of the Prajñāpāramita sūtra written in vermilion or red colour ink (*Ulaan yüüm*, T. *yum*), and lots of unique and precious religious artefacts. Eminent scholars like Agwaantüwden (T. ngag-dbang thub-bstan, 18-19th centuries), known as *Wangain rawjambaa*, lived in this *aimag* and compiled numerous books, biographies and chanting texts, all of which they wrote in Tibetan. According to Dendew (Nawaan, 1961, p. 11.), a talented sculptor, Minjüür *agramba* lived in *Wangain aimag*, too.

23. Erdene khuwilgaanii aimag or Khuwilgaanii aimag

Khuwilgaanii aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *hwu-bil-kaang*), marked with letter TSA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1736. Sereeter claims (1999, p. 43.) that its founder was *Erdene khuwilgaan lam* Minjüürdorj, who was one of the seven great *khutagts* of *Ikh shaw'* (for further information see Dashbadrakh, 2004, p. 168.). Its main tutelary deity was *Chagdar/Chagdor khorchin* (T. *phyag-rdor* 'khor-chen, Skr. Vajrapāṇi with his attendants) and its main protector was *Damjan/Damjin*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Dültsegiin jas*, *Khangaliin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, and *Dar' ekhiin nünain jas* (or *Nügnee jas*).

The National Archives preserves 295 texts related to this *aimag*. The Manchu catalogue (M-122) contains the titles of 224 texts written between 1806 and 1908. The first text was written in 1806 and contains information about the silver and brick tea property profit from the sold livestock. There are texts related to *Ikh jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Düütsengiin jas*, *Nügneer jas*, *Yerööl* and *Nügneer khural*, mainly about their silver and brick tea properties, and herds and flocks. A list of the leaders of every ten courtyard is available in the collection (1857) as well as a list of offerings offered by families to renovate the *aimag* temple in 1911. The catalogue (A-110) of the Bogd khaan's period lists 26 texts discussing mainly financial topics such as the incomes and expenses, and changes in the livestock. *Khangaliin jas* is mentioned in some titles. A register of lamas was compiled in 1920 with Tibetan letters. The catalogue (SKh-223) of the Modern Period contains 45 texts. They were all written between 1926 and 1938 and give account about the *aimag*'s incomes and expenses, herds and flocks, and silver accessories (1930). The united tax was also mentioned in that year. Livestock given to lamas who disrobed was recorded in 1930. Moreover there are yearly registers of lamas (1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1938).

According to Pürew, the *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. Chinggis Khaan University (Chingis khaan deed surguul') stands on its site today. (N 47°55.593', E 106°55.331'). 400 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 25 in 1938.

24. Bargiin aimag

Bargiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *wa-rko*), marked with letter TSHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in the turn of 18th century as Sereeter claims (1999, p. 44.). Nobles, a contemplative lama (*dayanch*) named Dondom of Ilden wangiin khoshuu of Tsetsen khan aimag, and other *barga* people (an ethnic group living in the area of present East Mongolia and Inner Mongolia, China) who lived within and out of the Mongolian border established it. Its main tutelary deity was *Dorjdagzal toiwonagwa* (T. *rdo-rje drag-rtsal khros-pa nag-po*, 'Wrathful Vajra Power', 'the black wrathful one', the wrathful form of Padmasambhava, worshipped by the Karma Kagyü Stream), and its main protector was *Bernag Gombo* (T. *ber-nag mgon-po*, 'Mahākāla with the black cloak'). According to Gonchig lama and the *Bilgiin melmii* article, *Nyamabiiyugdorjpagam* (T. *rnying-ma-pa'i ? rdo-rje phag-mo*, Vajravārāhī of the Nyingmapa Stream), and *Lkham Shaljirmaa* (T. *lha-mo zhal sbyor-ma ? / lha-mo zhal 'gyur-ma ?*) were also worshipped here. According to G. Dewaasambuu, the current *tsorj* lama of *Gandan* monastery, the majority of lamas of this *aimag* belonged to the Karma Kagyü Stream. Some of the above-mentioned deities are worshipped especially by Karma Kagyü followers. Pürew claims that this *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. According to L. Dashdorj (born 1918), who lived as a lama in *Bargiin aimag*, 500 lamas belonged to it. Its temple was made of wood and was decorated by a golden top ornament (*ganjir*). Its main protector was *Gombo*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Khangaliin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Khuuchin nomiin jas*, *Nomon khanii sakhiusnii jas*, *Khuwilgaan toin tsorjiin san*.

75 texts are available in the collection of the National Archives about *Bargiin aimag*. Its Manchu catalogue (M-171) contains only six texts. They were written between 1888 and 1894, and provide data about the number of livestock (1888, 1894), progeny of sheep and goats (1891), and ceremonial expenses. Ranked lamas (*alban tushaaltan*) of the *aimag* were listed, too. The catalogue (A-111) of the Bogd khaan's period lists only five texts. One of them deals with the number of the *aimag*'s flocks. A list of believers with *ew* connection was compiled in the period of 1911-1921. Some documents clarify the requisites of ceremonies, incomes and expenses of the financial units and the number of resident lamas (1911). The catalogue (Kh-199) of the Modern period lists 64 texts dated from 1921-1937. There are texts of incomes and expenses, herds and flocks herded in the North and in the East, texts of the

temple's five kinds of livestock, and three kinds of livestock herded by the people living in Bayanzürkh Mountain (1921). Lamas were listed in 1930. The missing money of the united tax levied in 1929 was ordered in 1930. Tax of lamas who disrobed is also mentioned (1930). Lamas who were literate were listed in 1934. There are texts without exact date about the implements of ceremonies, and about the number of lamas. A list (without date) of people who were subordinated to abbots and reincarnations is also kept in the archives.

Annual ceremonies of the temple were registered on the 22 of the 9th month in the 27th year (1937). This register (Kh199/55) contains the name, date and number of expected and appeared participants of those seven ceremonies which were annually performed in the *aimag* temple. These were the following: *Khuuchin nom* ceremony was held for seven days from the 23rd of the last winter month when 15 lamas gathered from the 40 who were expected. *Tsederlkham* ceremony was held for a day on the 30th of the last winter month. Each lama of the *aimag* was expected to come to celebrate the Lunar New Year but finally 12 of them participated. *Magtaal* ceremony was held for three days from the 17th of the middle spring month. Holding together with *Namdollin aimag* (see below) each lama of the two *aimags* were expected to participate. All in all 80 lamas gathered together. (The description of the same ceremony in the text of *Namdollin aimag* says that the ceremony was held for three days from the 23rd of the month together with lamas of *Bargiin aimag* and total 100 lamas participated.) *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held for a day on the 30th of the last summer month together with *Namdollin aimag*. Every lama was expected to come. All in all 60 of them gathered for the ceremony. (The list of *Namdollin aimag* mentions another *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony which was held in a different time by the lamas of only *Namdollin aimag*.) *Khangal* ceremony was held for three days in the middle winter month. Many lamas were expected to come (number of lamas who appeared in the ceremonies are not mentioned). *Sakhius* ceremony was held for a day on the 15th of the middle winter month. Numerous lamas were expected to come. *Sakhius* ceremony was held for a day in the middle winter month and numerous lamas were expected to come. (The list of *Namdollin aimag* claims that *Sakhius* ceremony was held for a day in the middle winter month with the participation of a lot of lamas together with the lamas of *Bargiin aimag*). As it is clear from the above-mentioned list Lunar New Year was celebrated normally. Due to the lack of lamas (or perhaps the tradition as some ceremonies were visited by lamas of the neighbouring *aimag*) certain ceremonies were held together with the lamas of *Namdollin aimag* (see below).

The Faculty of Design of the National University of Mongolia (*Dizain Surguul'*), on the present Baga toiruu, stands on its site today (N 47°55.488', E 106°55.327'). 300 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 38 in 1938.

25. *Namdollin or Dashilin aimag*

Namdollin (or *Namdallin*, *Namdellin*, T. *rnam-grol gling*, 'island of complete liberation') or *Dashilin aimag* (T. *bkra-shis gling*, 'island of auspiciousness') marked with letter LA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1836 as Sereeter claims (1999, p. 45.). *Nomch nomon khan lam* Rinchinjaw of the subordinated areas and *Tsorj lkhaaramba lam* Agwaanbaldan established it. The 5th Bogd gave it its name. According to Pozdneev (1971, p. 52.), *Dashilin aimag* was established in the autumn of 1877 with 300 lamas. Pürewjaw claims (1961, p. 30.) that *Dashilin aimag* and *Namdollin aimag* are different names of the same *aimag*. The *aimag's* main tutelary deity was *Mintüig Sandui* (T. *mi-'khrugs gsang-'dus*, Skr. Aksobhya and Guhyasamāja) and its main protectors were *Gombo* and *Jamsran*. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Mintügiin jas*, *Sanjidmolomiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Khangaliin jio*, *Tsanidchinii jio*, *Diwaajingiin jio*, *Sanjidiin jio*, *Jiin tsogchidiin jio* (?), and the treasury (*san*) of *Nomch nomon khan*.

257 sources related to this *aimag* are available in the National Archives. The Manchu

catalogue (M-113) contains 179 titles. The texts were written between 1828 and 1911. The introduction of the catalogue says that the *aimag* was firstly initiated in 1811. It had fixed date ceremonies and occasional ceremonies. The *aimag* had 18 financial units, such as *Manaliin Donchidiin jas*, *Agrambiin Khangaliin jas*, *Ikh jas*, *Sanjidiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Tsanidchidiin jas*, *Tüdewiin jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Mintügwiin jas*, *Dorduwiin jas*, *Awidiin jas*, *Dülsengiin jas*, *Danjuuriin jas*, *Gamgaanii Maaniin jas*, *Gongor Namsrain jas*, *Mandalshiwaagiin jas*, *Toiwiin Chogdogiin jas*.¹⁷³ *Nomch nomon khanii san* is mentioned in titles, too. Comparing the above-mentioned financial units listed by Sereeter and the introduction of the catalogues, only some *jas*'s names are the same. It might mean that the *aimag* had less financial units in the last years. Even the date of the *aimag*'s first foundation is different in the three above-mentioned sources. The first text of the catalogue is a supervision of the livestock (1828). There is a list of people who were in *ew* connection with the *aimag* (1836) (remark: Sereeter claims that the *aimag* was initiated in 1836.). Implements which were required to hold fixed date ceremonies were listed in 1868 as well as offerings of devotees (1876). Sacrificial cake offerings and other requisites of everyday ceremonies were listed in 1880. There is a document which lists the incomes and expenses of the initiation and consecration of the *aimag* temple in 1887. The invitation of the Bogd (1888), the debate of *wan* Dorjpalam and the Bogd (1890), and quarrel of lamas in ceremonies (1891) were current topics in the 1890s. In 1891 it was strictly prohibited to follow religious views different from Buddhism. Wearing provocative robes was also prohibited. The usage of rug to sit on and the possessing of distinctive objects were prescribed in 1898. Duties of *tsorj* lamas and flourishing religious affairs were also current topics in 1898. Various languages and scripts were ordered to be thought to people (1899). Numerous accounts about the quantity of herds and flocks, ceremonial incomes (1903), and the combustibles of the temples (1908) are available in the archives. Lamas who participated in ceremonies of monastic schools and lamas who resided in the *aimag* were listed in 1908. A command was sent to this *aimag* in 1910 to stop lamas visiting the lay quarters. The *aimag* was requested to relocate lamas to the newly established monastic school in 1911. The catalogue (A-112) of the Bogd khaan's period contains 37 texts, dealing mostly with the *aimag*'s herds and flocks. Some texts were written in Tibetan script, such as a list of loans (1916), or silver and brick tea which were lent in 1917. Intimidation of lamas was prohibited. Regulations of *aimag* lamas, and determination of the order of the safe Niislel Khüree are also available in the archives.

The catalogue (SKh-212) of the Modern Period contains 41 texts written between 1921 and 1937. Their main topics are herds and flocks and economy (*sankhüü*) again. Holy books were ordered to be recited to ensure the longevity of religious dignities (1922-1924). Registers of lamas were compiled in 1931, in 1934, and in 1936. A forecast of incomes and expenses in order to develop clerical duties (1934), and a register of fixed date ceremonies (1937) are also available.

The latest list (SKh212/38) was compiled on 22 September of the 27th year (1937). It contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of the 26 annual ceremonies which were held with fixed date in the *aimag* temple. They were the following: *Bogd lamiin donchid chagchid* (T. *stong mchod phyag mchod* ?) was held on the 29th of the middle winter month. 20 lamas of the expected 50 participated in the ceremony. *Mintügwiin chogo* and *Gombo sakhius* ceremonies lasted for three days from the 15th of the last winter month and for three days from the 27th of the middle spring month. Every day 10-20 lamas gathered together of the expected 30. *Jasiin galiin takhilga* was held on the 24th of the last winter month by all the five appointed lamas. *Jigjidiin chogo* with *choinkhor* (?) were held on 25th of the last winter month with the participation of all the 13 appointed lamas.

¹⁷³ Exact meaning unknown. T. *khros* ?

Khuuchin nom was held on the 29th of the last winter month by 15 lamas of the expected 30. *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony was held from the 30th of the last winter month till the 1st day of the Lunar New Year with the participation of 70 lamas of the *aimag*'s lama community. *Düitsen yerööl* was held on the 14th of the first spring month, on the 17th of the first summer month, 25th (?) of the first winter month, and 7th of the middle winter month with the participation of about 15 lamas. *Magtaal yonzog* (?) was performed for three days from the 23rd of the middle spring month. About 100 lamas a day were expected to gather from *Namdollin* and *Bargiin aimag* as it was a common ceremony of the two *aimags*. *Sanjid* ceremony was held on the 26th of the middle spring month by about 20 lamas from the community. *Mintüigwa yadamiin nünnai* was held on the 14th and 15th of the first summer month by all the appointed four lamas. *Mintüigwa yadamiin dültsen jinkhor düwchid* (T. *rdul tshon dkyil- 'khor sgrub mchod*); i.e. the sand maóðala offering to Akåobhya, lasted for 15 days from the 9th of the middle summer month with the participation of about 10-20 lamas of the expected 15-30. *Gombo sakhius* was honoured with different practices (*tügden takhilga* ?) on the 29th of the last summer month by 15 lamas of the expected 18. *Bumbiin takhilga* was held on the 8th of the first autumn month by 15 lamas of the expected 18. *Naidan chogo* was held on the 30th of the middle summer month by four lamas of the expected 16. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held on the 8th of the last summer month together with the lamas of *Bargiin aimag*. About 70 lamas participated in this ceremony. *Jasiin Gongor Namsrai* was held on the 30th of the last summer month by all the appointed five lamas. *Choiyoo dügjüü* was performed on the 29th of every month by four lamas respectively. *Manaliin donchid* was held on the 4th of the last summer month by 15 lamas of the expected 20. *Dar' ekhiin mandalshiwaa* was performed on the 15th of the first autumn month when about 30 lamas of the *aimag* gathered together. *Jasaa sakhius unshlaga* was performed every day. Although this ceremony should be performed by at least four lamas this obligation had to be reduced due to the fact that so many lamas became homeless that it was impossible to find anybody who could have gathered permanently. Thus, the recitation was held by only one lama. *Mintügwiin chogo* with *Sakhius* was held on the 3rd of the last autumn month. 30 lamas were expected to come. *Awidiin chogo* ceremony was held on the 22nd of the last autumn month, when 13 lamas were expected to come. *Maidariin chogo* was held on the 3rd of the first winter month. 13 lamas were expected to come. *Khangal* ceremony was held for three days from the ...th (the number cannot be made out) of the middle winter month. A lot of lamas were expected to come. *Sakhius* ceremony was held for one day in the middle winter month together with the lamas of *Bargiin aimag*. Numerous lamas were expected to come. *Gombiin dordow* was held for four days in the first winter month when 13 lamas were expected to participate.

From the list above we can conclude that *Jasaa sakhius unshlaga* was performed every day by one lama as it was difficult to find others who were able to come permanently. *Mintügwa yadam*, *Gombo*, and *Jigjid sakhius* had main role in the ceremonial circle. *Chogo* rituals were held as well. Some ceremonies were held together with *Bargiin aimag*'s lamas. Maximum 30 lamas might belong to the *aimag* as the number of lamas who participated in ceremonies increased only when the celebrations were held together with *Bargiin aimag*'s lamas. There is no data about the number of participants from the 15th of the first autumn month. Most probably the register was compiled before the 3rd of the last autumn month.

The *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. The Zaluuchuud Hotel on the present Baga toiruu stands on its site today. (N 47°55.463', E 106°55.333'). 300 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 49 in 1938.

26. Bandidiin/ Pandidiin aimag / Bandid lamiin aimag

Bandidiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *pa-nthid*, Sanskrit origin: paóðita), marked with letter JA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 1st Bogd as Sereeter

claims (1999, p. 46.). *Bandid khuwilgaan* (a reincarnated lama from a ducal family from the subordinated area of the *Ikh shaw*) founded this *aimag* where his subsequent reincarnations lived. Its main tutelary deity was *Danag/ Darnag Shinjishid* (T. *dgra-nag gshin-rje-gshed*, ‘the black sworn enemy of the lord of death’, Yāmāntaka) and its main protector was *Jamsran* or *Jagonjamsran* (*Bilgiin melmii* article). The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Danjuuriin jas*, *Jasaa Tsogiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Sanduin jas*, *Namsrain dordowiin jas*, *Jamsrangiin Dorduwiin jas*. *Baga jas* is mentioned in the Modern Period, too.

The National Archives possesses only 20 documents regarding *Bandidiin aimag*. The Manchu catalogue (M-173) have only two documents. One of them lists the livestock with its herdsman (1897). The second one lists the articles and robes that were offered at different ceremonies (1902). Catalogue of the *aimag* from the Bogd khaan’s reign is not available. The catalogue (Kh-197) of the Modern period contains 16 texts. Their majority focus on the kinds of the livestock (1922, 1924). The immovable and movable properties of the *jas* (1926), the properties of *Ikh jas* and *Baga jas* were all listed. There is a contract which was conducted about herding the livestock of the *jas* by an informer (*medeechin*) and people’s representatives (*ardiin tölölögchid*) (1930). Registers of names, ranks and properties of lamas (1935, 1937, 1938), military tax (1936, 1937) are available from the 1930s.

The list of ceremonies of the *aimag* (197/12) was composed on 22 of September, 1937. It lists 13 ceremonies. *Yerööl* ceremony was held on the 14th of the first spring month, and eight lamas had to be there. *Magtaal* ceremony took three days from a favourable day of the first spring month, and 15 lamas had to participate in it. *Sakhius* ceremony was held on the 15th of the middle spring month, when 12 lamas had to gather. *Yerööl* ceremony was held on the 17th of the first summer month, and six lamas had to gather. *Sakhius* ceremony was held on the 8th of the last summer month, and 15 lamas were expected to participate in it. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held on 30th of the last summer month, and 20 lamas were expected to hold it. *Sakhius* ceremony was held in the last autumn month. *25-nii Yerööl* ceremony was performed on the 25th of the first autumn month. *Khangal* ceremonies lasted for four days in the middle winter month, ending with a *Sakhius* ceremony on its last day. *Yerööl* ceremony was held on the 7th of the middle winter month. *Khuuchin khural* ceremony was performed on the 29th of the last winter month, while *Tsedorkham* ceremony was held from the next day, from the 30th of the last winter month. From the list it seems that the numbers of expected lamas means the number of actual participants. Almost every ceremony lasted for only one day, except of the three-day *Magtaal* in summer and the four-day *Khangal* in winter. The most lamas (20 in number) gathered for *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony. Nor daily ceremonies, neither interrupted ceremonies are mentioned in the text.

Pürew claims that the *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. It stood just North of the present site of the Second Building of the Mongolian National University (N 47°55.414’, E 106°55.315’). In the *aimag* 300 lamas lived in 1855 and 35 in 1938.

27. *Choiyonsüngiin* or *Jamiyaansürengiin aimag* or *Süngiin aimag*

Süngiin aimag (T. ‘*jam-dbyangs bsrung*, ‘protected by Mañjuçrī’, or T. *chos-dbyings gsung*, ‘Teaching of the dharmadhātu’), marked with letter WA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated between 1781 and 1819 as Sereeter claims (1999, p. 47.). Nobles of Mergen wangiin khoshuu of Tüsheet khan aimag initiated its foundation to dedicate it to the 4th Bogd. The *aimag* was named after its main tutelary deity, *Jamiyaansü(re)n* or *Choiyonsü(re)n* according to the data in sources. The main protector of the *aimag* was *Lkham*. The following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Günregiin jas*, *Dülsengiin jas* and *Nünnain jas*. Two *khamba* (one *lowon* and one *tsorj*), two disciplinary masters, two chanting masters, one treasurer or bookkeeper (*nyaraw*) and some *duganch* belonged to the temple and the *aimag* had 100

lamas. According to Dendew (Nawaan, 1961, p. 11.), there was a *loilon* (T. *blos bslangs*) or meditational *maóðala* in this temple, which was made by Junai, the talented master of *Süngiin aimag*. Dariimaa claims (2003, p. 97.) that Junai was the layman smith, who created and dedicated the *loilon* to his *aimag* in 1924, in his old age. It was a casted and gilded golden *jinkhor* (*maóðala*), one of the last great artefacts which were made before the purges. It was placed to a small two-storey wooden temple.

The National Archives preserves 175 documents related to this *aimag*. The catalogue (M-108) of the Manchu period lists 134 texts dated between 1793 and 1908. In the introduction it is claimed that the *aimag* was named after its founder, Jamiyaansüren, which is an opposite statement of Sereeter. However, the exact date of its first initiation is unknown. Names of financial units mentioned in titles are totally different from the ones claimed by Sereeter. They are *Ikh jas*, *Awidiin jas*, *Mandir jas* (probably *Manzshir?*), *Dülsen jas*, *Myantug jas* (probably *Mintiig*), *Jan-diid-sansüm jas* (?).¹⁷⁴ The first texts were written in 1793 to prohibit lamas to trade on the market, and to forbid the old ladies to live inside the monastic district. In 1793 the 80th birthday of the Manchu emperor, Tenger tetgesen was celebrated. Due to this occasion every lama was forbidden to go out from the monastic districts and to trade. In 1795 lamas were forbidden again to visit the lay quarters. Lamas coming from the countryside were divided to *aimags* and monasteries to study Buddhism (1794, 1807). Lamas were forbidden to steal and to trade. The titles of healing rituals (*gürim*) that had to be recited for the well-being of the Bogd were listed in 1811. The *aimag* lamas who did not have any brick tea properties (*tsaigüi lam*) were listed in the same year. There is a register of the *aimag* lamas who came from the countryside (*shaw' khoshuu*) in 1821. People nominated as the train of the 5th Bogd were listed in 1831. In 1832 and 1834 lamas were officially prohibited to drink alcohol, to play archery (*sur kharwakh*), and to use unnecessary articles. Moreover, 1836 lamas were prohibited to invite women to the monastic district. People who participated in the renovation of the courtyard's fence were listed in 1835. Lamas who trade were recorded in 1838. Lamas coming from different *khoshuus* were ordered to settle down, and were divided to different *aimags* and *datsans* (1842). The income that was gained from sold livestock was recorded in 1855. In 1865 women were prohibited to enter the monastic districts. The *aimag* was informed about the name giving of *Ikh Tsogchin*, *Amarbayasgalant*, *Dashchoimbel datsan*, and *Dambadarjaalin* monastery in 1873. In 1873 women were forbidden again to enter the monastic districts. Loans and debates of people over loans were recorded. Lamas living in the *aimag* and in Gandan were listed in 1874. In 1880 lamas were prohibited to leaf and wander in the monastic districts. The company of the Bogd was listed when they visited Erdene zuu in 1888. A document came in 1890 to forbid lamas to arrow, to wear provocative robes, and to wear hanging cuff (1890). The *aimag* was informed about the debate of the Bogd and *wan Dorjpalam* in 1891. *Aimag* lamas were ordered to move back to their own *aimags* from other *aimags* in 1897. *Aimag* lamas living in Gandan were listed in 1898, and lamas with rug and pillows to sit on were listed in 1901. Lamas and beggars were surveyed 1908. The catalogue (A-113) of the Bogd khaan's period contains eight texts. Most of them list the number of the livestock. There is a text, written in Tibetan script about money put out on interest (1921). Ceremonial accessories, dismissal of the disciplinary master were also relevant topics in 1915. The catalogue (SKh-211) of the Modern period contains 33 texts dated between 1921 and 1938. There is a text, written in Tibetan, about the profit from the livestock (1921). *Günreg jas* and *Ikh jas* are mentioned in some titles. The *aimag* was ordered to transfer its herds and flocks to the communal handicraft co-operative (*artyel'*) (1930). Lamas and laymen of the *aimag*, the livestock and the moveable and immovable properties of the *aimag* were listed in 1931. Lamas who had to pay extra

¹⁷⁴ Exact meaning unknown. T. ? *gsum*

military tax were registered in 1932. Every lama of the *aimag* was listed in 1934, and in 1936. A chart of ceremonies with fixed date, a list of different ranks and duties, a list of lamas who should be erased from the lamas' register (1936), and a list of each *aimag* lamas, written in Tibetan (1937) were written in the 1930s. The expenses of *Güngereg jas* (i.e. *Günreg jas*) from 1930-1938 were listed in Tibetan script. There is a list which clarifies the original *aimags* and *khoshuus* of the *aimag* lamas, and the names of the lamas who paid tax and who were familiar with Mongolian script.

The register (Kh211/18) of ceremonies was compiled on the 9th month of the 27th year, i.e. 1937.¹⁷⁵ It contains the name, date and the number of expected and appeared participants of the 25 ceremonies which were performed with fix day in the *aimag* temple in 1937. This register is very significant among the others, as it contains details and purposes of certain ceremonies. According to the register all the appointed lamas appeared in the ceremonies which were the following: *Choinsüren* ceremony was held in every season with the participation of 12 lamas. The ceremony was aiming at increasing the knowledge and wisdom of lamas and novices. *Sakhius* ceremony was held on the 15th of every month with the participation of a lot of lamas. It was held in honour of *Lkham* to protect every sentient being and the whole lama community from any obstacle. *Mandalshiwaa* was also performed on the 15th of every month by four lamas to increase lamas' virtuous deeds. *Jasaa* ceremony was held by four lamas every day in honour of *Lkham* to protect from obstacles. On the 24th day of the last winter month *Jasiin galiin takhil* ceremony was held by 12 lamas to purify the financial unit and the treasury. *Khuuchin nom* ceremony with the reading of *Khangal* texts was held on the 29th of the last winter month with the participation of 12 lamas to clear away every obstacle of the coming New Year. With the participation of numerous lamas *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony was held on the 30th day of the last winter month in honour of *Lkham* to remove away obstacles of the coming New Year. *Tsedor* ceremony continued at dawn of the 1st day of the New Year. *Gongoriin tsogchid* was held on the 8th of the first spring month by ten lamas to increase the merits and fortune of the treasury, *jas* and the lama community. *Öndör geegenii daichid yerööl* ceremony was held on the 14th of the first spring month with the participation of many lamas to pray for him and to commemorate his beneficial deeds. From the 23rd of the first spring month *Magtaal* ceremony was held for three days with the participation of numerous lamas to commemorate the benefits of eminent masters (*shashniig barigch deedes*). *Lkham sakhiusnii dordow* was held for three days from the 24th of the middle spring month by 12 lamas, with sacrificial cake offering to *Lkham* who increased the merits and fortune of religion, the financial unit and the treasury. *Jidar*, *Shalsh* ceremonies were held on the 8th of the last spring month by ten lamas. *Gongoriin tsogchid* was held on the 10th of the first summer month by ten lamas, for the same purpose described above. *Günreg* ceremony was held on the 14th of the first summer month by ten lamas to lift sentient beings from bad rebirth to a good one, and to save them from every inconvenient rebirth. On the 17th of the first summer month the *8-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl* ceremony was held by numerous lamas to commemorate his beneficial deeds. *Ikh sakhius* ceremony was held in the middle summer month by a lot of lamas when *Lkham's* text was recited with special melody to encourage her to achieve her duties and to remove obstacles in the middle of the lunar year. *Mandalshiwaa* ceremony was held by four lamas on the 4th of the last summer month for the same purpose mentioned above. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held with the participation of numerous lamas on the 30th of the last summer month to collect merits and good luck. *Gongoriin tsogchid* was held on the 25th of the first autumn month by ten lamas for the same purpose which was described above. *Lkhawawiin düitsen yerööl* ceremony was held on the 22th of the last autumn month by numerous lamas. Its purpose was the same as it was

¹⁷⁵ This document looks different from the others. The name of *Gandan* is not mentioned but headtitles are.

described in the case of the above-mentioned *düitsen yerööl*s. *Zuliin düitsen* was held on the 25th of the first winter month with the participation of a lot of lamas. Its purpose was the same as it was described in the case of the above-mentioned *düitsen yerööl*s. *Gongoriin tsogchid* was held on the 29th of the first winter month by ten lamas for the purpose described above. *Danshigiin khangal* was held for three days from the 3rd of the middle winter month worshipping the wrathful deities asking them to protect every sentient being from obstacles. *Khachin bagshiin düitsen yerööl* was held on the 7th of the middle winter month with the participation of lots of lamas (as described above).

It is clear from the document that *Choinsüren* was celebrated four times a year as the main tutelary deity of the *aimag*. *Lkham* as the main protector has significant role as well, for example her texts were recited on the everyday ceremony. Besides, other protectors such as *Gongor*, *Namsrai*, *Jidar* and *Shalsh* were also celebrated. *Gongoriin tsogchid* was held in every first month. *Düitsen yerööl* ceremonies were held in honour of Buddha, Tsongkhapa, Öndör geegen, the 8th Bogd, *Khachin bagsh* and other eminent masters of the past. Usually four, ten or twelve lamas participated in the ceremonies but the majority of lamas came to gather only for bigger events. The total number of the lamas who belonged to the *aimag* is unclear. Number of participants is not mentioned from the 25th of the first winter month as it was compiled in September, 1937. *Nünnai* and *Loilon* are not mentioned in the text at all.

According to Pürew, the *aimag* had a wooden yurt-shaped temple. The Second Building of the National University of Mongolia stands on its site today (N 47°55.359', E 106°55.350'). Choisüren lama (1916-2007), who lived in *Süngiin aimag* and studied in *Dashchoimbel datsan* until 1937, also claims that *Süngiin aimag* had a yurt-shaped wooden temple. 600 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 123 in 1938.

28. *Lam nariin aimag*

Lam nariin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: *bla-ma nar*), marked with letter SA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd Bogd as Sereeter claims (1999, p. 48.). The *khamba nomon khan* who was invited from Tibet, and other lamas with the title of *lowombo* (T. *slob-dpon-po*?) founded the *aimag*, which got its name from the 2nd Bogd. Its main tutelary deity was *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed* / *Tsegmid* and its main protector was *Lkham*. According to Sereeter and the introduction of the Manchu catalogue (M-110) of the *aimag* it had the following financial units: *Ikh jas*, *Dorduwiin jas*, *Naidan chogiin jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Gachin khambiin jas*, *Lkhamiin shalshimiin jas*, *Zunii Sakhiusnii tsawiin jas*, *Öwliin Sakhiusnii tsawiin jas*, *Khürdnii jas*, *Khangaliin jas*, *Tüdewiin jas*, *Dültsegiin jas* (M-110: *Ikh dültsen jas*), *Maidariin jas* (M-110: *Jambiin chogiin jas*), and *Jamgan Renbuuchiin jas* (M-110: *Zemgüin rimbüüchniin jas*). It is not clear who Jamgan / Zemgüin rinpoche was. Sereeter also mentions *Yerööliin jas*, *Danjogiin jas* (?), probably *Danshigiin jas*, *Sanjidiin jas*, *Ayuushiin donchidiin jas*, and *Khamba nomon khanii san*. The introduction of the Manchu catalogue adds *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Nügneen chogiin jas*, *Mintügwiin jas*, *Pogiin jas*, *Gachin khamba lam nariin jas*, and *khuwilgaan Luwsanjamts*.

Related to *Lam nariin aimag* 252 texts are available in the National Archives. The Manchu catalogue (M-110) bearing the title *Ikh lam nariin aimag* contains 141 texts written between 1798 and 1911. According to its introduction the *aimag* was firstly initiated in 1781, when five Tibetan lamas initiated it with their deliberation. They offered a painted-scroll of *Naidan jüdüg*, a painted-scroll and a sculpture of *Lkham*, several accessories of worship, a bell and other equipment. Therefore, the name of the *aimag* became *Lam nariin aimag*. It had its fixed date ceremonies and occasional ceremonies, its own financial units, incomes and expenses, and livestock. The following duties were fulfilled in the *aimag*: chief lama, vice lama, disciplinary master, chanting master, shrinekeeper, bookkeeper, offering preparer, and

doorkeeper. The oldest text, written in 1798, lists the lamas' properties. The 5th Bogd laid the basis of the lamas' regulation in 1827 and in 1838. Lamas gave offerings to create the object of worship (*shüteen*) of the *aimag* in 1870. Sexual relationship of lamas and women were strictly prohibited in 1873. The *aimag* was informed about the nomination and initiation of Baldanchoimbel as *Yonzon khamba lam* in 1875. (According to other sources he was actually nominated in 1865.). In 1891 people were nominated to direct the *otog* and *shaw*' areas of *Yonzon khamba nomon khan* Baldanchoimbel. An inventory of sculptures and objects of worship was compiled in 1890. Lamas were prohibited to wear provocative robes on monastic sites (1891). In 1892 they were prohibited again to wear these robes and to curse. A list written in Tibetan script clarified believers who had *ew* connections (1895). Various scripts and carving were to be taught in lamas' school (1899). Herds and flocks of *Yonzon khamba* with the names of their herdsmen; incomes and expenditures of *Yonzon khamba*'s treasury (1903), and the New Year greetings of *Yonzon khamba*, *Balam ded khamba*, and *Gün da lam* (1908) were recorded. In 1911 the *aimag* was requested to send lamas to the new monastic school.

The catalogue of the Bogd khaan's period (A-115) lists 59 texts about *Lam nariin aimag*. They mainly discuss the *aimag*'s incomes and expenses. Some of them are in Tibetan transliteration. *Ikh jas*, *Dülsen jas*, *Baga jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Dechingülsengiin jas* (?)¹⁷⁶ are mentioned in titles. There is a document supervising *Dechingülsengiin jas*, while other documents require the related *khoshuus* to send lamas to the newly established temple (1917, 1919).

The catalogue (Kh-204) of the Modern period contains 52 texts dated between 1922 and 1936. They inform us about the herds and flocks that were herded in Northern and Eastern pastures. There is a command which came to the *aimag*'s lamas in 1922 (it was written with typewriter). Livestock and other properties, the discipline of the lamas (1923), the moveable and immovable properties of *Yonzon khamba lam*'s treasury (1926, 1927) are listed. The Journal of the Lamas (*Lam nariin setgüül*) which was published in 1936¹⁷⁷ is also available in the collection (80 pages). Incomes and expenses of different ceremonies were recorded in 1927. Ceremonies, lamas and ordinary people were listed (1935, 1936-9).

Fixed date ceremonies of the *aimag* were listed in 1937. *Magtaal* ceremony was held for seven days from the 16th of the last winter month. 92 lamas were expected to come. During *Khuuchin nom* ceremony *Choiyoo dügjüü* was performed on the 29th of the last winter month by 10 appointed lamas. *Tsejig dorom* was performed on the 1st of first spring month when 92 lamas were expected to gather. *Yerööl* ceremony was held on the 14th of the first spring month. 92 lamas were expected to celebrate together. *Sojintoi Manal* ceremony was held on the 8th of the first summer month by all the ten lamas who were expected to come. *Danjug* was held on the 13th of the first summer month by all the eight lamas who were expected to come. *Günreg* ceremony was held on the 4th of the last summer month. Four lamas were expected to participate in it. However, the ceremony was cancelled due to financial reasons. *Sakhius* ceremony was performed on the 8th of the last summer month. 92 lamas were expected to come. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held on the 30th of last summer month, and 92 lamas had to participate. *Nünnai* was held on the 22nd of the last autumn month, when 92 lamas were expected to gather together. *25-nii düitsen yerööl* was held on the 25th of the first winter month, when 92 lamas had to gather. *Danshigiin khangal* ceremony was held at the beginning of the middle winter month. 92 lamas were expected to celebrate. *Sakhius* ceremony was held on the 15th of the middle winter month. 92 lamas were expected to participate. *Sakhiusnii dordow* was also held, but its exact date was not prescribed. 12 lamas had to hold this ceremony. *Ayuushiin sachog* was held for seven days in summer or

¹⁷⁶ Exact meaning unknown. T. *bde chen* ?

¹⁷⁷ According to the catalogue this journal was published in 1926. Actually, it was published in 1936.

autumn followed by *Ayuushiin dültson* for seven days. 21 lamas were needed to hold the ceremony. Only a five-day ceremony was held as the treasury could not finance celebrations of the other days. *Düitsen yerööl* of the 8 Bogds, *Dalain gonchig yerööl* (?), *düitsen* of Jamba rinpoche (?) and Yonzon khamba were held on the days of their passing aways. 62 lamas were expected to come. *Jas* and *Jasaa sakhius* were held every day. From this list we can conclude that 92 lamas belonged to the *aimag* temple. Among the 17 ceremonies *Magtaal* was held for seven days in winter. Sand mandala of *Ayuush* was prepared here. Two ceremonies were not held in 1937 due to the lack of fund. Several commemorations were held in the *aimag* temple.

According to Pürew, the wooden yurt-shaped *aimag* temple stood to the North of where the National University of Mongolia now stands (N 47°55.415', E 106°55.210'). 300 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 47 in 1938.

29. *Mergen nomon khanii aimag, Ikh Mergen nomon khanii aimag, Nomon khanii aimag*

Mergen nomon khanii aimag ('*aimag* of the wise lord of religion', Tibetan transliteration: *no-mong khaang*), marked with letter ZHA of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated during the reign of the 2nd Bogd as Sereeter claims (1999, p. 49.). Tseweendorj *lamtan* initiated it. He was the 3rd incarnation of *nomon khan khutagt* of *Bereiwen* (T. '*bras-spungs*) monastery (in today's Khentii aimag), who was one of the seven great *khutagts* of *Ikh shaw*' (for further information on him see Dashbadrakh, 2004, p. 162.). The main tutelary deity of the *aimag* was *Demchig garaw* (T. *bde-mchog dkar-po*, a white form of Cakrasaṃvara) and its main protector was *Gombo*. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Dültseniin jas*, *Mergen nomon khanii lamiin san*.

The National Archives preserves 130 texts related to this *aimag*. According to the introduction of its Manchu catalogue (M-111) the date of the first initiation of the *aimag* is unknown. Chief lama, vice lama, disciplinary master, chanting master, offering preparer, shrinekeeper, *nyaraw*, and cook were the appointed staff of the *aimag*. Registered lamas were divided into the *aimag* temple and to monastic school. Fixed date ceremonies and occasional ceremonies were held in the *aimag* temple. Among the 71 texts dated between 1826 and 1911 *Ikh jas*, *Gombiin dordowiin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, and *Dültsen jas* are mentioned as well as *Mergen nomon khaanii khüree*.¹⁷⁸ The very first text lists the amount of brick tea sold in 1826. There is a register of the brick tea and silver incomes and expenses of the *jas*, founded by Luwsan and Tserendorj *nyaraws* (1859). An inventory of accessories is also available (1883). Offerings dedicated to the foundation of the *aimag* (most probably that of the *aimag* temple) were listed in 1893. In 1908 resident lamas (*dewsgerten lam*) and ordinary lamas were counted (1908), whilst in 1910 the *aimag* was ordered to help to cover the costs of *Tümen gelengiin khailan* ceremony. In 1911 the livestock of the *aimag* was counted.

The catalogue of the Bogd khaan's period (A-114) lists 18 texts, which mainly deal with the number of the livestock, the incomes and the expenses. In 1915 the costs of the ceremony dedicated to the longevity of the Ekh dagina were recorded, while in 1917 the livestock of the *khamba nomon khan* was listed. The catalogue (SKh-219) of the Modern period contains 41 texts written between 1921 and 1936. In 1924 the accessories of the temple were invented. From the 1930s registers of lamas were prepared several times. In 1930 the *aimag* lamas were registered based on their occupation, properties and family ties. In 1931 the male and female inhabitants of the *aimag* were counted. In 1932 lamas and the military tax they had to pay were recorded, and ceremonies were listed. Lamas were listed again in 1936, and another list without date is available with lamas' names and positions.

The list of the *aimag* (210/36) mentions 15 ceremonies which were held in 1937. From

¹⁷⁸ Probably *Mergen nomon khaan* had a monastic city in the countryside.

the expected 109 lamas 50 gathered for *Magtaal* ceremony which was held for four days from the 17th of the last winter month. This ceremony aimed at reciting prayers for the benefit of religion and beings and mainly to ensure peace in the *aimag*. This ceremony lasted only for three days in 1937 due to financial reasons. Four prescribed lamas performed fire offering on the 24th of the last winter month to prevent losses in the *aimag*. Ten expected lamas held *Khuuchin nom* with *Dügjüü* offering on the 29th of the last winter month in order to save the donors from obstacles of the last year. Instead of the expected 109 lamas about 90 lamas held *Tsejig dorom* ceremony on the 1st of the first spring month. They offered sacrificial cake to *Lkham* asking her to save beings from every obstacle in the New Year and to make peace in the *aimag*. Twenty lamas of the expected 109 lamas held *Yerööl* ceremony to commemorate Öndör geegen's death on the 14th of the first spring month. About 60 from the expected 109 lamas participated in *Sakhius* ceremony, which was held on the 15th of the middle spring month in order to ensure the success *aimag*'s dwellers' activities. Four appointed lamas held *Sojintoi Manal* ritual on the 8th of the first summer month to save beings from illnesses. Four appointed lamas held *Nünnai* on the 15th of the first summer month to pray for the beings who had got bad rebirth and are hungry and thirsty (it can mean the pretas). 40 lamas from the 109 held *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony on the 30th of the last summer month in order not to be lack of any good. 40 lamas from 109 ones held *Sakhius* ceremony on the 15th of the first autumn month to ensure success in work and other activities of lamas and ordinary people. Four prescribed lamas held *Nünnai* with the same purpose described above on the 22nd of the last autumn month for three days. Ten lamas were expected to hold *Danshigiin khangal* ceremony for three days from the 1st of the middle winter month in order to the longevity of eminent masters and every lama. 14 lamas had to perform *Gombiin dordow* ritual in order to calm illness, increase merits, and ease bad thoughts. This ceremony lasted for four days in autumn or winter. All the expected 21 lamas performed *Demchoggarwuugiin sachog dültsen* for 15 days for long life. *Zonkhowiin düitsen yerööl* and the eight Bogds' *düitsen yerööl* commemorations were held according to the days when they passed away. According to the list *Demchoggarwuu*'s mandala was prepared here, and *Nünnai* was held more times a year. 109 lamas had to participate in some rituals but 90 was the largest number of participants.

According to Pürew, the wooden yurt-shaped *aimag* temple stood to the North of where the National University of Mongolia now stands (N 47°55.415', E 106°55.119'). 300 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 60 in 1938.

30. Örlüüdiin / Örlögüüdiin aimag

Örlüüdiin aimag (Tibetan transliteration: 'ur-lu-de), marked with letter 'A of the Tibetan alphabet, was initiated in 1651, as Sereeter claims (1999, p. 50.). It was one of the first seven *aimags* of Örgöö. The origin of the name is not clear: it could have been named after the nanny or nurse (örlög ekh) of Öndör geegen or after his general (örlög). Its main tutelary deity was *Sosorbaram* or *Baraishir* (T. *so-sor* 'brang-ma, Skr. Mahāpratisarā) and its main protector was *Lkham*. Gonchig lama's list adds *Gombo* protector. According to Sereeter the following financial units belonged to the *aimag*: *Ikh jas*, *Khangaliin jas*, *Magtaaliin jas*, *Zunii jas* (?), *Nünnain jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Dorduwiin jas*. Concerning Örlüüdiin aimag, the catalogue of the Manchu period (M-117) lists six financial units, which are the same as the above-mentioned ones, except from mentioning *Nügnein jas* as a name variant of *Nünnain jas*, *Zuliin jas* instead of *Zunii jas* which have to be incorrect. *Dorduwiin jas* is not mentioned in the introduction. Probably it was initiated later or only missed from the introduction.

Although this *aimag* was initiated during the lifetime of Öndör geegen Zanabazar only very few individual texts (15 in number) concerning its operation are available in the National Archives. The catalogue (M-117) of the Manchu period contains four texts dated between

1888 and 1893. According to the introduction of the catalogue fixed date ceremonies and occasional ceremonies had been held in the *aimag* since 1891 (supposedly this is the year of the foundation of the *aimag* temple). It had fixed date ceremonies and occasional ceremonies. Chief lama, vice lama, chanting master, disciplinary master, offering preparer, doorkeeper, and bookkeeper belonged to the *aimag*'s staff. The oldest first text is a list of the *aimag*'s livestock (1893). There is a list of the *aimag*'s resident lamas (1888), herds and herdsmen. The catalogue (A-175) of the Bogd khaan's period contains two texts. They are about ceremonies, equipment and silver put out on interest (1913, 1921). The catalogue (SKh-224) of the Modern Period contains 11 texts dated between 1926 and 1937. Some of them list the moveable and immovable properties of the *aimag* (1926), its livestock and courtyards (1927). *Ikh jas* is mentioned in a few titles. There is a list of lamas of the monastic authorities (1929). A list of the properties, occupations, and family members of each lama of the *aimag* (1930), a list of all the lamas (1936), and a chart with the ranks of lamas and that of fixed date ceremonies (1936-37) are the last texts of the collection. The internal rules of the *aimag* were also determined in this period (text without date, probably in 1925 as all the others).

The register (Kh224/9) of ceremonies contains the name, date and number of expected and appeared participants of the 16 ceremonies which were annually performed in the *aimag* temple before the end of 1937. According to the register there were not any ceremonies being interrupted that time. The ceremonies were the following: *Yerööl* ceremony was held on the 14th day in the first spring month with the participation of 20 lamas of the expected 50. *Ganjuur* ceremony was held on the 30th day of the middle spring month with the participation of 30 lamas of the expected 100. *Sosorbaramiin chogo* ceremony was held on the 15th of the middle spring month by 13 lamas of the expected 100. *Manal* ceremony was held on the 8th of the first summer month by all the expected eight lamas. *Chogo* was held on the 15th of the middle summer month by all the expected 13 lamas. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony was held on the 30th of the first autumn month when 30 lamas of the expected 100 arrived. *Khangal* ceremony with thanksgiving offering (*danrag*) was held on the 1st of the first autumn month with the participation of 20 lamas of the expected 50. *Sakhius* ceremony with thanksgiving offering was held next day, on the 2nd of the first autumn month when 40 lamas of the expected 100 gathered. *Magtaal* was recited on the 3rd of the first autumn month by 40 lamas of the expected 100. *Chogo* ceremony took place from 4-10th of the first autumn month with the participation of all the expected 13 lamas. *Namsrai* ceremony was held on the 15th of the last autumn month with the participation of all the expected eight lamas. *Dordow* ceremony took place from 1-4th of the first winter month by all the expected 12 lamas. *Khangal* ceremony was held from 3-6th of the middle winter month by all the expected 20 lamas. *Sakhius* ceremony was held on the 16th of the middle winter month with the participation of 40 lamas from the expected 50. *Magtaal* took place from 16-20th of the last winter month with the participation of 20 lamas of the expected 50. *Tsedor* ceremony was held on the 30th of the last winter month when 20 lamas arrived instead of the expected 50 lamas.

As an interesting feature *Sakhius* and *Khangal* ceremonies are distinguished in the text twice. It seems that the majority of ceremonies was held in the first autumn month. *Sosorbaramiin chogo* refers to the main tutelary deity of the *aimag*. *Magtaal* was recited several times. However, everyday and monthly ceremonies are not mentioned at all. In many cases 100 lamas had been expected to gather but 40 was the most, who came. For *Chogo* ceremony 13 lamas were prescribed to come. *Ganjuur* ceremony was held here which supposes the existence of the volumes of the *Ganjuur* in the *aimag*.

400 lamas lived in this *aimag* in 1855 and 47 in 1938. According to Pürew, the wooden yurt-shaped *aimag* temple stood where the National University of Mongolia now stands (N 47°55.372', E 106°55.131'). The sculpture of *Baraishir* from *Örlüüdiin aimag* is presently kept in *Gandan* monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist*, pp. 285-286).

Besides the above-mentioned *aimag* temples, many significant buildings were situated here. According to Dendew (Nawaan, 1961, p. 12.), in addition to the lamas' dwellings there were dwellings of the nobles (*noyon*), holy persons and reincarnations (*khutagt*, *khuwilgaan*), courtyards and private dwellings of lay and ecclesiastical feudal persons. Later from the 1920s and 1930s commercial small shops, taverns and co-operative units (*khoshoo*) also stood here.

Current Situation (30 Aimags of Züün Khüree)

GPS: N 47°55.620', E 106°55.255', elevation 1304 m (*Züün Khüree Dashchoilin khiid*)

GPS: N 47°55.609', E 106°55.177', elevation 1325 m (Circus college)

All *aimag* temples were closed in 1938 and most were demolished. The only extant buildings of the thirty *aimags* are three yurt-shaped wooden temple halls (that of *Wangain aimag*, *Erkhem toinii aimag* and *Ekh daginiin aimag*), and two small wooden buildings which were used as *jas* buildings next to the *aimag* temple of *Erkhem toinii aimag* in the old times. According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 114.), during the purges, after all the *datsans*, temples and *aimag* temples had been emptied out, it was decided that the artefacts, books and other belongings that remained intact were to be collected and transported to a central storage from around the 10th of the first summer month in 1938. For over a year carts and wagons delivered these religious objects to these three *aimag* temples and their courtyards until it was decided what to do with them: the piles of objects were either kept and transported to museums, annihilated, burnt or transported to Russia for other uses.

It was due to their use as temporary storage for the confiscated objects that these three *aimag* temple buildings survived the destruction. Later they were used for a variety of purposes such as circus (temple of *Ekh daginiin aimag*) or warehouse and stable for circus animals (temples of *Wangain aimag* and *Erkhem toinii aimag*). The temple of *Wangain aimag* was also used as the Mongolian Architects Union exhibition hall (Tsültem, 1988, picture No. 29.). In 1971 all the three surviving temples came under the protection of the city. After a survey to evaluate the condition of the remaining yurt-shaped temples in Ulaanbaatar in 1975-1976, the buildings were renovated in 1981-1982. In 1994, after the democratic changes, the buildings came under national protection.

In the remained temples of *Wangain aimag* and *Erkhem toinii aimag*, *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* (T. *bkra-shis chos gling*) monastery has been operating since 1990. *Wangain aimag*'s temple is today the main assembly hall (*Tsogchin dugan*), while *Erkhem toinii aimag*'s temple is the Temple of the Protector deities (*Sakhiusnii dugan*). As *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery was established in these two old temple buildings, it has 'inherited' and still uses the honorific name *Züün Khüree*. Two smaller yurt-shaped buildings of *jas* or financial units, that are joined together, also survived and stand just on the right of the temple of *Erkhem toinii aimag*. Today, they serve as the library and the monastery tailors'/embroiderers' workshop. A long rectangular building with an octagonal shaped structure at either end, and another longish part between them also survived. This stands at the courtyard of the monastery on the East and is used as a kitchen and warehouse. The lamas in this monastery are endeavouring to revive many forgotten rites and traditions to reintroduce them into present religious practice. One example of the revived special ceremonies now held is the ritual circumambulation (*Maidar ergekh*) of the future Buddha, Maitreya. This tradition was broken in 1937 and was revived in 1993.¹⁷⁹

The most significant event in the monastery's ritual year is the masked ritual dance,

¹⁷⁹ Today *Maidar ergekh* is only performed in large monasteries such as *Gandan* and this monastery in Ulaanbaatar, and few monasteries in the countryside.

Tsam, which attracts many people. Prior to this revival, the last *Tsam* was performed publicly in Mongolia in 1937. *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery first performed it again in the old traditional manner in September 2003 - on the 9th of the last summer month. The main tutelary deity of the monastery is *Jigjid*, and the main protectors are *Gombo* and *Lkham*.

The wooden yurt-shaped temple building of *Ekh daginiin aimag* survived but has been re-built and refurnished many times. It was used as a circus from the 1940s becoming the Circus College in the 1950s where new generations of circus performers were and are still trained. This building remains today and is still used by the Circus College. Several extensions have been added to the original building which are used for different purposes for example a night club, a bar and a food shop. Despite of these changes to the outer appearance, the round shaped interior with its red supporting pillars still resembles a temple hall and retains the atmosphere from the old time. It is more spacious than the other two temples of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery, which has plans to buy this old temple building and to establish a religious monastic school in it.¹⁸⁰

¹⁸⁰ A more detailed description of the site and its ceremonies is available at www.mongoliantemples.net.

GANDAN HILL, THE WESTERN MONASTIC DISTRICT

The name of this district of the city became Baruun Khüree ('Western monastic district') or Gandan (T. *dga'-ldan*, Skr. Tuāita). It was the place of monastic education and pure morality in the city. As for the origin of its formation in the 19th century as a district in the capital, Pozdneev claims (1971, p. 76.) that *tsanid* rites (T. *mtshan-nyid*, philosophical studies) were introduced to the *khüree* by Tibetan lamas, who arrived during the time of the 2nd Bogd with the leadership of Namjal *gawj* (T. *rnam-rgyal dka'-bcu*) and Rinchindorj *gawj* (T. *rin-chen rdo-rje dka'-bcu*). When their number reached fifty, the Bogd established a separate *aimag* for them in *Erdene zuu* (probably *Lam nariin aimag*). In 1756 he founded a temple for the study of *tsanid* (philosophy) in the area of *khüree* and ordained *Donkhor* Mañjuçrī lama as its head. Those who completed the course and took the examinations could receive a degree, which only the Bogd had the right to grant. Pozdneev adds that as Urga began to become a government and trading centre, the life in the *khüree* began to bear down on the learned lamas. After their request to the 4th Bogd he established in 1809 a large and a small temple for philosophical studies.¹⁸¹ The 5th Bogd enlarged the small temple and named the two philosophical temples, *Dashchoimbel* and *Güngaachoinlin datsan*. He also built his winter residence (*Didinpowran*) on Gandan hill in 1838 on the terrace of Dalkh (Dalkhiin denj) as well as the main assembly hall (*Tsogchin*) called *Gandantegchenlin* (R-912), which later became the name of the whole temple complex: *Gandantegchenlin khiid* or *Gandan khiid* (or *Töw Gandan*, GPS: N 47°55.242', E 106°53.689', elevation 1309 m)

In 1838, when Züün Khüree was moved to Tolgoit, some of the *datsans* were settled in Gandan (Pürew, 2004, pp. 23-24.) behind the fenced area, namely *Dashchoimbel datsan* (originally founded in 1756), *Güngaachoinlin datsan* (1809) and *Badma yogo datsan* (1806). Later the temples of *Lamrim datsan* (1844), *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* (1910) and *Migjid Janraiseg datsan* (R-913, built in 1911) were also established in Gandan. It was usual for the lamas of the three philosophical monastic schools to participate in the ceremonies and lessons of their home-*datsan*.

Its a fenced area of the main assembly hall along with the *Didinpowran* and the three temples housing later the stūpas for the relics of the 5th, 7th and 8th Bogds was located in the first courtyard, whilst education institutes or monastic schools were situated within the outer fence each within their own wooden fenced area.

According to Banzragch (2004, p. 15.), the territory of Gandan was 371×348 *ald* (1 *ald*=1.6 m) – around 1,200sq ms. Jügder's painting represents its extension, imposing temple buildings and the surrounding yurt-quarters (*aimags*) in the year of 1913. Gandan had around 2,000 lamas and numerous eminent Buddhist scholars graduated from its Buddhist Institutes.

Residences of high-ranking lamas and nobles were also situated in Gandan. According to Pürew (1994, p. 55., Pürew, 2004, p. 18.), to the West of the *Gandan* main gate there was the fenced-off residence of *Dilow khutagt* Jamsranjaw (1884-1965) and *Manzshir khutagt* Tserendorj (?-1926), while on the North-West side of Gandan there was the residence of *Sereenen otoch* (Doctor *Sereenen*), the 8th Bogd's doctor.

Women were not allowed to enter the whole area neither were laymen or merchants. The only date when devotees and laypeople could enter Gandan district was on one of the festival days of the Buddha - 15th of the first summer month - when they were allowed to visit the temples and *datsans* for worship and prayer.¹⁸² According to Dashtseren lama four policemen stood on the four sides of the Gandan complex to enforce the law against woman or merchants entering this part of the city. If a woman relative came to visit a lama, she had to

¹⁸¹ According to Oyuunbilig (Dashnyam, 1999, p. 251.), the first temple in this area was called Yellow temple (*Shar sūm*) being a philosophical temple built in 1809.

¹⁸² This day commemorates three events in Buddha's life on the same day: his birth; the day he reached enlightenment or became a Buddha; and the day when he died (parinirvāna).

shout out his name or call him from the gate, as they could only meet outside the complex fence or, if inside, in the presence of the policeman.

As it was described in Züün Khüree, the lamas lived in *aimags* depending on from where they had come. As numerous people moved to the capital, the districts became crowded in Züün Khüree and new districts with the same names as the Züün Khüree *aimags* had to be formed around Gandan to admit more people. (In the new Gandan *aimags*, the practice of settling incomers in the *aimag* inhabited by lamas from their locality continued). According to Pürew, 22 *aimags* (*Shüteenii, Dondowlin, Jadariin, Döinkhoriin, Tsetsen toinii, Anduu nariin, Dashdandarlin, Jasiin, Nomchiin, Sangain, Zoogoin, Dugariin, Choinkhorlin, Mergen khambiin, Biziyaagiin, Khüükhen noyonii, Erkhem toinii, Ekh daginiin, Wangain, Khuwilgaanii, Bargiin, Örlüüdiin aimag*) where the lamas lived, were situated around the central temples of Gandan and its monastic schools. However, old lamas state that Gandan had 30 *aimags* in the 1920-1930s. Thus, Pürew might describe a previous stage of Gandan. All the *aimag* were inside their own fenced-off area although they were of different sizes, with different number of lamas in each. In fact, the *aimag* names were the same as the *aimags* in Züün Khüree with the lamas who lived in them, belonging to one of the Züün Khüree *aimags*. In Gandan, the *aimags* had no temples. The lamas went every day to Züün Khüree to their *aimag* temple or to one of the monastic schools, if they belonged to one.

The area occupied by Gandan can be seen in Jügder's painting in detail. As it shows there were several stūpas in the North of the *Gandan* complex. As Pozdneev claims (1971, p. 76.), there were 28 stūpas on the West and North sides of Gandan sponsored and built by devotees. According to Dendew (Nawaan, 1961, p. 11.), these stūpas and prayer wheels surrounded Gandan with the White Stūpa assembly, called *Tsagaan suwragiin khural / Jarankhashar* (NR-960) in its North-West and the eight types of Buddha stūpas in its North-East.

In 1938, the government closed the monastery and the *datsan* buildings, mostly wooden constructions, were burnt and the artefacts destroyed or taken away. However, the stone buildings in the first courtyard and the temple building of *Janraiseg* survived. According to Pürew (2004, p. 73.), the stūpas of the 5th, 7th and 8th Bogds were destroyed in 1938. The relics, however, were saved and placed in the stūpa built for Abbot Gombojaw (1901-1980), which was erected around 1980 in the North-West corner of the court, next to *Zuugiin süm*.

Partial Reopening in 1944, Complete Revival in 1990

After the purge in 1937-1938 Gandan monastery was closed. In 1944 prior to the visit of the American vice president Henry Wallace, who had expressed a wish to see monasteries and temples in his Mongol visit being completely ignorant of the conditions there, a petition signed by N. Erdenepel and other ex-lamas was handed in to the Parliament to request the re-opening of *Gandantegchenlin* monastery. The partial reopening of *Gandan*, the only 'functioning' monastery was in fact forced upon Choibalsan by Stalin, who was himself forced by the request of the US delegation of President Roosevelt. So the authorities allowed it to re-open as a 'Temple of Worship' (*Mörgöliin süm*) in the summer. From this time Gandan monastery was a state-dependent establishment with a couple of lamas, and the only functioning monastery in the whole territory of Mongolia until the democratic change in 1990.

On its reopening in 1944, *gawj* N. Erdenepel (1887-1960) became the new abbot (*khamba lam*).¹⁸³ Others, like *gawj* T. Gombodoo,¹⁸⁴ R. Garamsed, and O. Dagwajanzan

¹⁸³ According to Soninbayar (1995, pp. 13-14.), Erdenepel lived in *Sangain aimag* and studied in *Dashchoimbel datsan* before the purges. He was the director of the State Library between 1927-28 and worked for the Ministry of Religious Affairs from 1929. He edited the Magazine of the Lamas (*Lam nariin setgüül*) together with

became its first lamas. According to Pürew's book (2004, pp. 73-74.), the leader of the communal handicraft co-operative set up for ex-lamas (*lam nariin artel'*), Erdenepel, became the abbot and its chief accountant, Gombodoo the disciplinary master (*gesgüi*). R. Garamsed became the *lowon* lama and *angi gewsh* G. Bat-Ochir and Luwsansüren lamas the chanting masters (*unzad*). *Gewsh* M. Galaaraid, Jinlaw, L. Luwsan, Naidan lamas also joined in the first years after the re-opening. According to Soninbayar (1995, pp. 14-15.) in 1924 Gombodoo was elected to be the representative of *Ikh shaw'* and in 1944 he became the disciplinary master of the reopened *Gandan*.

From 1950 a steady trickle of other lamas joined, such as *gawj*, *agramba*, Ts. Luwsangombo who became the main chanting master (*ikh unzad*), S. Rinchindorj who became the disciplinary master (*gesgüi*), and *gewsh* S. Shadüw, *angi gewsh* Sh. Lkhamaajaw, *gawj* T. Danigai, *gawj* G. Osor, *gewsh* Sh. Ishtawkhair, *rawjambaa* T. Danzan-Odser, *gewsh* G. Dontor and the artist D. Danzan.

After the re-opening of Gandan in 1944, Parliament decreed that Buddhist texts should be recited in Mongolian language, as one of the condition made for the partial reopening. Thus, the most important texts of the everyday chanting were translated from Tibetan. The first text was recited in Mongolian in 1947. By 1951 and onwards more than ten texts recited in the daily chanting were in Mongolian. According to the article in *Bilgiin melmii* (p. 5.), in 1951 the abbot N. Erdenepel, the chanting master Ts. Luwsangombo, Yadamsüren, T. Danzan-Odser and Sh. Ishtawkhair were appointed to carry out this ruling. In 1954, the chanting master G. Bat-Ochir, Khainzen, Sh. Lkhamaajaw and Ayuush lamas were involved in this work as well.

Through the efforts of N. Erdenepel and T. Gombodoo along with other lamas and believers, many old statues abandoned in the *Choijin lamiin süm* and other places were taken to *Gandan* monastery to enrich the collection of religious artefacts in the monastery. These included (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist*, pp. 285-286., Soninbayar, *Gandantegchenlin khiid*, p. 63.) the seven unique masterpieces (*doloos shüteen*) made by Öndör Gegeen namely the sculptures of *Ochirdar'* from the old Ochirdariin süm, *Ikhiin Zuu*, *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid* from *Ganjuur Temple (Ganjuuriin Ayuush)*, the *Manal/Manla* from *Noyon shüteen Temple (Noyon shüteenii Manla)*; *Dar' ekh* from *Dar' ekh* temple (*Dar' ekhiin Dar' ekh*), the *Ulaan Sakhius (Jamsran)* from *Baruun Örgöö, Baraishir* from *Örlüüdiin aimag (Örlüüdiin Baraishir)*, and *Namsrai* from *Sangain aimag (Sangain Namsrai, R-910 and NR-942)*; the sculpture of *Maidar*, the masterpiece of *Logshir Janraiseg* (T. *'jig-rten dbang-phyug*, Skr. *Lokeçvara*, a form of *Avalokiteçvara*) from *Dambadarjaalin* monastery (R-939); *Ochirdar'* with his consort from *Shaddüwlin* monastery (R-937); the five protectors of the *Öölöds*, namely *Gombo*, *Namsrai*, *Choijoo*, *Lkham* and *Yansan yadam*; the large sculpture of *Choijoo* made by Öndör gegeen from *Dondowlin aimag*, called also *Zurkhain Choijoo*, '*Choijoo of the astrologers temple*' (R-910); the sculpture of Öndör gegeen made himself at the request of his mother. From the ten appliques of wrathful deities, which decorated the old *Tsogchin* temple, the three remained ones (*Shalsh*, *Gombo*, *Ochirwaan'*) are also kept in *Gandan*.

In 1960 *gawj* S. Gombojaw (1901-1980), known as *öwgön khamba* ('old abbot') or *nomch mergen khamba lam* ('wise abbot') became the new abbot of *Gandan* (1960-1980). He

Shadüw és Rinchinkhorloo. In 1928 he became the disciplinary master of *Sangain aimag* and took *gawjiin damjaa* in 1933 in *Dashchoimbel datsan*. He disrobed in 1938, then became the abbot of *Gandan* on its reopening in 1944.

¹⁸⁴ Gombodoo or Gombodorj (1886-1965), who became the disciplinary master of *Gandan*, before the purges lived in *Dandarlin aimag*, participated in the ceremonies of the main assembly hall and studied in *Dashchoimbel datsan*. He was a clerk (*bicheech*) in the Ministry of Ecclesial Affairs (*Shanzodwiin/Shanzawiin yaam*). Later he became one of the disciplinary masters of the main assembly hall.

made several improvements.¹⁸⁵ Nowadays, *Gandan* monastery is the centre for Buddhists in Mongolia with its nine main buildings and around 500 lamas belonging to the different temples and monastic schools in the complex. *Tsogchin* temple, *Ochirdariin süm*, *Zuugiin süm*, *Didinpowran*, the library has survived the purges and still stand in a fenced off courtyard. *Janraiseg* temple also survived. After the 1990 democratic change, *Gandantegchenlin* monastery has rebuilt the old *Dechingalaw* or *Düinkhor datsan* (NR-942) which originally was part of *Züün Khüree*, and revived the tradition of the three Buddhist Philosophical schools, *Dashchoimbel datsan*, *Güngaachoilin datsan*, *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan*. The huge 16m high statue of *Janraisig* has been reconstructed in the original temple building and *Badma yogo datsan* was re-established in a building in the former *Geser süm* complex nearby (R-914). *Jüid datsan* (originally in *Züün Khüree*, presently in a yurt next to the Zanabazar Buddhist university) and *Manba datsan* (originally in *Züün Khüree*, presently just outside the walls of the complex) have also been revived within *Gandan*.¹⁸⁶

Among the many thousand lamas who once belonged to the monastic schools of *Gandan* monastery some who survived the purges, became lamas again after the democratic change in 1990. Our main data provider, Dashtseren lama had studied in *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* as well as P. Luwsandanzan (born 1921) lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery. Gonchig lama (born 1917), the main disciplinary master (*ikh gesgüi*) in the present *Dashoimbel datsan*, once belonged to the old *Dashchoimbel datsan* together with Choisüren lama (1916-2007) of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery in Zuunmod and S. Dagwa (born 1910) teaching master (*gergen*, T. *dge-ran*) of *Manba datsan*. Ts. Tserenpuntsog (born 1914 in the year of tiger) lama of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery in Zuunmod once studied in *Güngaachoilin datsan*. Ts. Dorj (1901-2007), lama of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery, Zuunmod, belonged to *Jüid datsan*. These old lamas were all interviewed and provided data on their *datsans*.

Having always been the most important centre of Buddhist education and the only working monastery for decades after some years interruption between 1937 and 1944, and the remained buildings several books and bulletins contain data about *Gandan*. Many photos are available in books¹⁸⁷ and in the collection of the Film Archives.¹⁸⁸ Paintings and sketches help

¹⁸⁵ According to Soninbayar (1995, pp. 16-17.), prior to the purges he lived in *Örlüüdiin aimag* and studied in *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* where he became a *gawj* in 1935. From 1951-1960, he was the director of the Tibetan Collection of the State Library and taught Tibetan language at the National University of Mongolia. The Union of the Religion (*Nomiin niileg*) was started in the 1960s with the aim of training young lamas and preparing them for exams in philosophical studies. *Gawj* Damdinsüren, *gawj* O. Dagwajantsan, Jigmed-Osor, D. Nawaandorj, *gewsh* Kh. Baldorj, Z. Pürewjamts, and Chogjaw participated as teachers, and, later, D. Tsermaa, Ö. Gündsambuu, Sh. Soninbayar, T. Bulgan and Yo. Amgalan. Furthermore, on the initiation of professor B. Rinchen, scientific activities began with the participation of the *Gandan* lamas with the aim of publishing Tibetan and Mongolian dictionaries, chronicles and other religious sources (*Bilgiin melmii*). During this time, efforts were made to ensure more lamas had the full vows. Consequently the abbot of the Barga territory, *doorombo* Luwsangetsog, and Garamsed lama gave *gelen* vows to eight lamas and the *getsel* vows to many other lamas. In 1970 the *Gandan* abbot along with the Buryad abbot, Gomboyev, initiated establishment of the Mongolian Buddhist University to educate lamas.

¹⁸⁶ There is also another courtyard, where lamas' dwelling quarter or dormitory has been built. The yellow coloured two-storey administration building of *Gandan* with Zanabazar Buddhist University is to the left of *Janraiseg* temple. *Jüid datsan* has been built West of it.

¹⁸⁷ Tsültem 1988: intr. 21 (*Güngaachoilin datsan*), 28 (panoramic view from *Janraisegiin dugan*); 36 (*Migjid Janraisegiin datsan*, *Lamrim datsan* and *Güngaachoilin datsan*), 82, 91, 180, 182, 185; Maidar: 58 (*Tsogchin dugan*, *Zuugiin süm*), 61 (Tsongkhapa statue, *Janraiseg datsan*), 90 (general view), 95 (prayer wheels); Sereeter: 58 (*Dashchoimbel datsan*), 74 (*Janraiseg datsan*), 76 (panoramic view from the South-West); Shepetilnikov (85), Dashnyam (251), etc.

¹⁸⁸ Film Archives K24226-K24240, some examples are: K24226 (general view from the North-West), K24228 (from the South-West), K24235 (*Güngaachoilin datsan*, *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan*), K24724 (eight stūpas behind *Gandan* complex), K24735 (*Dashchoibel datsan*, *Lamrim datsan*, *Janraiseg datsan*)

to imagine the arrangement of the old *Gandan*.

Hereby the description of the temples of the old *Gandan* monastery is given together with a short summary on their present state.¹⁸⁹ As *Gandan* was reopened and partially revived in 1944 and therefore could preserve many old ceremonies which are still performed.

Temple Buildings in the Main Courtyard

Gandantegchenlin, the Main Assembly Hall

Tsogchin (T. *tshogs chen*), *Gandantegchenlin* (T. *dga'-ldan theg-chen gling*, 'island of the joyful Mahāyāna'), *Tögs bayasgalant ikh khölgöniin süm*, *Bat Tsagaan*

The main temple or the great assembly hall (*Tsogchin*) was called *Bat Tsagaan* referring to the style of the building ('massive white'), similarly to the main assembly hall which was situated in the centre of Züün Khüree. It was, and still is, a low square shaped building with a gilded golden roof.

According to Oyuunbilig (Dashnyam, 1999, p. 251.), the *Tsogchin* temple was built in 1839. According to Sereeter (1999, pp. 75-76.), its main tutelary deity was *Ochirwaan* and its main protector was *Gombo*. According to Dashtseren lama, daily chanting was held here following the form set down by Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar in 1654, which is based on texts used in Tashilhunpo Monastery in Tibet, although he made some changes and special rules to suit Mongolian discipline.

The great treasury of the Bogd (*Ikh san*) financed the economic affairs of the monastery. Thus there were no *jas* financial units, belonging to the temple. From 1925, the *Tsogchin jas* and the three philosophical monastic schools financed their own operations.

Due to the fact that in the time of the Bogds *Gandantegchenlin* was subordinated directly to the main assembly hall, the National Archives does not owe individual catalogues about it from the Manchu period. However, some individual sources about *Gandantegchenlin süm* or *khural* is available from the Bogd khaan's period. Its catalogue (A-228) contains two texts without date. One of them informs us about the proper day of the establishment of *Khailangiin dugan*, while the other one mentions the renovation of a sculpture, and the establishment of a new temple. Supposedly, these two texts refer to *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* and *Migjid Janraisegiin datsan* which were built after 1911. The catalogue (Kh-196) of the Modern Period contains eight texts which were written between 1921 and 1937. They provide information about costs, printing activities, and equipment which were received from the administration office of the religious affairs (*Shashnii khereg erkhlekh gazar*, 1927). There is a list about the properties and the livestock of Gandan's palace, and its incomes. However, the most significant source is the list of ceremonies held in 1937 (Kh196/8). It contains the name, date and number of expected and arrived participants of 31 ceremonies that were performed with fixed date in Gandan. The register was compiled on 22 September of the 27th year (1937). As it is clear from the register the ceremonies of the inner courtyard of Gandan were performed in five places: in *Gandantegchenlin* temple, in the relics temple of the 5th Bogd, in the relics temple of the 7th Bogd, in the relics temple of the 8th Bogd and in the treasury (*san*). The ceremonies of *Gandantegchenlin* temple were the following (the ceremonies of the other four places will be described in the relevant place): in *Gandantegchenlin* temple *Tsogchin* and *Mandalshiwaa* were held every day with the participation of ten lamas from the expected 24. *Khangal* ceremony was held on the 8th of every month by all the expected 28 lamas. *Tsogchid* was performed on the 15th of every month by 11 lamas of the expected 24. *Baga Manal* was

¹⁸⁹ A more detailed description of the present-day activities of those temples that had been revived is available at www.mongoliantemples.net.

held on the 22nd of the last autumn month. *Tsogchid* was offered on the 3rd of the first winter month. Mongolian *Sandui* was recited on the 25th of the first winter month and *Tsogchid* was offered on that day, too. Mongolian *Sandui* was read again on the 7th of the middle winter month, together with *Tsogchid* offering again. *Tsogchid* was held on the 27th of the last winter month by nine lamas of the 24. *Yerööl*, *Maan*, and *Manal* ceremonies were held from the 1-15th of the first spring month by all the expected 24 lamas. *Maidar zalaakh yerööl* was recited on the 16th of the first spring month (to invite Maitreya), when each *gawj* was invited to celebrate. Thus, 78 lamas gathered for the ceremony. *Nünnai* was held from the 30th of the last spring month to the 16th of the first summer month by four lamas. *Janraisegiin dültsen* was prepared from the 17-30th of the first summer month by all the ten expected lamas. *Dudbung chamargadwa* (?) ceremony¹⁹⁰ was held on the 4th of the last summer month. Every *gawj* was invited, thus, 42 lamas participated in the ceremony. In all the five places *Tüi* was performed on the 15th of every month by five lamas.¹⁹¹

In the Treasury (*san*) the manager of the treasury (*sangiin daamal*) held recitation every day and the offering-preparer of the treasury (*sangiin takhilch*) recited texts every day, too.

At all the three stūpas *Mandal örgökh* was performed on the 1st of the first spring month with the participation of all the expected 14 lamas.

The temple was crowded by religious artefacts.¹⁹² It ceased religious activities in 1938 after which it functioned as a stable for horses for a few years. *Gandan* monastery was partly reopened in 1944 and daily ceremonies were held in this temple once again. That time the chanting was done according to the old tradition, to the degree that the restrictions allowed. Presently, the special monthly and annual ceremonies of *Gandan* are held in the *Tsogchin* temple with the participation of not just the lamas belonging to this temple but also of young novices from the monastic schools.

Relics Temple of the 5th Bogd

5-r bogdiin shariliin süm

This temple was built in 1840-41 as a palace for the 5th Bogd. After his passing away, his relics were placed here inside a stūpa. The building is made of earth and bricks and the roof is covered with green ceramic tiles with the top decorations being gilded in gold.

According to the above-mentioned register (Kh196/8) at the stūpa of the 5th Bogd the following ceremonies took place: *Khajid* was held on the 10th of every month by four appointed lamas. *Tüi* was performed on the 3rd of every month by two appointed lamas. *Demchig* ceremony was held on the 25th of the last winter month by five appointed lamas. *Gombo* ceremony was held on the 25th of the last winter month with the participation of 12 appointed lamas. *Tüi* was performed on the 15th of every month by five lamas. *Mandal örgökh* was held on the 1st of the first spring month with the participation of all the expected 14 lamas.

In 1938 the stūpa containing the relics of the Bogd was completely destroyed. The temple was reopened in 1944. It was renovated in 1986. The present name of the temple is *Ochirdariin süm* (Vajradhara temple) and is still used for *Gandan*'s daily chanting. The main

¹⁹⁰ Its type cannot be identified. *M. todbung čamaradqaba qurqu-du* (?), T. ?

¹⁹¹ It is not clear in the text, wheater this ceremony was held in all of the five places, or only in the relics temple of the 5th Bogd.

¹⁹² An inventory of the artefacts of the temples, called "An inventory of icons and statuettes in the Gandan-tegčingling and in the stūpas on the North of the Temple" was published by Rinchen (Rinchen, B. (ed.), *Four Mongolian Historical Records*. Čata-Pipaka Series, Vol. 11., New Delhi. 1959, pp. 14-58.)

deity worshipped here is *Ochirdar*', a statue of whom sits on the main altar. The statue, made by Zanabazar in 1683, was originally in the *Ochirdariin süm* in Züün Khüree before it was destroyed in 1938. However, the statue was found in *Choijin lamiin süm* in 1945 along with other precious artefacts and taken to Gandan by Erdenepel and Gombodoo lamas. There are many other old statues and painted scrolls in the temple also brought here from various old monasteries destroyed in 1937-1938. For example, *Logshir Janraiseg* (T. 'jig-rten dbang-phyug, Skr. Lokeçvara, a form of Avalokiteçvara), the primary object of worship in *Dambadarjaalin* monastery (R-939) was also found in *Choijin lamiin süm*.¹⁹³

Relics Temple of the 7th Bogd

7-r bogdiin shariliin süm

The temple was built in 1869 to house the relics of the 7th Bogd. Likewise, the building is made of earth and bricks and the roof is covered with green ceramic tiles with the top decorations being gilded in gold.

According to the above-mentioned register (Kh196/8) at the stūpa of the 7th Bogd the following ceremonies took place: *Khajid* ceremony was held on the 10th of every month by four appointed lamas. *Danjin* (?) ceremony¹⁹⁴ was held on the 12th of every month by five appointed lamas. *Damjin* ceremony was held on the 17th of the first spring month by 12 appointed lamas. *Tsogchid* was offered on the 12th of the middle winter month. *Tüi* was performed on the 15th of every month by five lamas. *Mandal örgökh* was held on the 1st of the first spring month with the participation of all the expected 14 lamas.

In 1945 and 1946, shortly after the two temples were reopened, a connecting corridor was built between *Ochirdariin süm* and this temple. Sacrificial cakes and other offerings were prepared here. In 1986 the temple was renovated.

The present name of the temple is *Zuugiin süm* (Buddha temple). The images of Buddha (*Zuu*) and his main disciplines, and *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed* / *Tsegmid* can be seen here. This is the place where the *Jasaa* is conducted i.e. where the lamas do the readings requested by individuals on a daily basis. Outside this temple, on the left side, there is the large plaster statue of Tsongkhapa (from Dambadarjaa monastery, R-939) surrounded by prayer wheels, and the stūpa containing the relics of Gombojaw, the famous abbot of *Gandan*. There are prayer-wheels surrounding it and the two temple buildings.

Didinpowran, Palace of the Blissfull Emptiness

Didanpowran/Didan lawiran (T. *bde stong pho-brang*, *bde stong bla-brang*)

The two-storey palace made of earth and brick was built in 1838/1840 as the winter palace of the 5th Bogd. The 13th Dalai Lama, Thub-bstan rgya-mtsho (1876-1933) lived here in 1904/5 having fled from the invading British force led by Francis Younghusband. The sources do not tell anything about the further function of the palace as the Dalai Lama left in 1905.

The above-mentioned register (Kh196/8) lists the ceremonies of *Gandantegchenlin*, the three relics temples and the treasury (*san*). As *Didinpowran* is the only building which apart of the above-mention four has been standing in the courtyard, one can suppose that it housed the treasury. However, it is also possible that the treasury operated in a bigger yurt.

The building of *Didinpowran* still stands in front of *Ochirdariin süm* and today is used for reciting texts requested by individuals. Before starting the daily chanting in *Gandantegchenlin* or *Ochirdariin süm*, the high ranking lamas wearing their ceremonial hats,

¹⁹³ In front of the temple there is an old incense burner (*boipor*, T. *spas-phor*) from another monastery named similarly *Dambadarjaa*, which existed once in Dundgow' aimag, Erdenedalai sum.

¹⁹⁴ Exact meaning unknown. M. *Dangjin*, T. ?

read morning prayers here, and then go into the shrine.

Relics Temple of the 8th Bogd

8-r bogdiin shariliin süm

This temple is not shown on Jügder's painting as it was only built in 1925 (or 1926) to house the relics of the 8th Bogd. According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 109.), when the Bogd died on the 17th of the first summer month in 1924, Luwsan, the famous sculptor of *Namdollin aimag*, made a gilded statue (*gündaa*, T. *sku-'dra*) of him and put his relics in a golden stūpa in this temple. (However, according to Geleta (Forbáth, 1934, p. 214.), the embalmed and gilded body of the Bogd khaan could be seen in the late 1920s in the *Choiijin lamiin süm* (R-915) behind glass.)

According to the above-mentioned register (Kh196/8) at the stūpa of the 8th Bogd the following ceremonies took place: *Sangdui* was performed on the 17th of every month by four appointed lamas. *Mandal örgökh* was held on the 1st of the first spring month with the participation of all the expected 14 lamas. *Tsogchid* was held on the 17th of the first summer month by one appointed lama. *Tünlkha* was held on the 8th of the last autumn month. *Tsogchid* was offered on the 3rd of the first winter month.

In 1938 the relics of the Bogd were completely destroyed. Later, after *Gandan* reopened in 1944, the temple became a library. Today, it has a rich collection of philosophical, historical, and scientific sources and texts. The temple contains many thousands of sūtras written in Tibetan, Mongolian and Sanskrit. The Derge-version (T. *sde-dge*) of the Kanjur is also kept in the library. Furthermore, the works of Indian, Tibetan and Mongolian scholars are in this library such as: Tsongkhapa and his two disciples Khaidüw Je (Khaidüw je, T. mkhas-grub rje, 1385-1438) and Gyaltsaw Je (Jaltsaw je, T. rgyal-tshab rje, 1364-1432); the works of the Dalai Lamas; the Panchen Lamas; and famous Mongolian philosophers like Agwaanbaldan (T. ngag-dbang dpal-ldan, 1797-1864); Agwaantüwden (T. ngag-dbang thub-bstan, known as *Wangain agramba*, 18-19th century); Damtsigdorj or Bar' lam/ Bragriin gegegen (T. brag-ri bla-ma dam-tshig rdo-rje, 1781-1848); and Zawa lam Damdin (T. rtsa-ba bla-ma rta-mgrin, 1867-1937). Some of the rare books have elaborately jewel encrusted front covers and are written in gold, silver or with inks made from the powder of the nine jewels. Moreover, there are numerous texts written in both Sanskrit and Tibetan. There are also some surgical instruments from the 16th century exhibited here. On the altar several old sculptures are placed.

Monastic Schools

Monastic schools stood behind the above-mentioned courtyard. The curriculum in each of the three monastic schools was based on the philosophical handbooks or manuals (*igchaa*, T. *yig-cha*) written by different eminent scholars from famous Tibetan monastic universities. Thus, *Dashchoimbel datsan* follows the same philosophical texts as of Gomang monastic school in Drepung monastery, while *Güngaachoilin* monastic school follows the same texts of *Loselling* in Drepung monastery, and *Idgaachoinzinlin* follows the system of Sera Jey (*Ser Je*, T. *se-ra byes*) monastic school of Sera monastery. The heads of the monastic schools bore the title of *shunlaiw* (T. *gzhung lugs-pa/ gzhung las-pa*).

According to Soninbayar (1995, pp. 66-67.) before the *dom* exam (*domiin damjaa*) in the three philosophical monastic schools, the lamas who studied in the *dom* classes were appointed to participate in the given feasts from the four great *dom* and the three small *dom*. The four great *dom* were the following: *Lyankh dom* which was held on the 4th of the last summer month, on the festival day when Buddha turned the wheel of Dharma; the 'Dom of

the 22nd day' (22-nii dom) which was held on 22nd of the last autumn month; the *Dom* of the 25th (25-nii dom) which was celebrated on the annual commemoration day of Tsongkhapa (zuliin 25-n), and *Jüshii dom* (T. *bcu bzhi ston-mo*), which was held on the 14th of the middle winter month. The three small feasts were held on the 19th, 20th and 21st of the middle winter month in *Güngaachoinlin datsan*, and on the 18th, 19th and 20th of the middle winter month in *Dashchoimbel datsan*.

In the Gandan philosophical monastic schools the exams (*domiin damjaa*) were taken till 1938.¹⁹⁵

Although *Badmayogo datsan* and *Lamrim datsan* were also bearing the name monastic school (*datsan*, T. *grwa-tshang*) these were places of exorcism, recitations and healing rituals (*gürem*, T. *sku-rim*) performed by a few lama (50-200).

Dashchoimbel Monastic School

Dashchoimbel datsan (T. *bkra-shis chos-'phel grwa-tshang*, 'monastic school spreading Teaching of auspiciousness'), *Züün datsan* ('Eastern monastic school'), *Ölzii khutgiin nomiig arwijuulagch*

Dashchoimbel datsan was established as the first Mongolian philosophical school by the 2nd Bogd and *Manzshir khutagt* in 1756 at Doloon nuur. It was named by the 5th Bogd and moved to the Gandan hill in 1837. The philosophical training and practice of the *datsan* is based on the handbook (*igchaa*, T. *yig-cha*) by Günchin jamiyaan shadaw (T. kun-mkhyen 'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa, 1648-1721) which is the same as the system of Gomang monastic school (*Goman datsan*, T. *sgo-mang grwa-tshang*). This *datsan* produced many famous scholars from among the estimated six thousand lamas who have been educated there, such as: *Linsrai Gawj Agwaanbaldan* (T. *gling-bsre'i dka'-bcu ngag-dbang dpal-ldan*, 1794-1864); *khamba nomon khan Agvaankhaidaw* (T. *ngag-dbang mkhas-grub*, 1779-1838), who was awarded the *rawjambaa* degree in Tibet; *Damtsigdorj/Damtsagdorj* or *Bar' lam/ Bragiriin gegegen* (1781-1848); *Dandar agramba* (1835-1916); *Angi Shagdar* (1869-1935); and *Zawa lam Damdin* (1867-1937).

The school's head bore the title *shunlaiw*, as in the other monastic schools. According to Sereeter (1999, pp. 57-58.) the main tutelary deity of the temple was *Jigjid*, and its main protector deity was *Gombo*. Soninbayar mentions (1995, p. 65.) *Sendom* as well.

The curriculum was divided into 14 classes with each class in the five elementary and four intermediate stages requiring one year of study: the elementary classes covered the study of the intermediate classes the topic of Pāramitā. After nine years study it was possible to take an exam, called *domiin damjaa*. Then, the lamas continued on to study the four advanced classes, one year for each, covering the Madhyamaka, Abhidharma and a part of the Vinaya. After this, the study of Vinaya, monastic discipline, was studied for a further five to ten years. Those who took a final exam in these special fields of study got the rank of *gawj*. The names of the 14 classes were the following: elementary studies: *khadag* (T. *kha-dog*), *shidiw/shidew* (T. *gzhi-sgrub*), *jumbarai/jümbri* (T. *rgyu-'bras*), *yuljin/juljii* (T. *yul-can*), *dondonju* (T. *don bdun-chu*); intermediate studies: *ok* (*gzhung*) (T. *'og-ma*), *gom* (*gzhung*) (T. *gong-ma*), *gawadamba* (T. *skabs-pa dang-po*), *dom* (*sdom*); advanced: *uma sarwa* (T. *dbu-ma gsar-pa*), *uma ninwa* (T. *dbu-ma rnying-pa*), *jod* (T. *mdzod*), *garamba ok* (T. *bka'-rams-pa 'og-ma*); professional level or *gaaramba*: *gaaramba gom* (T. *bka'-rams gong-ma*).

The National Archives contains 1233 documents related to the operation of this monastic school. The catalogue (M-90) of the Manchu period contains 907 texts dated

¹⁹⁵ The list of the lamas who took the *Dom* exam has been recently published. See Jigmeddorj, E., *Dashchoinpel, Gungaachoinlin, Idgaachoinzinlin datsand domiin damjaa bar'san lam nariin bürtgel*. Ulaanbaatar 2011

between 1826 and 1911. Its introduction confirms that the temple was firstly established in 1756, as the first philosophical school (*choir, gүн ukhaan*) in Mongolia. *Domiin damjaa* and *gawjiin damjaa* were held here. The school had its own incomes and expenses, livestock and other properties. The monastic authorities of the monastic school were nominated by *Ikh Tsogchin*. The following high-ranking lamas belonged to the monastic school: a chief lama, a vice lama with *lowon* rank (*tsol*), two disciplinary masters, three chanting masters, shrinekeepers, main and vice offering masters, cook (*zam*). The school had 16 financial units such as *Ikh jas*, *Janraisegiin нүннain jas*, *Donjid jas*, (Sereeter: *Donchidiin jas*), *Mintügwiin/Mintügiin нүннain jas*, *Mönkh Ganjuuriin jas*, *Shinii naimnii Ganjuuriin jas*, (*Mönkh*) *Erdeniin Ganjuuriin jas*, *Liidariin jas* (?),¹⁹⁶ *Sanjid jas*, *Ikh pogiin jas* (Sereeter: *Ikh chogiin jas*), *Megzemiin (büteeliin) jas*, *Tüwiin chogiin jas*, *Düdowiin jas* (probably *Tüdewiin jas*), *Arwanii jas*, *Arwan gurawnii Günregiin jas*, *Günregiin jas*, *Dugan büreesnii jas*, etc. Sereeter mentions *Datsangiin arwanii Günregiin jas*, *Datsangiin Ganjuuriin jas*, *Dördiwiin jas*, *Gurawnii Günregiin jas*, *Maidariin jas*, *Mönkh Dar' ekhiin jas*, too. Until 1911 the monastic school operated without any changes.

The list of the livestock of *Mönkh нүннain jas* is the oldest text (1826). Among the numerous texts which list the incomes and expenses and the progeny and loss of the livestock, more interesting texts are also available such as lists of participants of *Düitsen yerööl* ceremonies (1862, 1863), a list of stallions prepared for military service (1871), a list of the livestock and silken scarves handled by the disciplinary masters of the *datsan* (1876), a register of accessories of financial unit(s) (1876), and a list of brick tea sold to the financial units of the *datsan* in standard city price (1879). A list of butter collected from herdsmen (1880), a register of sold and offered goods are also available (1883). A permission of taking the *agrambiin damjaa* in the *datsan* and giving alms to the lamas who participated in the ceremonies was issued in 1880. Regulations of lamas (*lam nariin dagaj yawakh deg juram*) were determined in 1896 and 1898. Rules of the *datsan*'s ceremonies were determined in 1888. A list of goods sold by the financial unit to cover the requisites of ceremonies (1895), and a list of offerings given by patrons (1901) are available as well as the list of incomes and expenses flowing in during the *Domiin damjaa* exam (1901). A list of brick tea donations dedicated to the renovation of the temple building confirms that the temple building was renovated in 1901. Silver, brick tea and other properties, rented out camels of *Migzemiin бүteel jas* (without date) were listed as well as the temple's lamas in 1903.

The catalogue (A-79) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 129 texts. *Büteel jas*, *Ikh pogiin jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Donchidiin jas*, *Ikh jas*, *Maidariin jas*, *Mintügwiin jas*, *Migzemiin бүteel jas*, *Erdeniin Ganjuuriin jas*, *Arwanii Günreg jas* are mentioned in titles. Texts about silver, livestock, and brick tea which were put out on interest enrich the collection (1916). A text indicates that *toin* Dowdon initiated the recitation of *Erdeniin Ganjuur* to be eternal and established an individual *jas* to finance this ceremony. Jadamba, who took *gawjiin damjaa* in *Dashchoimbel datsan* was ordered to teach in school in 1911. Other documents express the wish for allowance of taking *agrambiin damjaa* in the monastic school. Ranks and titles of the *datsan*'s lamas, the names of lamas who wanted to take *gawjiin damjaa* were recorded in 1912. Many documents express the wish to educate the fully-ordained lamas who wanted to take *gawjiin damjaa* in *Dashchoimbel datsan* (1913, 1914, 1916, and 1918). Baljir *gelen* of the *datsan* was forced to participate in ceremonies and to be educated in Buddhism (1919). The *datsan* was required to prepare and send lamas who had studied in its religious school (*nom surguul*) to take *gawjiin damjaa* and to participate in the ceremonies of the *datsan* (1921). There is a list of offerings dedicated to the benefit of Ekh Dagina at the ceremony of her longevity (without date). From the several requests we can conclude that lamas studied in

¹⁹⁶ Exact meaning unknown.

religious schools first (*nomiin surguul*) and there was a special preparation for *gawjiin damjaa*.

The catalogue (Kh-192) of the Modern Period mentions 197 texts compiled between 1921 and 1938. There are usual calculations of the livestock (1921), data of *Büteeliin jas*, *Janraisegiin jas*, *Maidariin jas*, *Ikh jas*, *Mintügwiin jas*, *Tsangchid jas* (probably *Tsanidchidiin jas*), *Erdeniin Ganjuuriin jas*, *Güngaa jas* (?)¹⁹⁷, *Migzemiin büteeliin jas*, and *Baga jas*. However, there are orders of the collectivization of the livestock, and transferring the belongings to the Party school (*Namiin surguuliin khural nomiin khereglel*, 1921-8-1, 1923-10-17). A chart of progeny is also available (1924) as well as documents about incomes and expenses of the *datsan* and data about the decoration of the lamas. A document related to infringement of the law by lamas or ceremonial questions was written in 1925. There is a register of moveable and immovable properties of the financial units (1926). The properties and the livestock of *Jin choinjid jas* were listed in 1926. This *jas* ran the operation of *Jin choinjid* ceremony held by *gawj* lamas of *Dashchoimbel*, *Güngaachoilin*, and *Idgaachoizinlin datsans*. As for the 1930s there is a list of gifts and alms (1933), notifications of giving certifications (*üinemlekh olgason*) to the lamas who took *gawjiin damjaa* in *Dashchoimbel datsan* (1936), documents about the moving of the *datsan*'s lamas, and a report about the economy (*sankhüüi*) of ceremonies (1936). Certification was given to lamas who took *gawjiin damjaa* in 1937. They belonged to different *aimags* and *datsans*. Offerings of devotees were also registered (1937-1-1, 1937-12-30). As the last texts incomes and expenses of *Dashchoimbel datsan* were registered (1938-4), and some documents were written related to the budget (1937-38), incomes of *Dashchoimbel datsan* flowing in from ceremonies (1938-1), and incomes and expenses of *Ikh jas* (1938-4-30). Thus, as it is clear from the dates the *datsan* surely operated until 30 April 1938.

The wooden temple building of *Dashchoimbel datsan* was situated behind the *Gandantegchenlin* temple with *Güngaachoilin datsan* in its left and *Badma yogo datsan* in its right side. The *datsan* was destroyed in 1938. Its tradition was revived in 1990 and the temple was rebuilt in 1994 on its original site (GPS. N 47°55.331'; E 106°53.747'). The revived philosophical system follows the system of Gomang monastic school. This monastic school is the only place in Mongolia where philosophical exams are taken place again. The tradition of *gawjiin damjaa* was revived in 1989, and *domiin damjaa* can also be taken. The current main disciplinary master, Gonchig (born 1917), had been a lama in this *datsan* prior to 1937. The main deities of the temple are *Gombo*, *Sendom*, and *Nogoon Dar' ekh*. It is similarly with the old times. There is a special annual ceremony, called *Jamchoi derna* (T. *byams chos sde lnga*), when the 'Five treatises of Maitreya' are recited.

Güngaachoilin Monastic School

Güngaachoilin datsan (T. *kun-dga' chos gling grwa-tshang*, 'Island of Rejoicing' monastic school), *Baruun datsan* ('Western monastic school'), *Khotol bayasgalant nomiin süm*

This *datsan* was firstly established by the 4th Bogd in 1809 as the second philosophical school of the capital, and stood on the West of *Daschoimbel* monastic school. It was named as *Güngaachoilin* in 1837 by the 5th Bogd. The curriculum of the *datsan* followed the philosophical view of the famous Tibetan scholar, *Wanchin Sodnomdagwa* (T. *pan-chen bsod-nams grags-pa*, 1478-1554) based on his commentaries, which were used in *Loselling* monastic school (*Losalin datsan*, T. *blo-gsal gling grwa-tshang*) of Drepung monastery in Tibet. This philosophical textbook is called *Wanchin igchaa* (T. *pan-chen yig-cha*) or *Losalin*

¹⁹⁷ Exact meaning unknown. T. *kun-dga'* (?)

igchaa (T. *blo-gsal gling yig-cha*) in Mongolian. During the years it was active the *datsan* trained three thousand lamas with such eminent scholars as the Bogds, Agwaanrinchen, *Darwa bandid* (1870-1923) and Zawa lam Damdin (1867-1937) completing their studies there.

According to Sereeter (1999, pp. 59-60.) the main tutelary deity of the temple was *Jigjid*, while its main protectors were *Baldan Ikham* and *Dorjshüg*.

The curriculum of the school was divided into 16 classes. One year's study was required for each of the five elementary classes: *khadag* (T. *kha-dog*), *shidiw/shidew* (T. *gzhi sgrub*), *dogwa oijin* (T. *ldog-pa ngos-'dzin*), *jumbrai/jumbarai/jümbri* (T. *rgyu-'bras*), *loirog* (T. *blo-rigs*) and the four intermediate: *uma nimba* (T. *dbu-ma rnying-pa*), *uma sarwa* (T. *dbu-ma gsar-pa*), *dulwa* (T. *'dul-ba*) and *garamba ok* (T. *bka'-rams 'og-ma*) and more years in the advanced classes *garamba gom* (*bka'-rams gong-ma*). Those who successfully took the final exams in these special fields of study got the scholar ranks of *gaaramba* and *gawj*.

The following financial units belonged to the *datsan* according to Sereeter and the Manchu catalogue of the *datsan* (M-89): *Ikh jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*, *Altan Ganjuuriin jas*, (*Mönkh*) *Günregiin jas*, *Lkhanaa Demchogiin jas*, *Domiin damjaanii jas*, *Maaniin jas*, *Migzemiin büteeliin jas*, *Dalai lamiin pogiin jas*, *Dar' ekhiin nünnain jas*, (*Migjid*) *Janraisegiin büteeliin jas*, *Dugan büreesnii jas*. Sereeter adds *Mönkh Ganjuuriin jas*, *Shiniin 1, 8, 15-nii Ganjuuriin 3 jas*, *Shiniin 8-nii, 15-nii, 22-nii Günregiin jas*, *Jasaa Donchidiin jas*, *Dordüwiin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Mönkh Tsedewiin jas*, *Düdbiin jas*, *Tümet sakhiusnii jas*, *Buman Sanjidiin jas*, *Tsedor Lkhamiin jas*, *Jawdanii jas*, *Jamjigiin jas* (?), *Dorjshüg sakhiusnii jas*, *Jiin Chagchidiin jas*, *Mintügiin jas*, *Sakhiusnii jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Shalshimiin jas*, *Zediin manjnii jas*. The Manchu catalogue adds *Duu Tüdewiin jas* (?),¹⁹⁸ *Tüdew Tsedewiin jas*, *Awidiin jas*, *Dar' ekhiin mandalshiwaagiin jas*, and *Altan Ganjuuriin selbeltiin jas*. It is stated that the *aimag* had 19 financial units but actually it had more but perhaps not in the same time.

The National Archives contains 882 sources about *Güngaachoilin datsan*. According to the catalogue (M-89) of the Manchu period which contains 527 items dated between 1799 and 1911, *Güngaachoilin datsan* was firstly established in 1809, or in the 14th year of the reign of the Manchu emporor, Saishaalt yeröolt (Jiaqing, 1796-1820). Since that time its operation was dedicated to religious purposes, and it became a philosophical monastic school. *Domiin damjaa* and *Gawjiin damjaa* were taken here. The temple had fixed date ceremonies and occasional ceremonies. Every financial unit had its own incomes and expenses, and properties. Costs of the *datsan*'s operation were covered by *Ikh Tsogchin* in the beginning, but later it had its own privileges (*yambanii jas*). The ranked lamas of the *datsan* had the following positions: chief lama, vice lama, disciplinary master, chanting master, shrinekeeper, offering preparer, and cook. They were nominated by *Ikh Tsogchin jas*. This system of operation and structure of the *datsan* remained without change till 1908. The oldest texts list the herds and flocks that belonged once to the *datsan* (1799, 1802, 1803, and 1823). There is a list of names of donators and the list of the livestock that they gave to *Dar' ekhiin mönkh nünnain jas* of the *datsan* (called here as *Baruun Choir*). There are many documents about the incomes and expenses of the *datsan* and its ceremonies (1894), a list of accessories (1895), felt and leather offered by the *aimags* to *Ikh jas* (1896), brick tea incomes of ceremonies (1896), brick tea property (*chuluun tsai*) and felt given by *otog* herdsmen (1897). There is a list of properties and accessories of the *datsan* (1904), and a list of donations (1906). Numerous texts discuss loans, incomes and expenses, and the livestock (1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1878, etc.). A supervision of the livestock of the *datsan*, the livestock of the financial units (1837), a list of alms of

¹⁹⁸ Exact meaning unknown.

ceremonies (1847), texts of profit from silver put out on interest, a list of the lamas' number (1851, etc.) are all available in the collection. Furthermore, the rules of the way of composing accounts were prescribed in 1895. Commands strictly ordered the lamas to keep their religious vows (1896), and not to visit the lay quarters (1902). A letter was sent here related to the danger of conflagration and debts to be returned (1909). A list clarifies the lamas' number, and the people who had to pay back loans, who had to pay penalties, and who did not cultivate the agriculture fields (1900). The proper day of the invitation of the Bogd was also determined (without date).

The catalogue (A-78) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 198 texts. Financial units are mentioned in some titles such as *Dalai lamiin pogiin jas*, *Migzemiin бүтээлийн jas*, *Tsedewiin jas*, *Ikh pogiin jas*, *Tsawiin jas*, *Günregiin jas*, *Ganjuuriin jas*, *Nügnein jas*, *Mönkh Dүdwiin jas*, *Dar' ekhiin нүгнее jas*, *Shalshiin jas*, *Dashnyam arawnain jas*. Texts mainly discuss the incomes and expenses in brick tea, and properties like butter and leather. The progeny of herds and flocks, the amount of felt, and the rented out sheep, goat, and bulls are also usual topics of texts. Some texts were written in Tibetan script (about the properties and the livestock, silver property, silver put out on interest, offerings to *Günreg jas*, etc. 1912, 1914, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920). There is a list of the silver properties of *Jasaa Ganjuur* which was put out on interest and was collected back (1915). Lists of alms (*zed*) given to lamas during the ceremonies was calculated in brick tea (1917). Lists (written in Tibetan) of herds and flocks (1918), a list of the livestock offered by donators to make certain ceremonies eternal (1920), a list of silver property which was received and spent by *Damjaanii ideenii jas* to cover the catering of the exams (1919), a list of silver, brick tea, goods, livestock and domestic products of the *datsan* (1911), and a report of the four kinds of livestock of the *datsan* written by Gombo and Achit bookkeepers (1912) are also available. The *Shanzodwa* sent a letter (*bichig*) to *Güngachoilin datsan* in 1913 with the permission of taking *gawjiin damjaa*. Documents about the incomes and expenses of requisites of the lamas who participated in *Sundui*, *Altangerel*, *Banzragch*, *Ulaan sakhius* and other ceremonies of *Güngachoilin datsan* (1913) are kept in the archives, too. Tibetan documents are available about the incomes and expenses of *Güngachoilin datsan* (1913). A letter expresses Nawaanjamba *gawj*'s wish to participate in ceremonies (1913). A document about the judgement of those lamas of *Güngachoilin datsan* who had committed deeds which were inconsistent with religious views has remained (1913). Lamas were ordered to replace the lamas who had left *Güngachoilin datsan* (1913). A list of incomes and expenses written in Tibetan (1914), a supervision of the three kinds of livestock of *Ganjuur jas* written by *nyaraw Luwsan*, *Gombo*, and *Sanj* (1914) are preserved in the archives. Documents about the incomes, expenses, and the loss of the four kinds of livestock written by *zaisan nyaraw Gombojaw* and *Achit* (1914) also enrich the collection. Other lists serve data about the requisites of ceremonies (1914, 1915, 1918, 1919, etc), incomes and expenses of *Altan Ganjuuriin jas* (1914), remained brick tea properties of *Pogiin jas*, rental fee of bulls, rams and male sheep (1914), and the four kinds of livestock of *Güngachoilin datsan* (1915). There are reports in Tibetan script of the silver capital which were put out on interest, and documents of brick tea, silver, goods, livestock, and other incomes and expenses of the temple (1915, 1916, 1917). There is a letter issued in 1916 which requires and permits *gawjiin damjaa* and *domiin damjaa* in *Güngachoilin datsan*. There is a summary of the incomes and expenses of *Dүrdewiin jas* (probably *Dordowiin jas*) which was made eternal by *gawj Erenten/ Erdene* (1917), and a list of the belongings of *Ganjuur jas* which was made eternal by *Tawian бүргед* (1918). A document clarifies the working periods of people who fulfilled positions more times successively (1917). Some documents provide data about the incomes and expenses of the fermented mare milk of the *datsan* (1918). There are lists with types and ages of milk-mare and saddle-horses (1919, 1920). A document summarizes the incomes and

expenses of silver, brick tea, goods and articles, etc. of the 16 classes of the *datsan* (1921). Concerning the documentation of the financial units there is a scripture about the payment of deficit (1921), a notice of goods which were offered to *Güngaachoinlin datsan* by *zaisan lam* Khaidaw and a document that informs us about the unchanged salaries of lamas who read healing ritual texts (without date).

The catalogue of the Modern period (SKh-188) lists 157 texts dated between 1921 and 1937. *Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Nügnein jas*, *Altan Ganjuuriin jas*, *Büteel jas*, *Tüdewiin jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Tsedewiin jas*, *Tsawiin jas*, *Pogiin jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Ikh jas*, *Baga jas* are mentioned in titles. There are registers about the properties of financial units (1921), pavilion tents (*asar maikhan*) and other belongings of *Güngaachoinlin süm* (1921).¹⁹⁹ Lists of incomes and expenses of *domiin damjaa* (1921, 1922, 1923), registers of offerings given for the renovation of the temple (1923) were written as well as lists of sheep's pelt, yellow brick tea, silver, leather, butter, and livestock and silver rented out and put out in interest. The internal structure of the *datsan*, offerings to the *datsan*, the financial units and the temple (1924-12), bulls of *Ganjuuriin jas* used in vehicles (1925-3-30) were all listed. A summary of the livestock property of *Güngaachoinlin*, *Dashchoimbel*, and *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* was written in 1927. Lists of silver put out on interest of *Tsawiin jas* (1921, 1928-12-3) are also available in the collection. A register of herds and flocks of *Günregiin jas* of the *gawj* lamas of the *datsan* also exist (1928). There is a resolution of the religious representatives' meeting of *Güngaachoinlin (khiid)* (1932), and a register of the livestock of *Ikh jas* given to the handicraft co-operative (1931-2). There are lists of brick tea and silver of the *datsan* (1934, 1935) and a list which clarifies the debts which had not recovered in the previous years (1936). Ceremonies of *Güngaachoinlin datsan* were listed (1937-9-28). Lists of properties, recovered debts, incomes and expenses of the financial units (1937-3-7, 1937-5-31) buildings, fences, shelters of *Ikh jas* together with their value (1936.01.01., 1937.02.15.) were listed in 1937. Incomes, expenses, debts and remained money of *Ikh jas*, (1934, 1937.05.), and the properties of the *datsan* (1928.04.13., 1937.03.06.) were recorded in 1937. Texts without date inform us about the staff, the number of lamas, internal structure of the monastic school, and requisites of ceremonies. The last texts was written in 1937 when all properties of the *datsan* were counted.

The register of ceremonies (SKh188/144) was compiled on the 28th of the 9th month in the 27th year (1937). It contains the name, date and number of expected and appeared participants of 42 ceremonies which were performed in the *aimag* temple with fixed date. The register of *Güngaachoinlin datsan* is unique in the sense that it provides data about the supportive financial units of given ceremonies. They were the following: *Günchoinchenmo* recitation²⁰⁰ was held for 30 days from the 17th of the middle winter month with the participation of 515 lamas of the many hundreds lamas of the *datsan*. The ceremony was financed by *Ikh jas*. Within the frame of the above mentioned ceremony, *Parchin domiin damjaa* was taken for six days from the 21st of the middle winter month with the participation of 600 lamas of the many hundreds.²⁰¹ The ceremony was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Tsedor Lkham* recitation was held on the 1st of every month. 91 from the expected 100 lamas participated in the ceremony which was financed by *Tsedor Lkhamiin jas*. *Jasaa Sakhius* reading was held every day by eight appointed lamas. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Jasaa Tsedew* recitation was held every day by eight appointed lamas, financed by *Ikh jas*. *Jasaa Dodwa* was held every

¹⁹⁹ As *Güngaachoinlin* was a *datsan*, which perhaps did not owe any tents it should be supposed that this text is about *Güngaadejidlin süm*. In the catalogues of *Güngaachoinlin* several texts were arranged mistakenly about *Güngaadejidlin* due to their "similar" names.

²⁰⁰ This ceremony was held in *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* at the same time. Probably it was held in *Dashchoimbel datsan* as well, as it is a usual ceremony in philosophic monastic schools in Tibet.

²⁰¹ This exam could have been taken in *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* too, starting on the 22nd of the month.

day by four appointed lamas, financed by *Ikh jas*. *Sakhius* ceremony, called *Jasaa Döröwt* ('*Jasaa* by four') was performed on the 2nd day of every month by four appointed lamas. It was financed by *Tsedor Lkhamiin jas*. *Sakhius* ceremony, called *Jasaa Naimat* ('*Jasaa* by eight') was performed on the 15th of every month by eight appointed lamas. It was financed by *Tsedor Lkhamiin jas*, too. *Jasaa Dodwa* (T. *bstod-pa*) was held on the 25th of the last winter month when hundreds of lamas were expected to come. The ceremony was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Jasiin galiin takhilga* was held on the 25th of the last winter month by two lamas. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Jasiin unshlaga* and *Choijin, Gürgül, Dar' ekhiin büteel* were held every day by three appointed lamas. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Khuuchin nom* recitation was held on the 29th of the last winter month. 35 lamas participated in it from the expected 100. The ceremony was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Tsagaan sariin dodwa* recitation was held for 15 days from the 1st of the first spring month. 205 lamas participated in it from the many hundreds. It was financed by *Dodwiin jas*. *Gawjiin damjaa* was taken for nine days from the 16th of the first spring month. 605 lamas gathered from the many hundreds. The costs of the exam period were financed by the lamas who took the exam. *Tsagaan sariin Sakhius* ceremony was held on the 13th of the first spring month with the participation of 12 appointed lamas. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Doodbiin Sakhius* was held on the 15th of the first spring month by eight appointed lamas. It was financed by *Doodbiin jas*. *Jasaa nünnai* was held for three days from the 13th of the first spring month. All the 16 expected lamas participated. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Jasaa Arwan tawnii khural* ('*Jasaa* ceremony for 15 days') recitation was held from the 3-16th of the middle spring month. 225 lamas of the many hundreds arrived. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Gawjiin damjaa* was taken for nine days from the 12th of the middle spring month. 506 lamas of the more hundreds participated in it. It was financed by the lamas taking the exam. *Joroo* (?) ²⁰² recitation was held from the 21-30th of the middle spring month when 90 lamas of the expected 220 arrived. *Ikh jas* financed the ceremony. *Jasaa Sariin khural* ('*Jasaa* ceremony lasting for a month') was held for 30 days from the 2nd of the last spring month. 208 lamas of the hundreds of lamas participated in it. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Gawjiin damjaa* had been taken for nine days from the 1st of the last spring month. 415 lamas of the hundreds lamas gathered together. It was financed by the lamas who became *gawj* that time. *Jasaa Ganjuur* was held on the 8th of the first summer month with the participation of 415 lamas of the more hundreds. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Jasaa Khoriin khural* ('*Jasaa* ceremony for 20 days') was held for 20 days from the 17th of the first summer month. 230 lamas of the hundreds participated in it. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Migzemiin büteel* and *Janraisegiin büteel* were held together for six days in the middle summer month. 525 lamas gathered from the hundreds. *Büteel jas* financed the ceremony. *Jasaa Sariin khural* was held for 30 days from the 17th of the middle summer month when 158 lamas of the hundreds of lamas participated in it. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Gawjiin damjaa* was held for nine days from the 17th of the middle summer month when 200 of the hundreds of lamas gathered. It was financed by those lamas who became *gawj* that time. *Namsrain san* ²⁰³ recitation was held on the 19th of the middle summer month with the participation of four appointed lamas. *Ikh jas* financed the ceremony. *Janraisegiin nünnai* lasted for three days from the 13th of the middle summer month by 16 lamas. *Ikh jas* financed the ceremony. A ceremony in honour of the 1st Dalai Lama and *gawjiin damjaa* took place on the 19th of the last summer month by all the appointed 13 lamas. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Gawjiin damjaa* was held for nine days from the 1st of the last summer month. *Namriin neg sariin khural* ('ceremony for a month in autumn') was held for 30 days from the 3rd of the middle autumn month. 55 lamas of the hundreds participated in it. *Ikh jas* covered its costs. *Gawjiin damjaa* took nine days from the 3rd of the middle autumn month. 207 lamas gathered from the

²⁰² Exact meaning unknown. M. *Joroo*, T. ?

²⁰³ Mentioned as *Küweriin san* (M. *Küber-a-yin sang*) in the text.

hundreds. It was financed by those lamas who became *gawj* on this occasion. *Jasaa Biziyaagiin donchid* was held on the 15th of every month by the 50 required lamas. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Dar' ekhiin büteel* recitation took four days in every season. 13 appointed lamas performed it. *Ikh, Dordow, Büteel, Doodbii jases* financed it. *Tümed sakhius* lasted for six days from the 23rd of the middle autumn month. 50 lamas of the expected 100 gathered. It was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Khoriin khural* was held for 20 days from the 17th of the last autumn month. Hundreds of lamas were expected to come. The ceremony was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Jambaliin bumba* and *Puntsaldomiin bumba (?)*²⁰⁴ recitations were held on the 15th and 16th of the last autumn month. 13 lamas were appointed to participate in it. The ceremony was financed by *Ikh jas*. *Olnii Ikh sakhius* ceremony was held at the beginning of the first winter month. Many hundreds of lamas were supposed to come. *Ikh jas* financed the ceremony. *Jasaa Arwan tawnii khural* lasted for 15 days from the 17th of the first winter month when hundreds of lamas were supposed to come. *Ikh jas* financed the ceremony. *Ikh sakhiusnii dordow* ceremony was held for four days from the 15th of the first winter month. 13 lamas were expected to come. *Dordowiin jas* covered the costs. *Gürgüliin dordow* recitation was held for four days on the 20th from the first winter month. 13 lamas were expected to come and *Gürgüliin jas* covered the costs. *Güngreg* recitation was held for a day on the 22nd of the first winter month when ten lamas were expected to gather. *Günregiin jas* covered the costs.

As it is clear from the register the costs of ceremonies were mainly financed by *Ikh jas*, but *Tsedor Lkhamiin jas*, *Büteeliin jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Günregiin jas* and *Doodbiin jas* also covered the costs of their related ceremonies. *Jasaa Sakhius*, *Jasaa Tsedew* and *Jasaa Doodbii* recitations were held every day, and *Sakhius* ceremony was performed on the 2nd and on the 15th of every month by 4-8 appointed lamas. It seems that *domiin damjaa* was held only once a year. *Gawjiin damjaa* was held six times a year for nine days. 4-600 lamas watched bigger exams. Ceremonies of *Lkham*, *Gürgül*, *Sendom* are also mentioned. Although *Shügden* was also the protector of the temple his individual ceremony is not mentioned. *Jambaliin bumba* was performed and *Jasaa nünnai* and *Janraisegiin nünnai* were performed for three days, too. Ceremonies for 30 days were held three times, and ceremonies twice for 20 and twice for 15 days, too. *Maaniin büteel* and *Janraisegiin büteel* were also performed.

The wooden temple of *Güngaachoilin datsan* was situated behind the *Gandantegchenlin* temple with *Dashchoimbel datsan* in its right and *Lamrim datsan* in its left side. The *datsan* was destroyed in 1938. One pillar of the old *datsan* remained standing. It is now worshipped by believers. The tradition of this *datsan* was revived in 1990 in a classroom of Zanabazar University, where young lamas began their training. The temple was built in 2001 on its original site (GPS: N 47°55.332'; E 106°53.729', elevation 1314 m). The revived philosophical system follows the system of Loselling monastic school. However, exams (*domiin damjaa* and *gawjiin damjaa*) cannot be taken again. The two protectors of the temple are *Baldan lkham*.²⁰⁵

Idgaachoinzinlin Monastic School

Idgaachoinzinlin/Yadgaachoinzenlin datsan (T. *yid-dga' chos-'dzin gling grwa-tshang*, "Island of the Dharma holder with Happy Heart" monastic school), *Dülzimzansüren datsan* ('*dul-khrims gtsang bsrung*'), *Khoit datsan* ('rear monastic school'), *Setgeliig bayasgagch nomiig barigch*

²⁰⁴ Exact meaning unknown. M. *Bungčildum-un bumbu*, T. ? *bum-pa*.

²⁰⁵ Every year there is a special two-day ceremony performed to *Baldan Lkham* as the main protector of the school. It is held on 1st of the middle autumn month, when a thanksgiving offering (*Danrag*, T. *gtang-rag*) is also a part of the ritual. For further details see www.mongoliantemples.net.

Idgaachoinzinlin monastic school was established in Gandan as the third and last philosophical school of the capital, behind *Dashchoimbel* and *Güngaachoinlin* monastic schools, next to the building of the *Khailan(giin) jas* on the initiation of the 8th Bogd in 1910. According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 79.), this *datsan* was first established on the occasion of *Khailen* (T. *khass-len*, the oath-taking summer retreat period) for the 10,000 fully-ordained lamas of the *khüree*. It housed the huge golden statues of *Tuwaan Zonkhor* (?),²⁰⁶ and *Je Yawsrai süm* (T. *rje yab sras gsum*) i.e. Tsongkhapa (Zonkhow, T. *tsong-kha-pa*, 1357-1419) and his two disciples *Khaidüw Je* (Khaidüw je, T. *mkhas-grub rje*, 1385-1438) and *Gyaltsaw Je* (Jaltsaw je, T. *rgyal-tshab rje*, 1364-1432).

It is said that 1,000 lamas (according to Sereeter 486 lamas, 2004, pp. 61-62.) were transferred from *Dashchoimbel* and *Güngaachoinlin* philosophical schools to be trained in the new *datsan*. The school followed the philosophy of the eminent Tibetan scholar Serji jewtsün Coijijantsan (T. *ser-gyi rje-btsun chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan*, 1469-1546), whose commentaries were the texts used by Sera Jey (*Ser Je/Sera Je*, T. *se-ra byes*) *datsan* of Sera monastery in Tibet. Up until 1938 many famous scholars were produced from among one thousand lamas who have studied in this *datsan* such as Radnaa *shunlaiw* and *gawj* Gombojaw, Kharaagiin Dar' ekh lam, Örlüüdiin Dawga *gawj* (Dawga *gawj* of Örlüüd *aimag*), Jantsan *jorwon*, Jambaldorj *jorwon*, Tseweendorj *unzad*, Öndör *tunsag nyaraw*, Dodikhüü *gewsh*, Dorj *maaramba*, Nawaandamba *gewsh* and so on. The main tutelary deity of the *datsan* was *Damdin Yansan* (T. *rta-mgrin yang-gsang*), while the main protector was *Taog Choijil* (T. *tha-'og chos-rgyal*), one of the Five Kings (*Tawan khaan*, T. *sku lnga rgyal-po*). Soninbayar also mentions *Namsrai* (1995, p. 65.).

Damdin Yansan is a four-faced and six-armed tutelary deity with wings who is embracing his consort, and there is a horse-head in his hair. Padmasambhava worshipped this deity and, as such, he is the main tutelary deity of the Nyingmapa Red Stream temples. Among the three main Gelukpa monasteries of Tibet (Drepung, Ganden and Sera), he is the main tutelary deity in Sera and is worshipped in monastic schools following the handbooks (*igchaa*) of Sera.

According to Sereeter and the Manchu catalogue (M-96) of the *datsan* the following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Khailan(giin) jas*, *Düitsengüüdiin/Düitsengiin jas*, *Mönkh pogiin jas*, *Mönkh Ganjuuriin jas*, *Mönkh Altangereliin jas*, *Mönkh Tsedewiin jas*, *Mönkh Dorjzodwiin jas*, *Altan Dorjzodwiin jas*, (*Mönkh*) *Buman Sanjidiin jas*, (*Mönkh*) *Buman Tsagaan Dar' ekhiin jas*, (*Mönkh*) *Buman Nagoon Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Erigdee erinchin* or *Rikha-Erkhtsengiin damjaanii jas*,²⁰⁷ *Domiin damjaanii jas*. Sereeter adds the following: *Mönkh Düdwiin jas*, *Migzemiin büteliin jas*, *Mönkhölsön Gamganiin jas*, whilst the catalogue mentions *Mönkh Dordowiin jas* as well.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 61.) the *datsan*'s curriculum was divided into 14 classes, which were as follows: elementary: *khadag* (T. *kha-dog*), *jumbarai* (T. *rgyu-'bras*), *yuljin* (T. *yul-can*), *dondonju* (T. *don bdun-chu*), intermediate: *ok* (T. *gzhung 'og-ma*), *gom* (T. *gzhung gong-ma*), *gawshiw* (T. *bka' bzhi-ba*), *dom* (T. *sdom*); advanced: *um sarwa* (T. *dbu-ma gsar-pa*), *uma ninwa* (T. *dbu-ma rnying-pa*), *dulwa* (T. *'dul-ba*), *garamba ok* (T. *bka'-rams 'og-ma*); professional level or *garamba gom* (T. *bka'-rams gong-ma*).

After completing all their studies the lamas could obtain a *gaaramba* (T. *bka'-rams'-pa*) degree, one of the highest examinations in a philosophical college. From 1914, every spring, summer and autumn the *gawj* rank (T. *dka'-bcu*, academic degree in philosophical studies, 'ten hardships') could be taken here, from 1916 also *domiin damjaa* (T. *sdom-pa'i*

²⁰⁶ Exact meaning unknown. T. *thub-pa'i ? 'khor*

²⁰⁷ Its other version is *erigdaa*, *erigchin damjaa*. It is a kind of exam, but its exact meaning is unknown. T. *rigs grwa* (?) *rigs chen* (?) *dam-bca'*

dam-bca').

The National Archives preserves 233 documents related to this new monastic school. Its Manchu catalogue (M-96) contains only 11 relevant texts dated between 1908 and 1910. According to the introduction part of the catalogue *gawjiin damjaa* and *domiin damjaa* were taken here. The high-ranking lamas of the *datsan* were the chief lama, the vice lama, the disciplinary master, the chanting master, the shrine-keeper, and the offering master. The temple had its own incomes and expenses, and livestock. The archival collection contains a list of goods which were sold in order to organize the consecration ceremony of the *datsan* (1908). A list records the incomes and expenses of *Mönkh Ganjuuriin jas*, *Dar' ekhiin jas*, *Tug tūij* (?),²⁰⁸ *Sanjidiin jas*, *Donchidiin jas*, and other financial units (1906). A list of incomes (1910) and offerings dedicated to the establishment of the *datsan* (1910), a list of goods sold for ceremonial purposes (1910), a register of the *datsan's* livestock (1910), a list of silver which were offered by the four aimags (1911), a list of herds and flocks are available (1911). A command arrived in order to teach and prepare the lamas here who wanted to take *gawjiin damjaa* (1910). An order ordered the monastic school to charge subordinated people by the costs of the summer retreat period (*khailan*) and to calculate the livestock (1911). The monastic school was requested officially to explain and teach the contents of Tibetan books to ordinary people. A list of incomes and expenses of the *jas* is also available (1910).

The catalogue (A-80) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 54 items. Several *otogs* offered milk to prepare brick tea during the summer retreat ceremony (*khailen*) of the 10000 fully-ordained lamas (monks, *tümen gelen lam*) (1916-2-3). A list of goods which were received from the four aimags and the *Ikh shaw'* area, and the expenses of requisites of *khailan* (1917-1-23) are also available. A list of brick tea put out on interest on the occasions of *dom*, *erigdaa*, *erigchin damjaa* (?) (1917) is kept in the archives, too. There is a letter of a person who asked for permission to join *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* (1912). Moreover, a letter gives information about the dates of annual exams which were planned to be held in the monastic school from 1918 (1917).

The catalogue (SKh-189) of the Modern Period lists 135 texts dated between 1921 and 1937. Alms of ceremonies, incomes and expenses of the financial units (1921), and sculptures and accessories of the *datsan* are listed (1922). *Ikh jas* and *Baga jas*, alms, offerings, donations, and ceremonies are mentioned in titles. Silver from camels herded in *otog* areas (1921), goods received from alms of *Khailangiin jas* (1927) also enrich the collection. Goods received as alms (1935.06.), annual ceremonies of the summer retreat,²⁰⁹ and its incomes and expenses were recorded in 1937 as well as fixed date ceremonies of the *datsan* (22 September 1937). People of the *aimag* (text without date), internal rules of the *datsan*, ranked lamas and ceremonies (without date), and incomes and expenses of the financial units (1936) were recorded in the last years of the school's operation. From the above mentioned titles and the relevant documents having sent to the *aimags* of Züün Khüree (see above) we can conclude that the lama community of *Idgaachoinzinlin datsan* was formed in 1911. *Gawjiin damjaa*, *domiin damjaa*, *erigdaa*, *erigchin damjaa* were held here. The order of the exams was determined in 1917. Lamas were listed several times. It is clear that the temple operated at least till 1937 and it seems that *Khailan* ceremony was held until 1937, too. *Khailan* ceremony was a very important event of the year.

The register of ceremonies (Kh189/2) was compiled on 22 September of the 27th year (1937). It contains the name, date and number of expected and arrived participants of the 35 ceremonies that were performed in the *aimag* temple with fixed date. These were the

²⁰⁸ Exact meaning unknown.

²⁰⁹ Summer retreat or oath taking period (*khailen*) are mentioned many times in connection with this *datsan*. I do not have exact data whether the *khailen* was held here or in its proper place, the main assembly hall of Züün Khüree.

following: *Günchoinchenmo* recitation was held for 30 days from the 17th of the middle winter month with the participation of 255 lamas of the many hundreds. Within the frame of the above mentioned ceremony, *Parchin domiin damjaa* lasted for six days from the 22nd of the middle winter month with the participation of 344 lamas from the more hundreds. Six appointed lamas held *Jasaa Sakhius* every day. One lama chanted *Jasaa Tsedew* recitation every day. *Jasiin galiin takhilga* was held on the 24th of the last winter month by two appointed lamas. *Khuuchin nom* ceremony in honour of the wrathful deities was held on the 29th of the last winter month by 30 of the expected 50 lamas. *Tsedor Lkham* recitation was held on the 30th of the last winter month by all the expected 50 lamas. *Tsagaan sariin dodba* (prayers of the New Year) recitation was held from 1-15 of the first spring month by 107 of the many hundreds of lamas. *Gawjiin damjaa* lasted for six days from the 12th of the first spring month. 350 lamas of the more hundreds participated in it. *Jasaa Arwan tawnii khural* ('*Jasaa* ceremony for 15 days') recitation was held from the 3-16 of the middle spring month with 157 participants of the many hundreds. *Gawjiin damjaa* was taken for six days from the 12th of the middle spring month. 324 lamas of the many hundreds participated in it. *Joroo* (?)²¹⁰ recitation was held from the 21-30 of the middle spring month. 43 lamas of the expected 110 participated in it. The recitation called *Jasaa Sariin khural* was held for 30 days from the 2nd of the last spring month with the participation of 143 lamas of the hundreds. *Gawjiin damjaa* was taken for six days from the 1st of the last spring month. 294 lamas of the hundreds participated in it. *Jasaa Sanjid* was held on the 15th of the first summer month with the participation of 276 lamas of the hundreds. The recitation, called *Jasaa Khoriiin khural* ('*Jasaa* ceremony for 20 days') was held for 20 days from the 17th of the first summer month with the participation of 314 lamas of the many hundreds. *Migzemiin büteel* and *Janraisegiin büteel* were held together for six days from the 8th of the middle summer month by 314 lamas of the more hundreds. *Jasaa Sariin khural* was held for 30 days from the 17th of the middle summer month. 96 lamas of the hundred participated in it. *Gawjiin damjaa* was held for six days from the 17th of the middle summer month. 113 lamas of the hundreds participated in it. *Gawjiin damjaa* was also held for six days from the 2nd of the last summer month. 102 lamas of the hundreds gathered together. *Jasiin Namsrai* and *Tündiin* (?)²¹¹ recitations were held for a day in the last summer month with the participation of 12 appointed lamas. *Yadam sakhius* recitation was held in that month with the participation of 12 appointed lamas. *Gawjiin damjaa* was held for six days from the 2nd of the middle autumn month where 120 lamas of the many hundreds participated in it. *Sariin khural* ('ceremony for a month') lasted for 30 days from the 3rd of the middle autumn month with the participation of 78 lamas of the hundreds. *Tümet khangal* ceremony was held for six days from the 23rd of the middle autumn month by fifty appointed lamas. *Khoriiin khural* recitation was held for 20 days from the 17th of the last autumn month. Hundreds of lamas were expected to participate in it. *Choiijil Namsrai* recitation was held in the first winter month (without exact date). Again, hundreds of lamas were expected to gather. *Arwan tawnii khural* was held for 15 days from the 15th of the last winter month. Hundreds of lamas were expected to come. *Lyankha dom* recitation was held for two days from the 3rd of the last summer month. Lamas belonging to the same class (*angi*) of the monastic school had to meet. 14 lamas participated in it. *Lkhawawiin dom* recitation was held for two days on the 21st of the last autumn month. Lamas who belonged to the same class participated in it. *25-nii dom* recitation was held for two days from the 24th of the first winter month. Lamas who belonged to the same class gathered together. *Jüshii dom* recitation was held for two days from the 13th of the middle winter month. Lamas who studied in the same class had to gather. *19-nii dom* recitation was held on the 19th of the middle winter month. Lamas who studied in the same class had to gather. *20-nii dom* recitation was held on

²¹⁰ Exact meaning unknown. M. *Joroo*, T. ?

²¹¹ Exact meaning unknown. M. *tüingtog/tügdong*, T. ?

the 20th of the middle winter month. Lamas who belonged to the same class had to gather. 21-nii dom recitation was held on the 21st of the middle winter month. Lamas of one class had to gather.

We can conclude that *Jasaa sakhius* and *Jasaa Tsedew* recitations were held every day. *Gawjiin damjaa* was held for six days six times a year with the participation of 100-300 lamas. More lamas watched the exam in spring (around 300) than in other seasons (around 100). Eight dom took place, namely *Parchin dom*, *Lyankha dom*, *Lkhawawiin dom*, *25-nii dom*, *Jüshii dom*, *19-nii dom*, *20-nii dom*, and *21-nii dom*. The four latest ones were held in the middle winter month. Except of *Parchin dom* (when *domiin damjaa* could have been taken), lamas who belonged to the same class had to gather together to celebrate. Celebrations lasting for a month were held four times ceremonies lasting for 20 days were held twice and ceremonies lasting for 15 days were held twice as well. *Maaniin büteel* and *Janraisegiin büteel* were performed here, too.

The wooden building of the *datsan*, which was covered by golden roof was situated on the right side of *Janraiseg* temple and was destroyed in 1938.

According to the information board in the revived temple, former lamas from this *datsan* including Tserendemchig and Naidan wished to restore their home *datsan* and revived it in 1990. With the leadership of Jambaldorj the monastic school was re-started on the 3rd of the first summer month in 1991. The temple building itself was built in 2004 (GPS: N 47°55.379'; E 106°53.767', elevation 1327 m). The main protectors of the temple are *Damjan Choijoo* and *Namsrai*, while the main protector of the monastic school is *Damdin Yansan*. The revived philosophical system follows the system of Sera Jey monastic school. Nowadays there are no exams taken in the monastic school but many ceremonies were revived and held again.²¹²

Khailan jas

Khailen jas (T. *khas-len spyi-gsog*, 'financial unit of the summer retreat period')

From the archival materials related to Idgaachoinzinlin *datsan*, it seems that *Khailangiin jas* belonged to Gandan. The summer retreat of the fully-ordained lamas, and the novices were mentioned before, when describing the Tsogchin temple of Züün khüree. As for *Khailan jas* three ceremonies were listed in 1937 (189/135): one lama recited *Jasiin Tsedew* every day, *Yar khailen* was performed from the 15th of the last summer month for 45 days. From the numerous expected lamas 441 participated in it in 1937. *Jasaa Namsrai* recitation was held in the middle autumn month by the expected six lamas.

Lamrim Monastic School

Lamrim datsan / *Lamiran datsan*, *Janchiüw/Janchub Lamrim datsan* (T. (*byang-chub*) *lam-rim grwa-tshang*, 'monastic school of the gradual path'), *Bod' möriin zereg*

²¹² Lamas hold special annual ceremonies *Tarawchamba* (T. *thar-pa chen-po*) on the 15th of the middle spring month; *Seriin sanjid* (T. *se-ra bzang-spyod*) on the 15th of the first summer month; *Sakhius* on the dog day of the middle autumn month; *Lyankha dom* ('Lotus feast') on the 3rd and 4th of the last summer month; *Lkhawawiin dom* (T. *lha-las babs-pa'i ston-mo*, 'festival of (Buddha's) descent from the god realms') on the 21st and 22nd of the last autumn month; *Lkhamchoinzad dom* (T. *bla-ma chos mdzod ston-mo*) on the 25th and 26th of the first winter month; *Zijii dom* (T. *bcu bzhi ston-mo*) on the 13rd and 14th of middle winter month; *Baga dom* ('small dom') on the 20th, 21st and 22nd of the middle winter month. According to the present disciplinary master in former times *gawjiin damjaa* could be taken on these special occasions. Nowadays there are no exams taken on these days but they perform the celebrations to maintain the tradition.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 71.), *Lamrim datsan* was founded in 1844 although other dates have been given such as 1841, according to D. Bürnee (2004, p. 355.), and 1824, according to Oyuunbilig (Dashnyam, 1999, p. 251). The curriculum of the religious school was based on the view of the most significant text written by Tsongkhapa, called *Bod' möriin zereg* (T. *lam-rim chen-mo*) explaining the gradual path leading to enlightenment. Fifty lamas belonged to the temple. Academic rank could not be obtained in this *datsan*. The wooden building with a gilded golden roof was situated on the left of *Güngaachoilin datsan*, within its own fence. It was also called the 'Gürem datsan of *Güngaachoilin datsan*', as this was a specialist temple where protective healing ceremonies were performed. The main deity of the temple was *Jigjid*, while the main protectors were *Gonchoi lkhaa süm/Gonchoo lkhaa süm* (T. *mgon chos lham gsum*, the summary name for three protectors: *Gombo*, *Chojoo* and *Lkham*). Soninbayar mentions (1995, p. 65.) only *Gombo*. The following units belonged to the monastery: *Ikh jas*, *Günregiin jas*, *Dülsengiin jas*, *Altan Lamrimiin jas*, *Awidiin chogiin jas*.

The National Archives contains 239 texts related to *Lamrim datsan*. According to the catalogue (M-93) of the Manchu period the temple was established in 1851 or in the first year of the reign of Tügeemel Elbegt (Xianfeng, 1850-1861). (Other sources state that this school was founded in 1944.) The *datsan* had fixed date ceremonies and occasional ceremonies. The *datsan* had its own incomes and expenses, herds and flocks. The majority of the 172 documents dated between 1848 and 1910 describe the incomes and expenses of given financial units and ceremonies. There is a condemnation of a shrine-keeper, and lists of herdsmen, herds and flocks (1848), felt and butter profit from rented out bulls (1909). The catalogue (A-82) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 37 texts. It mentions *Günreg khural*. The most interesting text informs us about the determination of a holy text of a given day and about fortune-telling (without date). The catalogue (SKh-186) of the Modern period contains 30 text written between 1921 and 1931. They discuss incomes and expenses of the *datsan*, and the livestock of its *Mönkh zuliin jas*. However, there is a contract about the herding activity of the livestock of *Ikh jas* (1930). The disciplinary of *Lamrim datsan* was written in 1931. There is not any data about *Lamrim datsan* after 1931.

According to Dashtseren lama about 100 lamas belonged to *Lamrim datsan* immediately before the temple was destroyed in spring 1938.

Badmayogo Monastic School, called Sandüwtegchenlin

Badma yogo/Badamyogo, *Badma yoga* monastic school (T. *pad-ma yo-ga grwa-tshang*, 'monastic school of Lotus yoga'), *Sandüwtegchenlin*, *Sandawdechiglin* (T. *gsang-sgrub theg chen gling*, 'island of secret practice and Mahāyāna'), *Nuutsiig büteegch ikh khölgönii süm*

The 2nd Bogd founded a tantric congregation (*Jüid datsan*, T. *rgyud-pa grwa-tshang* or *Ag datsan*, T. *sngags*) called *Dechinsanaglin* (T. *bde-chen gsang-sngags gling*, 'island of eternal bliss and secret mantras') in 1739 (*Northern Buddhist*, p. 304.). It was also called *Damdin Yansan* because it was established to defend the Buddhist teaching and all sentient beings from harm and obstacles. According to the legend, when Padmasambhava founded Samye monastery in Tibet, he opened the gate of the maöðala of *Damdin Yansan* in order to conquer and convert the evil spirits who were hindering the spreading of the Teaching. Thus, this tantric *datsan* was founded in Mongolia for the same purpose i.e. as a *Gürem datsan* (T. *sku-rim grwa-tshang*), where protective healing rituals were performed. The main tutelary deity was *Damdin Yansan* and the main protector was *Jamsran*. The three protectors, *Gombo*, *Chojoo* and *Namsrai*; *Damjan/Damjin*, and *Tsamba* and the Five Kings (*Tawan khaan*) were also worshipped to clear away the malevolent beings. The 4th Bogd renamed the temple as *Badma Yoga* or *Badma Yogo datsan* in 1806. Fifty specially trained lamas recited and

worshipped there. They held ceremonies in honour of *Damdin Yansan*, as well as rituals of *Choijin*, *Jamsran*, the Five Kings and *Nordog Damjin* (T. *nor-bdag dam-can*). Following the ceremonial rules of the Tibetan Sera monastery, the *Sanjid molom* ceremony was held for seven days in the first spring month, and for ten days in the middle autumn month. In the middle summer month there were ceremonies called *Yansangiin wan* (Initiation to *Yansan*) and *Ayuushiin wan* (Initiation to Amitāyus) with seven continuous days of ceremonies for preparing the sand maḍāla of these deities. There was a ceremony to *Jamsran* held in the spring and in the autumn as well. As well as the prescribed cycle of ceremonies, the lamas performed every kind of strong and weak healing ceremonies (*Gürem*). As, based on the old lama, Jambal's accounts, who was one of the four shrine keepers (*duganch*) of the college, Damdinsüren describes (see Bawden, 1997, English text pp. 4-5., Mongolian text pp. 683-684.) that it was an 'exorcism college' (*Gürmiin datsan*) with fifty lamas registered in the college who gathered there: "there was a lot of exorcisms performed in the college for the patrons. The lamas took turns in holding these services. They lived on the alms from them."

The conference volume adds that the main objects of worship in the temple were the gilded statues of Padmasambhava, *Damdin Yansan*, *Jamsran*, *Tügdem* (or *Tugdam/Tugdum*, T. *thugs-dam*, 'tutelary deity' also meaning 'oath, vow') of *Jamsran*, the Five Kings and *Nordog Damjin*.

The ceremonies were mainly based on the texts written by the 5th Dalai Lama (1617-1682), such as *Yansan yadamiin chogo* (T. *yang-gsang yi-dam-gyi cho-ga*, 'ceremony of *Yansan* tutelary deity'), *Gün-aa chogo*, *Jamsrangiin dorbül nirdad* (T. *lcam-sring-gi gtor-'bul gnyer-gtad*, 'balin offering and entrust to *Jamsran*').

The wooden building of the *datsan* was situated in Gandan monastery behind the *Gandantegchenlin* temple and on the right side of *Dashchoimbel datsan*. It was also known as the '*Gürem datsan* of *Dashchoimbel datsan*'. According to Sereeter (1999, p. 65.) the golden bronze roof of the temple was financed by a lama called Galsanjamts, who was known as *doltson khuwilgaan* of Zorigt wangiin khoshuu, Tüsheet khan aimag.

Five units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Dültsegiin jas*, *Sanjidiin jas*, *Dordowiin jas*, *Jasaa Tsedewiin jas*.

The National Archives possesses 120 documents related to the *datsan*. According to the catalogue of "*Badamyogo* or *Sandawdechiglin datsan*" of the Manchu period (M-88), it was firstly initiated in the *khüree* in 1813 or in the 18th year of Saishaalt yeröolt's reign (Jiaqing, 1796-1820). Its operation was dedicated to the teachings of the Yellow Stream. The staff has chief lama, vice lama, disciplinary master, chanting master, shrine-keeper, cook, etc. These ranked lamas were nominated by the *Tsogchin*. The *datsan* had its own property, herds and flocks, incomes and expenses. Four financial units belonged to the *datsan*, namely *Ikh jas*, *Dülsen jas*, *Sanjidiin jas*, and *Dordowiin jas*. The catalogue lists 55 texts which were written between 1841 and 1910. They include data about the herds and flocks of the *datsan* and its stallions which were prepared for the army in Northern pastures, and on the *nyaraw*'s cash and silver income (1863). A document supervises the silver property of the *jas* (1873), whilst another provides data about ceremonial expenses, and about the reparation of the temple building (1878). The catalogue (A-84) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 19 texts. One can gain information about the expenses of various ceremonies which were held in the *datsan* in 1920. The catalogue (SKh-187) of the Modern period contains 46 texts, which were written between 1922 and 1937. Many of them provide data about herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, *Ikh jas* and *Dülsen jas*. A very interesting source states that *Badamyogo datsan* could not pay back its loans to other *datsans* (text SKh-187/37, 1930-1932). In other words it means that the *datsan* did not have enough property to cover the tax which was levied in the 1930s. Two lists are available related to the sold herds and flocks of the *datsan* (1932 and 1934). The last documents clarify the exact properties, incomes and expenses of the *datsan*.

They were written on 1 September, 1936 and on 30 August, 1937. Thus, the operation of the temple was not stop till that time, although the temple had financial problems.

Before 1938 about 50-60 lamas belonged to *Badma yogo datsan*. The temple was destroyed in 1938. From 16 January 2002 *Badma yogo (Badma yoga) datsan* was revived and began to operate in one of the two remaining temple buildings in the first courtyard of *Geser siim* (R-914). Officially the temple belongs to *Gandan* monastery so follows the Gelukpa (Yellow Stream) tradition, though traditionally it also features aspects of the Nyingmapa (Red Stream) of Tibetan Buddhism. The main deity of the temple is Padmasambhava, the main tutelary deity is *Damdin Yansan*, and the main protector is *Jamsran*.²¹³

Avalokiteṣvara Temple

Migjid Janraiseg datsan (T. *mig 'byed spyān-ras gzigs grwa-tshang*, Temple of 'Avalokiteṣvara who open the eyes'), *Migjidjanraisegiin siim*, *Janraiseg*, *Melmiigeeree bolgooson siim*

This imposing building (GPS: N 47°55.374', E 106°53.698', elevation 1301 m), which became a symbol of Mongolian independence, is a temple dedicated to the honour of Avalokiteṣvara, the Bodhisattva of Compassion. The temple is marked on Rinchen's map separately as *Migjid Janraiseg datsan* (R-913) and is visible on Jügder's painting. Several books contain information on the history of the temple and some photos are available in books²¹⁴ and in the collection of the Film Archives.²¹⁵ Dashtseren lama served useful information about the *datsan*.

The temple, which is a mixture of Tibetan and Chinese styles, was built behind *Güngaachöilin datsan* and *Lamrin datsan*. Its foundation stemmed from the time when the 8th Bogd khaan's eyesight was seriously affected in 1911. Mongolian clerics and princes asked the Bogd khaan what would help to heal his eyes. The Bogd khaan declared if Mongolians built an eighty cubit high statue (c. 26 metres) of *Janraiseg*, the Bodhisattva who looks on all sentient beings with great compassion, his eyesight would improve. On 29 December, 1911, Mongolians conferred the ultimate rights to the 8th Bogd, who was nominated as Bogd khaan. Chinese builders using copper from Doloon nuur built the *Janraiseg* statue in 1911 to 1912 with the gilding being done by Mongolian and Chinese masters. On 13 June, 1913 the statue was consecrated. The measurement used for the planning and building of the statue was based on a measurement of the Bogd khaan's forearm (*tokhoi*, 'forearm' is a traditional Mongolian way of measurement). Ten thousand statues of *Ayuush* made by Mongolian and Polish masters surrounded the statue. The distinctive Tibetan shaped brick built temple with Chinese roof also contained one thousand copies of the *Yum*, printed by bronze blocks, and the eight stūpas marking the events in Buddha's life.

According to Sereeter (1999, pp. 72-74.), the idea for building the statue first occurred in 1905. Notwithstanding this, it was only in 1911 that the people of the four *Khalkh* aimags and the subordinates of the Bogd (*Ikh shaw'*) donated 33,000 *lan* of silver to celebrate the independence of Mongolia from the Manchu overlordship, which had just been gained. The main tutelary deity of the temple was *Jigjid*, and its main protector was *Gombo*. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Janraisegiin*

²¹³ On the 2nd, 10th, 16th and 25th of the lunar month there is a special ceremony in honour of the main tutelary deity of the temple, *Damdin Yansan* whose curtained off sculpture is placed on the altar. Every year, either in spring or in autumn (in 2005 it was held in autumn), the ceremony of *Yeröölün khaan* ('King of the prayers') or *Sanjïdmolom khural* (T. *bzang spyod smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po*, Skr. Ārya Bhadracharyāpranidhānarāja, 'king prayer of good actions') is performed for three days.

²¹⁴ Tsültem 1988: 36, 82, 91, 180, 182, 185; Maidar: 61, Sereeter: 74, Shepetilnikov: 85, Dashnyam: 262

²¹⁵ Film Archives K24236, K24735

nünnain jas, *Da-nin-ag khurliin jas*,²¹⁶ *Mönkh Dorjzodwiin jas*, *Dörwön lamiin Günregiin jas*. According to Dashtseren lama, there were ceremonies held here regularly and the temple had a disciplinary master.

The National Archives preserves 122 texts about *Migjidjanraiseg datsan* dated from 1912 on. The temple was founded in 1912. The catalogue (A-81) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 84 texts which were compiled between 1912 and 1921. Name of *Nünnain jas*, *Da-nin-ag khural* or *Da-ni-gewag khurliin jas*, *Sanjidiin jas*, *Günregiin jas*, *Dorjzodwiin jas*, and *Düitsen jas* are mentioned in more titles. There are various texts in the collection such a list of donations dedicated to create the *Ayuush* sculptures (1912) of the temple, a list of objects of worship and other properties of the *datsan* (1913), a list of donations received to burn eternal butter-lamps in honour of Buddha and Tsongkhapa (1918), and a list of brick tea donations. There is a list of those *otogs* of the *Ikh shaw'* area which had to serve *aarts* during the *khailen* period, at *Tümet khangal* and other ceremonies (1921). The catalogue (Kh-194) of the Modern Period contains 38 texts written between 1921 and 1929 including several texts about the herds and flocks, incomes and expenses, silver with interest, livestock and dairy products, and worshipping requisites of certain financial units (1924). The last text was written in 1929.

The communists destroyed the original statue of *Migjid Janraiseg* in 1938 and metal from it was used to make bullets for guns. The temple itself was not destroyed and, according to Pürew (2004, pp. 73-74.), it was used as a military barrack from 1938. Pürew claims (1994, p. 56.) that 10,000 *tögrögs* were offered to pull down the temple in the 1950s, but nobody applied. From the 1950s it functioned as the State Archives and it was renovated in 1962, 1971 and 1973.

In 1988, the Mongolian Culture Foundation initiated the reconstruction of the central statue, supported by P. Ochirbat who became the first President after 1990. The building of the present statue by Mongolian masters using copper from the Erdenet mines began in 1991 funded in part by generous donations of around 350 million *tögrögs* from Mongolian devotees. His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama consecrated the part-built statue in August 1995 when he was in Mongolia and conducted the *Düinkhor* initiation, too. In 1996 the precious statue was completed under the leadership of G. Pürewbat lama and his students in the Mongolian Institute of Buddhist Art (*Mongoliin burkhanii shashnii urlakhui ukhaanii deed surguul'*) with the formal opening ceremony led by President Ochirbat taking place on the 16th of the last autumn month.²¹⁷

Jarankhashar, the White Stūpa Assembly

Tsagaan suwragiin khural, Jarankhashar, Jaronkhashoriin suwarga (T. *bya-rung kha-shor*)
GPS: N 47°55.700', E 106°53.295'

Rinchen does not mark this assembly separately (NR-960). Although Jügder's painting presents it and some photos²¹⁸ and other paintings also show *Jarankhashariin suwarga*, only

²¹⁶ Exact meaning unknown. *Da-nin-ag* or *Da-ni-gewag*, T. ?

²¹⁷ A set of the *Ganjuur* and *Danjuur* and other religious scriptures, tons of herbs and incense, a complete yurt along with its furniture, and other objects were placed inside the statue, according to the requirements for the preparation and dedication of holy statues or stūpas. The eighty cubits or twenty-six meter high figure of *Janraiseg* is decorated with precious stones and is gilded in gold. It is surrounded by prayer wheels and numerous sculptures of *Ayuush* most of which are copies although some of the originals have been recovered. The 10th anniversary of the rebuilding was celebrated on 23 October, 2006. (For a detailed story of the rebuilding of the temple and the statue, see Mend-Oyoo, G., *Bilgiin melmii neegch*, Ulaanbaatar 1997.) Many new stūpas and a stele were erected near the temple. In front of the temple, there is a small building made of glass, for lighting butter lamps.

²¹⁸ Maidar: 159; Sereeter: 76; Shepetilnikov: 102; Tsültem 1988: 159; Film Archives (K24703)

Maidar (1970, p. 72.) mentions it as a temple. However, Gonchig lama, the main disciplinary master of *Dashchoimbel datsan* (born 1910) served relevant information on the temple.

According to Maidar, *Tsagaan suwragiin khural* was one of the assemblies in Ulaanbaatar though he does not give any information about its location. The name refers to the huge white *Jaranhashar* (T. *bya-rung kha-shor*) stūpa, which was located to the North-East of Gandan. Both Jügder's painting, Balgan's painting and the paintings preserved in the National Library of Mongolia show this. According to Gonchig lama, 3-4 lamas held ceremonies regularly in the treasure-vase hall (*bumba*, T. *bum-pa*) of this stūpa, and this was called the *Tsagaan suwragiin khural*, the White Stūpa Assembly.

Jaranhashar stūpa was built in the style of a special type of stūpa, typified by the *bya-rung kha-shor* stūpa of Nepal, Kathmandu. This has painted eyes on its middle part above the treasure-vase and under the dharma wheels part.

Tsagaan suwragiin khural was located at the *Jarankhashar* stūpa, which was destroyed during the purges. There are no remains, the site is built over. It was near the present site of what is called *Zuragt* (Television), where stands a big Television tower today. (GPS was taken on the East of the TV tower.)

PALACES OF THE BOGD IN THE BANKS OF THE RIVER TUUL

As Jügder's painting shows, there were several residential palaces of the Bogd khaan, each with imposing buildings, in the area between the Middle River (Dund gol) and the River Tuul. This particular zone was called *Öndgiin sürgiin nutag* and reserved for the Bogd khaan and his kin. It was also used for the flocks of sheep, cows, horses and camel for the personal use of the greater family (Pürew, 2004, pp. 25-29.). In this area there was: the Green Palace with the winter palace called *Sharawpeljeelin* (R-911) with a garden, called *Norowlin* (NR-943); the summer palace called *Khaistai lawran* (R-921); and the White Palace called *Güngaadejidlin* (R-922). Religious ceremonies were held on special occasions in some of these palaces but not in all. Another palace called *Pandelin* was situated in the left bank of the River Tuul, which, according to Sereeter (1999, p. 80.) had an alternative name, *Narkhajidiin süm* (R-923). In the area above the *Sharawpeljeelin* there was the residence of the privileged descendants of *Süün dalai eej*, the breast-feeding nanny of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar. The Bogd khaan's guards were settled on the left of the Green palace, between it and the White Palace. There were a few other residences, all of high-ranking people, such as that of Prime Minister Sain noyon khan named Namnansüren. The Government administration building (*Yerönkhii yaam*, *Bügd yerönkhiilekh zakhirakh yaam*) was also situated in this zone.

Sharawpeljeelin, the Green Palace and the Winter Palace of the Bogd

Sharawpeljeelin süm (T. *shes-rab dpal rgyas gling*, 'island of increasing knowledge'), *Erdem itgemjit bilgiig khögjүүлэн badruulagch süm* (M. *Bilig-i kögъигүүлэн badarayuluyчи süm-e*), *Bogd khaanii nagoon süm/ordon*, *Bogd khaanii öwliin ord*, *Goliin nagoon süm*, *Oyuuniig arwigagch*, *Deed süm*, *Bogd khaanii ordonii muzei*
GPS: N 047°53.867, E 106°54.417

Rinchen marks the Green Palace or Winter Residence of the Bogd (*Bogd khaanii nagoon süm*, *Bogd khaanii öwliin ord*) on his map (R-911) and Jügder's painting also shows its large complex. The Palace was known by various names such as the Green Temple of the Bogd Khaan, Green temple on the bank of the river, Winter palace of the Bogd Khaan, *Sharawpeljeelin*, Upper palace (according to the flow of the River Tuul). Nowadays is known as the Palace Museum of the Bogd Khaan. Being a very imposing complex which survived the purges, several photos²¹⁹ and also written sources on its history are available. D. Altannawch, the employer of the present museum provided data on the complex.

After the Yellow Palace, the residence of the Bogds, was burned down in 1892, a new palace called the Green Palace was built between 1893 and 1903 on the right bank of the River Tuul (Oyuunbileg, Dashnyam, 1999, pp. 248-550.). The two-storey white building of the Winter Palace (one of the buildings of the Green Palace complex) was built in 1905, with its design based on a picture sent by the Russian Tsar to the Bogd khaan. This is where the 8th Bogd with his wife, the Ekh dagina, lived until his death in 1924. The complex survived the destructions almost intact, and was turned into a museum from 1926, where some of the most precious Mongolian Buddhist artefacts are still held.

Jügder's painting shows the building complex in details together with its inner courtyards. The fenced-off area had two main parts: the Green Palace complex with seven temples and the white-coloured Winter Palace. The *yampai* (Chinese yang pai), the protection wall decorated by dragons, is situated in the South, as is customary, outside the Southern gate. Two flag poles (*tugnii mod* or *chiigaa/chiigan*) stand on either side in front of the complex:

²¹⁹ Tsültem 1988: 70-81; Maidar: 140; Sereeter: 90; Shepetilnikov: 48, 53-55, X256; Geleta/Forbáth: 216; Dashnyam: 249; etc.

on religious occasions the blue flag of politics was hung on the right and the yellow flag of religion was hung on the left (Oyuunbileg, Dashnyam, 1999, p. 249.). A wooden hedge called *shörgön khais* surrounded the area in front of the complex. The *Andinmen khaalga* (*Amgalan enkhiiin khaalga*), 'The gate of peace' was constructed between 1912 and 1919, without nails, to celebrate the historical event of the Bogd khaan taking religious and politic power in 1911. The name of the palace is painted on the gate in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian, Chinese and Manchu script. The threefold gate (*Yamba yosloliin khaalga*) was the place where the Bogd khaan entered to the palace through the central gate. The religious (abbot, and other high-ranking lamas) and political leaders and foreign guests entered through the left gate while the Bogd khaan's guards and musicians entered through the right gate.

Inside the fence, the temple of the Mahārājās (*Makhranz*, T. *rgyal chen*, Skr. Mahārājā, 'great king', guards of the four directions), called *Makhranziin süm* was built in 1903 to house the huge statues of the four direction guards (*dörwön Makhranz*). This temple leads to a court with two small pavilions in the South corners, one for the bell and the other for the drum (*Jin khonkh*, *Jin khengeregiin süüdrewch* or *rawsa*, *serüün asar*).

The *Erdem itgemjit süm* (Temple of Knowledge and Trust) or *Naidan süm* (Temple of the Arhats) is situated on the North side of the courtyard between the pavilions. According to Altannawch, every year in the last summer month, on the birthday of the Bogd khaan, a group of 8-16 lamas came here from *Dechingalaw datsan* to perform the *Naidan chogo* ceremony (in honour of the 16 main disciples of Buddha) for three days and nights.

The Bogd khaan's servants lived in the two *Jodkhan* (T. *mchod-khang*, 'shrine room, chapel') temples that are on either side of this temple.

In the centre of the second courtyard there is the Green Palace (*Nogoon Lawiran*) itself. This was the Bogd khaan's principal temple and, during the summer, lamas meditated here every day often being joined by the Bogd khaan himself. *Ochirdar* was the main deity of the whole complex and his statue stood inside the Green Palace as the main deity of the complex.

There are two buildings (also called *Jodkhan* temples) on either side of the Green Palace building. The one on the left served first as an inn for princes, barons and other important statesmen later becoming the treasury of the Bogd khaan. The building on the right served as an inn for visiting reincarnations, religious leaders, abbots and other ranked religious people. As well as this, it was the library, containing the collected works of the Bogds. In 1913 a small building was built for storing the vast range of costumes and robes of the Bogd khaan.

The great treasury (*Ikh san*) financed the running of the complex. There were no financial units attached to it.

In the National Archives there are several sources related to this palace in the catalogues of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and in the catalogues of the Bogd's treasuries. The individual catalogues of the palace contain 25 texts. Data from the Manchu period is not available in them. The catalogue (A-224) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains four texts about herds and flocks (four kinds of livestock), and incomes and expenses of the palace. A text indicates that Tömörbaatar lama who belonged to the palace left without permission. The renovation and re-painting of *Sharawpeljeelin süm*, and the amount of silver dedicated to this work were recorded in 1919. The catalogue (TsKh-230) of the Modern period contains 21 texts dated from 1921 and 1925. In 1921 a part of the palace's herds and flocks was transferred to the Ekh dagina. The livestock of the palace consisted of camels, horses, bulls, goats and sheep. There is a list of the objects that were sold to cover the costs of the temple's renovation (1923). The livestock that was donated to the Bogd, and the golden and silver accessories which were used by the offering preparers (*takhilch*) were also recorded.

After losing his power when the Communist Government took over in 1921, the Bogd khaan became a leader without any real power until his death in 1924. After this the palace was protected by the State. On 1st April 1926 the authorities decided to turn the palace into a museum. Geleta (Forbáth, 1934, p. 219.) was requested to complete the transformation work by the Mongol Academy of Science. Geleta claims (Forbáth, 1934, pp. 218-219.) that the Bogd invited Europeans to take part in the building of the winter palace. There were eight rooms on each of the two floors in the winter palace. There was also a garage next to the palace to house the Bogd's collection of cars. The *gegeen*'s life was made more comfortable by a telephone, an electric bell, and an electricity generator. He also had a collection of more than a thousands clocks (p. 219.), and a collection of Chinese vessels. There was also an aviary situated in front of the gates of the Green Palace (photo, p. 216.). After the death of the Bogd, many of his belongings were sold at auction. Dariimaa adds (2003, p. 109.) that the Bogd's robes, many belongings and artefacts from the palaces were divided between the *datsans*, temples and *aimags* of the city as his 'last donation'. After this many of these objects were placed in front of the temples for more months until they were bought.

According to Altannawch, it took until 1931 before the preparatory work began to organize the remaining artefacts into an exhibition in, what would become, the Palace Museum of the Bogd Khaan. In 1954 it became under the control of the State Central Museum and five years later all the buildings were renovated and repainted. The museum, which was independent from the State Central Museum, opened its gates in 1961. Restoration has continued from this time until today: in the 1970s the walls and ceiling of the Winter Palace were repaired; the *Andinmen* gate and the flag poles in 1988; the main gate was renovated in 1996.

The protective wall, the gates (*Andinmen khaalga*, *Yamba yosloliin khaalga*), the *Makhranziin süm*, and almost every temple of the complex remained practically intact. Only some wooden buildings such as the *Dar' ekh* temple, some small chapels and administrative buildings did not survive. The complex still operates as a museum exhibiting the personal belongings of the Bogd khaan and his wife, and numerous old artifacts.

Today, *Erdem itgemjit süm* or *Naidan süm* houses the statues of *Biziyaa*, *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid* and *Nogoon Dar' ekh*, which were saved from the destruction. The *Naidan süm* (Temple of the Arhats) was restored in 2005. The building of the left *Jodkhan* situated in the first courtyard now exhibits unique silk appliques of various deities made in the beginning of the 20th century, such as *Gongor*, *Tsamba*, *Sosorbaram* or *Baraishir* and *Dorjpagam*. Some of them were made by the famous Khasgombo and Tawkhai. The building of the right *Jodkhan* houses a vast collection of thangkas painted with paints made from natural earth and minerals. The most famous are of *Janraiseg*, *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid* and *Jigjid* and the one depicting the 12 deeds of Buddha. *Nogoon lawran* presently contains some of the Bogd khaan's furniture, the famous twenty-one *Dar' ekh* made by Öndör gegeen Zanabazar, and other statues, all of which survived the purges. The building of the left *Jodkhan* situated in the second courtyard is used to exhibit a vast collection of unique statues and thangkas from the 19th and 20th centuries, such as the image of the 4th Panchen Lama, *Maidar* with his two disciples, namely *Atiša* (Adisha, T. mar-me mdzad, 982-1054, great Indian master, initiator of Kadampa (T. *bka'-gdams-pa*) Stream of Tibetan Buddhism) and *Tsongkhapa*; *Choijoo*, *Lkham*, and *Ganesh* (T. *bgegs-kyi rgyal-po*, the king of the obstructing spirits, Gaóéša). The *Jodkhan* on the right contains books, printing blocks, the statues of Buddha and his 16 disciples, and *Ayuush* or *Tsewegmed / Tsegmid*, as well as thangkas and costumes.

The white building of the old Winter Palace currently exhibits many of the Bogd khaan's personal artefacts such as his costumes and robes, hats and jewels, his throne as well as his and his wife's beds. Also on display are a collection of gifts received from foreign

dignitaries, and a collection of stuffed animals. Jügder's original painting of Niislel Khüree and a painting showing the *Khaistai lawran* (R-921) are also exhibited. There is a reception room on the first floor with a staircase leading to the second floor.

Norowlin, the Bogd's Zoo

Norowlin / Norowlinkhai (T. *nor-bu gling-kha*, 'treasure island, M. *Norbulingka*), *Erdenii khiid*

GPS: N 47° 53.776', E 106° 54.542', elevation 1281m

Although not marked on Rinchen map (NR-943) the fenced-off complex of *Norowlin* ('Jewel Island') was situated at the East side of the Green palace of the Bogd khaan as the picture painted by Jügder shows. There was a wooden building and some yurts within a fenced-off area East of the Green Palace, on the left side of the road leading to the River Tuul on the two banks of a creek. It had the same name, meaning 'Jewel Island' as the summer palace of the Dalai Lamas in Tibet. According to Soninbayar lama, O. Pürew and other sources this place did not function as a temple, but it was a smaller zoo of the Bogd khaan. The Bogd khaan was famous for his collection of exotic animals, including a giraffe and an elephant (the photos are kept in the Museum of the Bogd Khaan).

According to Geleta (Forbáth, 1934, pp. 217-218.), this garden pavilion next to the winter palace on the bank of a small creek, situated on the meadow of the deers was the Bogd's favourite dwelling. The pavilion was a Chinese-style wooden building with a high closed terrace on the South and with many windows with colour glass and ornamental transparent tissue paper. The walls were also decorated with wood-carvings under the red-coloured silken drapery. Its furniture was in Oriental style with a large bed carved from palisander tree with heavy silken bed-clothes and brocade pillows. Tables and upholstered chairs were arranged in the other halls. There is nothing left.

Khaistai lawran, the Bogd's Summer Residence

Erdmiin dalai buyan chuulgan süm ('island of collecting merit from the ocean of wisdom', probable T. *bsod-nams rgya-mtsho yon-tan tshogs gling*), *Bogd khaanii serüün ord*, *Khaist(ai) ordon/ lawran/ labran* (M. *Qayisutai ordon*, T. *bla-brang*), *Khashaatai lawran*, *Khailaastiin süm ordon*

GPS: N 47°53.662', E 106°54.821', elevation 1273 m

Rinchen marks this palace as *Erdmiin dalai buyan chuulgan süm (Bogd khaanii serüün ord)* on his map (R-921) and it is also presented on Jügder's painting. The Bogd Khaan's summer residence was widely known as *Khaistai lawran*, the 'Fenced-off palace'. Some books contain sporadic data about it. O. Pürew, Dashtseren lama and B. Daajaw architect could serve useful data on the palace. Jügder's painting (1913), another painting by unknown painter, kept in the Bogd Khaan Museum (Tsültem, 1986, picture: 170.) and a photo in Forbáth's book (1934, 184) show the old appearance of the complex.

In the early part of the twentieth century, the Bogd khaan's summer palace where he lived with his wife, Dondogdulam, consisted of a collection of large and small buildings and yurts (Jügder's painting shows around ten buildings) in the midst of extensive pleasant wooded grounds surrounded by a wooden fence. The painting shows that the palace area was divided into six small courts with the buildings arranged in them. According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 45.), there was a wooden clock mounted on the top of a tall wooden tower standing in the courtyard. However, according to B. Daajaw, the tower was a radio antennae built in the

1920s and the two-storey wooden clock, made by Mongolian goldsmiths, stood on the left of it. This clock was decorated with images of the 'animals of the twelve years' of the Mongolian calendar.

According to Dariimaa (2003, pp. 43-44.) guards (*torgon tsereg*) of the Bogd khaan resided here. Furthermore, it was a place for looking after the children taken into the care by the Bogd khaan.²²⁰ After his death, all his belongings were confiscated by the commission of the people's government (*zasgiin gazriin komiss*) and the adopted children were sent back to their families.

According to Dariimaa (p. 44.) the palace, called *Khailaastiin lawran* was originally situated in the valley of Khailaast in the Chingeltei mountain and it was moved later to its present site on the right bank of the River Tuul. However, there is no other source confirming this statement, and he gives no date either for the establishment or when it moved. According to Pürew (1994, pp. 59-60.), the palace buildings belonged originally to the summer residence of *yonzon khamba*, the Bogd khaan's tutor. At the end of the 19th century the dwelling was converted into the summer palace for the Bogd khaan with the whole site being surrounded by a wooden fence (*khais*). This was corroborated by Dashtseren lama. The 8th Bogd valued the magnificent view of the river from his summer palace further enhancing the grounds by creating a park-like atmosphere with herds of sheep and horses grazing there.

Jügder's painting shows the complex to be situated East of the Winter Palace. A detailed picture of the palace painted by an unknown painter hangs in the Palace Museum of the Bogd Khaan.²²¹ This painting shows a red coloured two-storey building in the North-East corner, which is not present on the Jügder's painting. It is assumed the building was built after 1913 when Jügder did his painting.

Supposedly, big ceremonies were not held here. However, according to Dashtseren lama, some lamas lived here whose task was primarily to act as attendants to the Bogd khaan by preparing his food, and looking after his ceremonial wardrobe.

In Geleta's time (Forbáth, 1934, p. 230.), in the 1920s, the summer palace became the central office of the national party with the political college being also housed here (p. 174, p. 230.). He relates how the furniture in this palace was poorer than in the Bogd's other palaces though after the renovation its appearance changed a great deal. However, the clock pendulum (photo in Forbáth, 1934, p. 184.) in the garden hanging from the 20 metres height platform was still working in Geleta's time. The pendulum powered a clock situated in one of the palace rooms. Badma, a Buryad master, constructed the clock. He was the Bogd's personal assistant, being his driver, mechanic, photographer, watchmaker and dentist. Geleta also mentions that the national government was merciful with Badma after the Bogd's demise, endowing him with a house in the summer palace where he had lived from the time of the Bogd onwards.

According to Pürew (1994, p. 62.), the summer palace was used by the Central School of the Revolutionary Party after 1937.

GPS was taken at the site of the remaining two-storey building. The buildings of the complex that remains today are situated South of the Management Academy (*Udirdlagiin Akademi*). It is not known exactly what the buildings were used for originally. The two-storey white building, which has a small veranda and a terrace, has, for many years, been used to house several families. It is in a very bad state of repair with litter and debris everywhere.

²²⁰ Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text pp. 23-26., Mongolian text pp. 700-703.) gives an account of these adopted children listing their names and their relationship with the Bogd. According to him, one of them was Lamyaa, the child of the younger sister of a lama in *Erkhem (toinii) aimag*. The others were *Yalguusan lam* and *Chin bishrelt lam*, Sosorbaram (Baraishir by his religious name, who became a lama of *Badma yogo* monastic school (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 52., Mongolian text pp. 733-735.) and Erennyam.

²²¹ Part of the picture is published by Tsültem 1986, picture No. 170.

Today, a family lives on the first floor. There are two doors on the veranda on the Southern side. Entering the door on the left there is a staircase leading to the second floor where there are three rooms. Hidden between newly built houses there are five other old buildings in the immediate area: two of them are long rectangular buildings, and the others are smaller. They are used for different purposes today: residential and commercial (offices). Two of them appears to have been repaired recently. All are situated to the East of the two-storey building described above, having the same architectural features and being built with the same materials. The one immediately on the East of the two-storey building is completely renovated with an added part and used as the Child welfare centre of Metropolitan Police Department (*Niisleliin Tsagdaagiin Gazriin khüükhdiin khalamj, üilchilgeenii töw*) from 1996. The two buildings on its North and East are empty and not used currently. They stand in the courtyards of newly built estate houses and are in very bad state of repair. The last two buildings are situated on the East of all the other buildings behind each other and are used as dwellings. The Northern one is renovated. The remaining area of the Summer Palace complex or *Khaistai ordon* is now completely built in.

Güngaadejidlin, the Bogd's White Palace

Tsagaan süm, Güngaadejidlin süm (T. *kun-dga' bde-skyid gling*, 'island of rejoice and happiness'), *Dood süm, Khutagtiin Tsagaan süm, Tuuliin Tsagaan süm, Öwgön tsagaan süm, Khotol bayasgalant amgalan jargalangiin süm, Khotliig bayasgan jarguulagch*
GPS: N 47°55.570', E 106°52.696', elevation 1283 m

Rinchen marks this palace on his map (R-922) as *Tsagaan süm (Güngaadejidlin)*. However, the palace was known by different names, such as White Temple, Lower Temple (according to the flow of the River Tuul), White Temple of the *khutagt*, White Temple by the River Tuul, White Old Temple, etc. Besides written sources, Dashtseren lama could serve relevant data on this palace. Some old photos²²² show the beauty of the palace that existed once.

According to Sereeter (1999, pp. 87-88.), the decision to construct this palace was made in 1838. It was finally built in 1840 by the 5th Bogd on the right bank of the River Tuul (today on the West of the First or Central Electricity Plant (*Töv tsakhilgaan kombinat, Negdügeer stants*)). The two-storey, white-coloured Tibetan-style central building was made from bricks with a highly ornamented hexagonal gilded brass roof. The temple was encircled by three fences that enclosed an area measuring 51×46 *ald* (1 *ald* being 1,6 m) (See Banzragch, 2004, p. 15.). The great treasury (*Ikh san*) financed the construction of the palace.

According to Dashtseren lama, *Güngaadejidlin* or *Tsagaan süm* was a palace more than a temple as lamas did not reside there permanently. According to Pürew (1994, p. 59.), this building was used as the summer residence of the 6th, 7th and 8th Bogds. Maidar lists this palace under the name of *Öwgön tsagaan süm* or 'the old white temple' but do not mention any other data about it.

As Jügder's painting shows there were three fences surrounding the temple complex which was situated inside the internal courtyard. The internal fence was octagonal shaped with seven gates.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 88.), within the palace complex of *Güngaadejidlin* there were buildings including the Temple of Amitābha Buddha (*Awidiin süm*, T. 'od-dpag-med), the Temple of Öndör gegegen (*Öndör gegegenii süm*), the Palace of the Bogd (*Bogdiin lawran*), and the Yurt palace of the gate (*Üüdnii ger tugdum/tugdum*).

The National Archives possesses 16 documents related to this palace in its individual

²²² Tsültem 1988: 58, 59; Maidar: 142; Sereeter: 88; Shepetilnikov: 23; Geleta/Forbáth: 200

catalogues, while the majority of the relevant texts are available in the collection of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs.²²³ The catalogue (M-208) of the Manchu period contains four texts which were written between 1895 and 1909. A document notifies the incomes and expenses of the Bogd's household of the stūpas of the 5th and 7th Bogds (1895) and *Güngaadejidlin süm*. Herds and flocks of *Güngaadejidlen süm*, and the horses of the "stable" (*sümiin uyaa*) were recorded. The day of the Bogd's visit (*Bogd zalrakh ödör*) was determined in a text. The catalogue (A-166) of the Bogd khaan's reign includes 12 titles. These documents inform us about saddle-horses (*uyaand uyakh*), herds and flocks, incomes and expenses. The proper days of the Bogd and Ekh dagina's visit to the *khiiree* was determined in 1920. The renovation of the temple is mentioned as well. There are not any sources from the Modern Period. It confirms that this complex was out of operation after the passing away of the Bogd khaan.

Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text pp. 8-9., Mongolian text pp. 686-687.) describes some of the images kept in this temple. He describes a *Jigjid* statue made of steel, which was said to have been made in the time of the 8th Bogd. It was one cubit high (*üzüür tokhoi*, equalling to the measure from the elbow to the end of the middle finger) and the sparkling implements it held were all skilfully made of silver. There was also a similar statue of *Damjan Dorlig* riding a goat. The body of the statue of *Jamsran* was made of iron with the head being gilded (painted with gold). There was also a precious *Khajid* image at this temple, which was venerated by the 5th Bogd when he was performing the *Khajid* meditation (*ninchin*, T. *snyings-chen*). It was a gilded brass statue completely covered by cloth, with only one hand visible. These images were sent by the *Dalai Choinkhor wan* of Sain noyon khan aimag. According to Sereeter (1999, p. 88.), among these were the valuable statues of the ten wrathful protectors.

Jambal also tells how *Öndör Gegeen's* clothes were kept here. There was a hat in the form of a skull-cap (*tow' malgai*) with four leaf-shaped peaks (*sarawch*). There were also his big red Mongol boots, and his summer gown (*deel*) similar to a Buryad gown, 'made of stuff like yellow silk pleated at the waist and with a lining of gauze, with small cuffs and a rough fur collar like black otter fur'. The clothes, wrapped in a bundle, were kept next to a papier-mâché statuette of *Öndör Gegeen*. A portrait of *Darnad/Daranata* (Skr. *Tārānatha*) was also in the White Temple. According to Jambal, it was sent to the *Choijin lamiin süm* (R-915) after 1938, along with many other paintings and ritual objects from all over the capital, where it was at the time *Damdinsüren* interviewed him in the 1950s. It is presumed that it is there to this day.

Ikh jas and *Öndör gegeenii jas* provided the funds for all expenses from 1925. However, most of the complex was completely destroyed in 1938 though, according to *Pürew* (1994, p. 63.), the *Tsagaan süm* was used as a leather factory for some years after this. GPS was taken on the West side of the First or Central Electricity Plant, inside the fence. There are no remains today. O. *Pürew* said that the exact site of the old temple was outside the walls of the Central Electricity Plant to the South-West. However on *Rinchen's* map, compiled by *Pürew* himself, it is marked inside the wall of the plant, but this only means some ten meters difference.

Pandelin or Narkhajid Temple

Narkhajidiin/Narokhajidiin süm, (T. *na-ro mkha'-spyod*), *Baldankhajidlin* (T. *dpal-ldan mkha'-spyod gling*), *Pandilin/Pandellin/Pandelin/Bandlin süm* (T. *phan-bde gling*, 'island of

²²³ Some texts are also available in the catalogues of *Güngaachoilin*, as the name of these two were not recognized separately by the archivists during the classification procedure.

prosperity and bliss', M. *Pandeling süm-e*), *Tus amgalangiin süm*
GPS: N 47°53.268', E 106°54.584', elevation 1311m

Rinchen marks this palace on his map as *Narokhajidiin süm* (R-923) and it is also visible in details on Jügder's painting. Some sources briefly account its history and data providers as O. Pürew, Dashtseren lama, and B. Daajaw could provide relevant information about its layout, architectural features and ceremonies.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 80.) and Idshinnorow (1994, p. 22.), *Pandilin* temple was founded in 1840 on the initiative of the 5th Bogd.

The foundation of the temple is often connected to Danzanrawjaa (T. bstan-'dzin rab-rgyas), the fifth reincarnation of a Sakya saint, (1803-1856), the abbot of *Khamriin khiid* in the present Dornogow' aimag, famous writer, poet, playwright and founder of many monasteries.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 80.), it was also called *Narkhajidiin süm* after its main tutelary deity, *Narkhajid* (T. *na-ro mkha'-spyod*, Skr. Sarvabuddha dākinī). On Jügder's painting *Pandelin* is situated in the area near the present Zaisan tolgoi. Sereeter writes that initially the temple was situated South of the White Palace on the right bank of the River Tuul. Then, fearing floods, the authorities moved it to a hill on the left bank of the river (near the present Zaisan tolgoi, North of the University of Agriculture). According to Banzragch (2004, p. 15.) its grounds covered an area of 25×27 *ald*.

According to B. Daajaw, whose description is based on Jügder's painting which shows the temple in detail, *Narkhajidiin süm* was a square-shaped two-storey building with green tiled roof with a golden ornament on the top. As the painting shows, there were two yurts in the courtyard.

According to Sereeter, the main protector deities of the temple were *Lkhanaa Demchog* and *Dolgornaljormaa* (T. *sgrol-dkar rnal-'byor-ma*, The White Tārā yoginī). The great treasury paid the expenses of the temple although there was one own financial unit as well. However, according to Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 18., Mongolian text p. 695.), responsibility for the equipment in *Khajid* temple for six months each year, was held by the Bogd's *Gegeen san* treasury (the same as the above *Ikh jas*) and for the other six months by the *Darkhan chin wan*'s treasury.

There was no permanent congregation. Four lamas from the *Tsogchin* temple held rituals and ceremonies here from time to time. It is most probable that both lamas and female lamas took part in these ceremonies. According to Dashtseren lama, it was a mixed Yellow Stream – Red Stream temple. He claims that the annual *Khajid* festival day took place on the 25th of the last winter month with a special ceremony, *Khajidiin chogo* with a variety of musical instruments, with lamas as well as female lamas (*emegtei lam* or *khandmaa*, T. *mkha'-'gro-ma*, Skr. dākinī, 'sky-goer', 'sky traveler', often used for female practitioners) participating. Today the same *Khajid* ceremony is held on the same day in the bigger Mongolian monasteries such as *Gandan* and *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monasteries in Ulaanbaatar. As for the origin of this ceremony, it is said that *Narkhajid* was the main tutelary deity of the 5th Bogd. Once, when he was meditating on this goddess, he saw a red light above the Bogd Khan Mountain and the River Tuul. The ceremony has been held ever since then. Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 18., Mongolian text p. 695.) also says that *Zorigt wan* Yündendorj, took part in the *Khajid* meditation (*ninchin*, T. *snying-chen*) along with the 5th Bogd.

However, according to O. Pürew, this temple was used for the worship of the King of the Water Spirits (*lusiin khaan*). Temples of this kind were situated next to holy water sources.

The National Archives includes ten individual texts related to *Pandelin*. All of them

have remained from the Manchu period (M-211). The oldest text was written in 1865. Incomes and expenses, and the number of the livestock of the temple and its financial unit were recorded from time to time. The catalogues of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and the Bogd's treasuries contain more information about *Pandelin*.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 80.), the temple was closed in the winter of 1937 at which time statues and books were moved to the White Palace, *Güngaadejidlin*. (It seems that they were moved to the Green Palace, not to the White Palace.)

GPS was taken in front of the University of Agriculture. There are no remains. The Korean-sponsored International Buddha Park was opened in October 2005 to the East of this, at the foot of Zaisan tolgoi. Today, two women's centres in Ulaanbaatar bear the name of this old temple, *Narkhajid süm* in Bayangol district and *Baldankhajidlin* near Nairamdal zuslan. Both temples worship *Narkhajid* and, consequently, hold the same type of ceremonies in honour of this dākini, which they claim are the same as the ceremonies supposedly held in the old *Narkhajidiin süm*. Despite this, the two modern temples have no proven connection with the old one.

THE TEMPLE COMPLEX OF CHOIJIN LAMA AND THE ASSEMBLIES SITUATED AROUND IT

South of Züün Khüree there was the *Choijin lamiin süm* (R-915), which was the temple complex of Luwsankhaidaw, the state oracle (known as *Choijin lam*) who carried out a special tantric practice in the city. *Yonzon khambiin süm* (NR-947), the temple of the 8th Bogd and Luwsankhaidaw's teacher (who bore the title *yonzon khamba*, T. *yongs-'dzin mkhan-po*, 'tutor abbot') was situated on the right side of *Choijin lamiin süm*. *Agwa datsan* (NR-953), and presumably two smaller assemblies called *Oidowiin khural* (R-920) and *Dagwa zodochiin khural* (NR-951) were located right to the North of *Choijin lamiin süm*. The whole complex can be seen in Jügder's painting.

Temple Complex of Choijin Lama, the State Oracle

Choijin lamiin süm (T. *chos-skyong bla-ma*), *Nomiig tetgegch*, *Shashin sakhigchiin ordon*, *Zepellin süm* (T. *brtse-'phel gling*, 'Island of Increasing Mercy'), *Örshöoliig khögjüüleghch süm*, *Zankhan* (T. *gtsang-khang*, 'Sanctuary')

GPS: N 047°54.904, E 106°55.102

Rinchen marks *Choijin lamiin süm* (R-915) on his map and its complex is visible on Jügder's painting, too. The temple complex was known under many different names, such as: Temple of Choijin lama, Temple of the "Protector of the Teaching", *Zepellin*, and *Zankhan*. Besides the written sources Dashtseren lama served information on the operation of the temple complex. The collection of the Film Archives has photos of the temples (K23921-K23967). Some were published in different books.²²⁴

According to Sereeter (1999, pp. 77-78.) the head abbot (*khamba nomon khan*) of Ikh Khüree, Baldanchoimbel (having this position from 1865-1899), recognized Erdennamjil (known later as Luwsankhaidaw, T. *blo-bzang mkhas-grub*), the younger brother of the 8th Bogd as the oracle and interpreter of the *Choijin* (T. *chos-skyong*, Skr. *dharmapāla*), which means 'protector of the Teaching'. He became the official state oracle (*goliin choijin* or *albanii choijin*, 'main or official oracle') (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 10., Mongolian text p. 688.). However, Jambal states that during the Guangxu period (*Badruult tör*, 1875-1908)

²²⁴ Tsültem 1988: 61-69, 168; Maidar: 40, 62, 91; Sereeter: 79; Shepetilnikov: 26, 60-69; Geleta/Forbáth: 8; Dashnyam: 245, 272; A recent publication about the Temple Complex and its present state: Otgonsüren, D. (ed.), *Choijin lamiin süm muzyei*. Ulaanbaatar 2011

Tserendorj of Maimaachen, being in control, made Luwsankhaidaw the oracle giving him the title of oracle lama (*Choijin lam*). He adds that the oracle lama took Sürenkhorloo, daughter of the Damdin *zaisan* of Maimaachen, as his wife.

The oracle, who was educated by a lama from India or Tibet called *Sotow/Seti/Seetew Gürtembe* (T. *bse khrab*, 'hide plates/corselet', a guardian deity and *sku rten-pa* 'man possessed of deity, body support/representation', that is, oracle), was recognized in order that the Buddhist Teaching, which had already become widespread in Mongolia, would be protected.

According to Ölzii's book (1992, pp. 107-109.), a Mongolian lama, Luwsanpeljee (T. *blo-bzang* 'phel rgyas) of *Wangain aimag* in Züün Khüree wrote a text to invoke the protectors. Jambal says that the oracle Luwsankhaidaw was his pupil (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 10., Mongolian text p. 688.). The rituals were held in a big felt yurt, after this in a small wooden temple built between 1899 and 1901, which was next to the temple of *Dashdandarlin aimag*, North-West of the Yellow Palace. It contained a large and a small temple, a palace, some yurts and a financial unit. The temple had the privileges of a small *datsan* and, 50 lamas were appointed to participate in the ceremonies. According to Jambal, the *Ikh shaw*' supplied all the financial resources (Bawden, 1997, English text 11., Mongolian text 690.) for this temple. As the archival material show commands were sent to the *aimags* in 1902 and before to raise fund for the construction of the temple buildings.

In 1903 the temple burnt down and many yurts were put up for the *Choijin lam* in the enclosed yard of *Tsakhriin shadar gүн Shagdarjaw* (*Tsakhhar Shagdar gүн*), wherefixed dateceremonies were held (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 11., Mongolian text p. 689.). These were sponsored by the great treasury and the rich *datsans* (no exact data which *datsans* were they), but procuring them did a lot of harm to the *shaw*' (subordinated areas) and the colleges.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 78.) a year later, in 1904, 83,000 *lan* (or 88,779 *lan*, means 1,821.2 kg) of silver was given by the great treasury (*Ikh san*) and from donations, and a separated enclosed complex was established between 1904 to 1908 with brick buildings designed by architect Ombog who also built the Bogd khaan's Green Palace. According to Jambal's account (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 11., Mongolian text p. 689.), the finest craftsmen were summoned from all the banners in Mongolia to make the images and other ritual objects for the temple. Chinese and Mongols worked on the buildings and on the images, with Chinese, for the most part, building the temple, and Mongols, for the most part, making the Buddha images and accessories. The work of creating the latter was lead by Shoiw Ayuush of *Wangain aimag*, who was from the territory (*khoshuu*) of Zorigt wan, Osorbazar (O. wan) in TüsHEET khan aimag, and Wanchig, the lama of (*Khüükhen*) *Noyonii aimag* also took an active part. According to Jambal, it bore the name *Zankhan* temple. In 1906, the temple was named *Örshöoliig khögjüülegch süm* or *Zepellin*. Jügger's painting shows the whole temple complex with its surrounding courtyards and buildings.

The principal activity of the assembly was to propitiate the *Choijin* protector. According to Dashtseren lama, around 30-40 lamas took part in the daily chanting in the temple. Lamas from Züün Khüree were invited to participate in the bigger ceremonies. The invitation of *Choijin* (*Gürtembe*) was performed at the beginning of every month and consisted of calling the souls of the three protectors of the Teaching *Naichün Choijin*, *Zimur/Zemer/Zemur Choijin* (T. *rtse-ma-ra/tsi-ma-ra chos-skyong* or *tsi'u dmar-po*, the special protector deity of Samye monastery) and *Dorjshüg/Shüg* which occupied the oracle's body. Luwsankhaidaw became known as an interpreter of *Choijin* and Luwsanpeljee translated his mystical texts. Bawden translates (English text p. 10., Mongolian text p. 688.) the term *gomboo lam* (T. *mgon-pa*?) used by Jambal as 'speaker lama' saying that Luwsanpeljee was the oracle's speaker lama who understood and transmitted his pronouncements. The exact meaning of this term *gomboo* could not be identified, though Ölzii (1992, p. 188.) interprets

the term as *gomboo lam* or *khiidiin lam*, T. *dgon-pa'i bla-ma*, 'lama of the monastery'). Jambal adds (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 10., Mongolian text p. 689.) that the speaker lama managed the most important affairs of the oracle. He was given the title *Daichin khamba* ('heroic abbot', *daichin* being a Mongolian word meaning 'hero' and *khamba*, T. *mkhan-po*, meaning abbot).

According to Jambal's lively account (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 10., Mongolian text p. 688.), the oracle never spoke while in trance, but when one listened there was a humming emanating from his armpit which sounded something like words. The speaker lama, Luwsanpeljee, listened to this, wrote it down and made it known to the assembled people. Of the three guardian spirits, *Naichün/Naichin*, and *Zimur* were not very fierce, but *Shüg* was a very fierce guardian spirit (*dogshin sakhius*). So when the guardian spirit *Shüg* was within him, the oracle took on a very fierce aspect, hopping and leaping about, bobbing up and down and foaming at the mouth.

During the summer this ritual was performed in the *Gonkhon* (T. *mgon-khang*, protectors' chapel, attached to the main temple in the North, which is entered from the main hall) of the temple, and during the winter in a heated wooden yurt East of the temple.

According to Ölzii, the Bogd khaan ordered the invocation of the *Choijin* protector in the *Tsogchin temple* to take place on the 8th day of the Lunar New Year through the ceremonies held to the honour of the three protectors. The numerous titles and seals given to Luwsankhaidaw, such as *Güjir khambo* (*Gürtembe Güdjir khambo*, T. *sku rten-pa sku bcar mkhan-po*, Bawden, 1997, English text, p. 10.) or *Erdene biligt tungalag bishreelt khutagt* ('Khutagt of precious wisdom and pure belief') show the great prestige of *Choijin lam*. His temple complex owed the same privilege rights as *Dechingalaw* in the Yellow Palace and numerous administrators belonged to it.

According to Sereeter, the main tutelary deities of the temple were *Jigjid* and *Damdin*, while its main protectors were *Naichün/Naichin*, *Zimur*, and *Dorjshüg*. An own treasury, *Choijin lamiin san*, and two financial units (*jas*) belonged to the temple, namely *Sümiin jas* and *Agwa datsangiin jas* as *Agwa datsan* (T. *sngags-pa grwa-tshang*) or *Akhu datsan* was situated within the temple complex in the East (see the details below).

According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 41.), the *Tsam* dance was held on the 29th of the last summer month, though Ölzii claims (1992, p. 92., p. 113.) that from 1916 it was held here once a year on the 25th of the 8th month, with 108 lamas taking part. Before the dance, the lamas rehearsed for 6-10 weeks. This *Tsam* dance differed from *Khiiree Tsam*. Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 11., Mongolian text p. 689.) lists deities that appeared in it, namely *Mam* (T. *ma-mo*), *Zan* (T. *brtsan?*, a kind of demon, powerful ghost) and *Tawan khaan* ('Five Kings'), with the speaker lama Peljee (Luwsanpeljee, the *Daichin khamba*) acting as *Tawan khaan* (Ölzii, 1992, p. 113. confirms it). However, the *Tsam* was performed here only three times. Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 11., Mongolian text p. 689.) also says that the *Tsam* dance was performed during the Period of Autonomy (1911-1920), but was organized only about three times (most probably three subsequent years), and, according to him, ended in 1921 with the revolution when the people's government was established. (It may well be that it ended with the death of Luwsankhaidaw.)

In 1918, the oracle Luwsankhaidaw passed away suddenly and the invocation to *Choijin* stopped. According to Ölzii (1992, pp. 107-109.), Luwsanpeljee was appointed to lead the temple and was given the title *Güjir khambo* (T. *sku bcar mkhan-po*, 'personal attendant lama, who is company of a great lama'). Ceremonies were held in the temple until 1936. The temple was closed two years later, in 1938. In 1937 and 1938 many artifacts and objects of worship were dumped here from the temples and monasteries that were destroyed.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 78.) from 1940 the complex was handed over to the Academy of Sciences (*Shinjelekhi ukhaanii khiireelen*). In 1941 the collection of religious

objects kept here became strictly protected. The monastery was included in the list of historical and cultural monuments and put in charge of the Committee of Sciences in 1942. In that year the temple was converted into the Museum of Religious History. It was separated from the Palace Museum of the Bogd Khaan in January 2000. To begin with numerous sculptures, thangkas, images, masks of *Tsam* dance and other ritual objects were effectively piled up and stored in the building. However, in 1960-61 the complex was renovated and the objects were arranged into an exhibition. In the 1960s two buildings in the first courtyard were pulled down. The remained temple buildings were repainted in 1972 and the roof of *Zuugiin süm* was renovated in 1995. The buildings were renovated again in 2004.

In the National Archives only three individual documents are available under the name of the temple complex. The catalogue (M-210) of the Manchu period contains two texts. One of them was written in 1886 and contains a draft of the setting up of *Choijin lamiin süm*. It provides data about the delivery of wood and other equipment which were required for the temple construction, and lists the temple's livestock. The other text, without date, clarifies the expenses of the ceremonies that were held in *Choijin lamiin süm* as well as the number of its livestock, and the costs of building of its new temple. The catalogue (A-177) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains only one text related to the complex. It is a register of the temple's (*Örshööliig khögjüülekh süm*) cattles and horses classified to categories by appearance and age (*züs nas* such as *byaruu*, *shülden*, *khyazaalan*, *soyoolon*, *tarlan*, *khüren*, *khar tarlan*, *mukhar ulaan*, *khalzan*, *bor tarlan*, *khalzan khar alag*, *mukhar khaltar*, etc.). It describes their yearly loss (1920). There are not any sources about the complex from the Modern Period. (In 2011 an interesting book was published by the Temple Museum itself, but its data was not included in the present piece of work.)

After the democratic change there was a wish among some with a form of demonstrations taking place (Film Archives photos, 44896-44898, Box 163), to revive the temple complex and once again perform ceremonies there. However, this did not succeed and the monastery is no longer an active place of worship being still used as a museum. The basis of the exhibition is the many religious objects collected there at the time many temples were being destroyed in 1937-38.

The temple complex of *Choijin* lama is a beautiful example of Chinese religious architecture. Almost all the buildings, the *yampai*, gates and temples survived the purges. The temples were constructed of blue brick and wood, decorated with green tiled roofs the spines of which are ornamented with animal-shaped figures.

There are five temples in the complex. As you enter, the first temple is the Temple of the Mahārājās, called *Makhranzhiin süm* with statues of the guards of the four directions. In front of it once stood a gate (Film Archive: Box 93, K23967) and a stone stele decorated with carved monster heads (Film Archive: Box 93 K23943) but these no longer remain. According to Geleta (Forbáth, 1934, p. 215.), a large flat stone was situated here in earlier times which was believed to assist in healing illness if one lay down on it.

Today in the main temple (*Gol süm*) there are statues of Buddhas, the thrones of *Choijin lam* and Baldanchoimbel with the statue of *Choijin lam* to the right and the embalmed mummy of Baldanchoimbel (the *yonzon lam*, teacher of the 7th and 8th Bogd), which survived the purges, to the left. (According to some sources, the statue of *Choijin lam* contains his ashes as his embalmed body is said to have been destroyed in the purges.)

There is a unique and rich collection of old *Tsam* masks and robes, made by famous masters of the monastic camp in the 19th century. The most attractive figure is *Jamsran*, whose mask ornamented with about 30 kilograms of coral was made by Puntsog Osor in the 19th century. Paintings exhibited in the hall are: thangkas of the Buddhist cold and hot hell realms; carved replicas of the palaces (*loilon*, T. *blos bslangs*, also called *ordon* ('palace') in Mongolian) of different deities, namely *Jigjid*, *Yansan yadam*, *Maidar* and *Awid* made from

myrtle wood by master Balgan; and numerous magnificent thangkas and appliques. At the back of the main hall, annexed to it, there is access to the chapel of the protector (*gonkhon*, T. *mgon-khang* or *zonkhon*, T. *gtsang-khang*, ‘sanctuary’), where the oracle’s throne and statues of different wrathful protector deities are on display. Hanging from the ceiling are symbols of hearts, lungs, and stomachs of beings. This is the place where the *Choijin* occupied the body of the oracle when he went into a trance with the speaker lama translating his words. (In winter he conducted this ceremony in a yurt to the East of the temple). The statues of the six *Choijin*, namely *Ochirwaan*, *Naichiün*, *Zimur*, *Dorjshüg*, *Damdin Sandiüw* (T. *rta mgrin gsang sgrub*) and *Perenleijalwa/Perenleijalbuu* (T. ‘*phrin-las rgyal-po*, one of the ‘Five Kings’, *Tawan khaan*) worshipped by Luwsankhaidaw are exhibited in this hall.

The *Zuugiin süm*, ‘temple of the Lord/Buddha Shyakyamuni’ is situated to the North-West of the main temple. This temple is dedicated to Çäkyamuni Buddha and in it there are huge statues of the Buddhas of past, present and future, statues of the 16 main disciples of Çäkyamuni (*Naidan*, T. *gnas-brtan*, Skr. *sthavira* or *arhat*), and the statue of *Lkham*. The *Naidan* statues were most probably made by Ayuush of *Wangain aimag* (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 11., Mongolian text p. 689.). The guards of the four directions (*Makhranz*) are depicted on either side of the door.

Behind the main temple is the *Yadamiin süm* (‘Temple of the tutelary deity’, T. *yi-dam*) or the *Ariun nandin shüteeniin süm* (‘the temple of the pure precious object of worship’). The bronze and wooden sculptures of the main tantric deities worshipped by *Choijin* lama are kept here, such as *Dowchinnagwa/Düwchinnagwa* (T. *grub chen nag-po*), one of the 84 Indian mahāsiddhas (*düwchin*, T. *grub chen*), *Yansan yadam* and *Düinkhor*, *Makhamayaa*, *Ochirdar*’ and other tantric deities. One of the most beautiful bronze statues made by Öndör geegen, Demchiggaraw (T. *bde mchog dkar-po*, Skr. *Sitasamvara*) with his consort, is on display here.

The *Khotol chuulganii tus amgalant tiwiin süm* (‘Temple of the continent of the great happiness’) or the Temple of Öndör geegen (*Öndör geegeniin süm*) is an octagonal shaped two-storey building built in 1907 and dedicated to the memory of Öndör Geegen. The temple contains a self-portrait of Öndör Geegen and a stūpa apparently brought by him from Tibet. Characteristic statues of the 16 *Naidans* can also be seen in the wall, as well as sculptures in Tibetan and Indian style. It is said that the whole Tibetan *Ganjuur* and *Danjuur*, brought from Tibet by the 4th Bogd, is also kept in the museum.

(Relics) Temple of Yonzon Khamba, the Tutor Abbot

Yonzon khambiin süm, *Yonzon lamiin shariliin gazar* (T. *yongs-’dzin mkhan-po*)

GPS: N 47° 54.875’, E 106° 55.154’, elevation 1287 m

This temple is not marked on Rinchen’s map (NR-947) but is visible on Jügder’s painting. Some written sources mention and photos²²⁵ also show the temple of *Yonzon khamba*.

As it has been mentioned above, *yonzon* (T. *yongs-’dzin*) is a title borne by the tutors of the Dalai Lamas and the Bogds. Luwsankhaimchog (T. *blo-bzang mkhas mchog*) was a Tibetan lama who came to Mongolia as the *jawtüi lam* (T. *byabs-khrus-kyi bla-ma*, lama who performs purifying rituals) of the Bogd in 1915. He later became, what was, the last of the *yonzon khambas*, the tutor to the 8th Bogd, and, from 1920, the main abbot (*khamba nomon khan*) of the whole *khüree*. (He was the last to fulfil this position, too.) He bore the latter position from then until his execution in 1937.

²²⁵ Film Archive: K23964, K23983 (the mummy of *Yonzon khamba*), Geleta/Forbáth: 168, 2 pictures, outer appearance and interior with the altar, 8 (golden mummy of the 8th Bogd); Shepetilnikov: 93

However, this temple was built for his predecessor. According to the catalogue of the main assembly hall (M-98), *Yonzon khamba lamiin süm* was started to built in 1872.

In the Film Archives there is a picture showing a three-storey Tibetan style temple (K-23983). The photo has the inscription: ‘*Yonzon khambiin süm*, situated at the East of *Choijin lamiin süm*’. The categorization of the photo implies this must have been a Chinese temple, but its Tibetan style contradicts it. The pictures of the same building taken by Geleta in the 1920s are in Forbáth’s book. *Yonzon khamba*’s temple was situated in a fenced-off building to the East of *Choijin lamiin süm* (R-915). Pürew confirms this (2004, p. 59.), stating that *yonzon khamba* Luwsankhaimchog lived on the East of *Choijin lamiin süm*. Jügder’s painting also shows a building on the right and to the East of *Choijin lamiin süm*, marked with the name of *yonzon khamba*, simply saying ‘that of *Yonzon khamba*’ and not giving any data on the type of the temple or its function.

The most informative account on this shrine is given by Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text pp. 57-66., Mongolian text pp. 739-753.), who was the treasurer or bookkeeper (*nyaraw*, T. *gnyer-ba*) of this temple. According to him, the shrine contained relics (*sharil*) of Baldanchoimbel (T. *dpal-ldan chos-'phel*), the previous *yonzon khamba* before Luwsankhaimchog, who had been the Tibetan teacher for the young 8th Bogd. Baldanchoimbel *yonzon* bore the title *khamba nomon khan* from 1865-1899 when he died aged 70. His body was dried, mummified and being preserved in this special temple where it was honoured by the 8th Bogd. There is a photo of the mummified *yonzon khamba*, in sitting position on his throne, behind glass screens, in the Film Archives (K-23964). The mummified body of the 8th Bogd was kept in this temple after 1924, too. (A picture can be seen in Forbáth’s book, 1934, p. 8.).

Jambal also claims that this temple was under the authority of the Dalai Lama’s treasury. Furthermore, he says that the Buryad Agwaan *lkhaaramba* or Agwaandorjiew (T. *ngag-dbang rdo-rje*, 1853/54-1938) who arrived to Urga accompanying the 13th Dalai Lama, lived in the relics temple, which was shared by Tibetans and Mongols. Jambal also records that the pastures of this relics temple were at Shariin gol.

As Jambal describes in details, most of the property and the flocks and herds of the Relics Temple of *yonzon khamba* were ruined by the *Gamin* (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 72., Mongolian text p. 756.) when they entered the *khüree* in 1919.

No further data was found on the temple, neither on its religious life, nor its destruction. There are no remains of the temple. The relics of *yonzon khamba* Baldanchoimbel are kept in *Choijin lamiin süm* at present. GPS was taken at the East of *Choijin lamiin süm*.

Agwa datsan, Tantric College

Agwa/Awag/Akhu datsan (T. *sngags-pa grwa-tshang*)
GPS: N 47°54.984', E 106°55.108', elevation 1297m

This temple is not marked on Rinchen’s map separately (NR-953), and its building cannot be made out on Jügder’s painting. Some sources mention the temple and Dashtseren lama (born 1921) served valuable information on its operation.

According to Dashtseren lama, *Akhu datsan* was situated near Lenin Klub, which is South of Sükhbaatar Square (and North of *Choijin lamiin süm*, R-915). Sereeter (1999, p. 78.) claims that as well as the many temples of *Choijin lamiin süm*, a financial unit (*jas*) belonging to *Agwa datsan* also operated in the area of the fenced-off courtyard of the temple complex. These two names, *Akhu* and *Agwa* seem to be used for the same temple, being two different Mongolian distorted forms of Tibetan *sngags-pa* meaning ‘Tantric’.

According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 97.) the foundation of *Awag datsan* (T. *sngags-pa*

grwa-tshang, a tantric monastic school) was laid in 1924. It was the last temple to be founded in the *khüree* before the destructions of the late 1930s. It was situated East of *Choijin lamiin süm* (R-915) and had the official privileged rights of a small *datsan*.

As for the initiation of the temple, Dariimaa claims (p. 97.) that a separated fenced-off courtyard and a gate was created. A huge golden statue of *Chagdiin Jandin Seded* (T. *phyag stong spyan stong-gi gdugs dkar*, ‘Sitātapātra with one thousand arms and one thousand eyes’), an emanation of the goddess with the white umbrella (*Seded* or *Tsagaan shükhert*, *Dugar*) was planned to be placed to the temple. According to Dashtseren lama, *Akhu datsan* was a Gelukpa (Yellow Stream) temple. It was a big square shaped temple building with no lamas residing there and no daily chanting. Ceremonies were conducted here for specific purposes in which about 20-30 lamas from Gandan and Züün Khüree were invited to participate.

There are no remains. The GPS was taken on the East of Lenin Klub, where it once stood supposedly.

Oidow’s Assembly

Oidowiin khural, *Yutawiin khural*, in the same enclosure as *Dagwa zodchiin khural*

GPS: N 47°54.854’, E 106°54.563’, Seoul Street, near Natsagdorj Library

GPS: N 47°54.984’, E 106°55.108’, next to Lenin (Sanktpeterburg) Klub

Rinchen marks this assembly under the name *Yutawiin khural* (R-920). The temple building cannot be made out on Jügder’s painting. Only one source and Dashtseren lama (born 1921) provided relevant data on the *Zod* assembly. (About *Zod* tantric practice see details in the introduction part of the next chapter).

According to Rinchen’s map, this assembly was situated within the same enclosure as the Assembly of *Dagwa zodoch* (NR-951). The two buildings were located in the South-West quarter (*Baruun ömnöd khoroo*) of the city, where laymen lived. The map marks it on the present Seoul Street near Natsagdorj Library, to the South of *Nartad Daginiin khural* (*Damdin lamiin khural*, R-916) and *Dar’ ekhiin khural* (R-917).

According to Dashtseren lama, the Assembly of *Dagwa zodoch* was situated near the present Lenin Klub, South of Sükhbaatar Square, North of *Choijin lamiin süm*. However, Rinchen’s map marks the two assemblies on the present Seoul Street between the State Drama Theatre and Natsagdorj Library.

According to Pürew (2004, p. 60.) the Lenin Klub (currently known as the Sanktpeterburg Club) was built in 1929, to the North of *Choijin lamiin süm*, on a site where there was a building used by a lama who was a friend of *Choijin* lama. The structure was pulled down to build the Club.

Dashtseren lama did not know any details about the practice or size of this assembly. The word *oidow* (T. *dingos-grub*, Skr. *siddhi*) means accomplishment, magical powers, realization or attainment. Presumably, *Oidow* is the name of a person who was the head or leader of the assembly.

There is contradictory information about the exact site of the assembly. According to Dashtseren lama, it was near Lenin Klub, South of Sükhbaatar Square, but, according to the Rinchen map, it was located on Seoul Street between the State Drama Theatre and Natsagdorj Library. Both areas are now completely built over so it is not possible to locate any remains of the temple.

Dagwa Tantric Master’s Assembly

Dagwa zodochiin khural, *Dagwa zodchiin khural*, *Dagwa zochiin süm*

GPS: N 47°54.854', E 106°54.563', Soeul Street, near Natsagdorj Library
GPS: N 47°54.984', E 106°55.108', next to the old Lenin Klub

Only one source and Dashtseren lama provided relevant data on this assembly. The temple building cannot be made out on Jügder's painting. Rinchen's map does not mark this assembly (NR-951) separately but it contains a reference to it at *Oidowiin khural* (R-920) saying that *Dagwa zodochiin khural* was situated within the same fenced enclosure as *Yutawiin khural*. They were located in the South-West quarter (*Baruun ömnöd khoroo*) of the city, where laymen lived. The map location places it on the present Seoul Street between the State Drama Theatre and the Natsagdorj Library, to the South of *Nartad Daginiin khural* (*Damdin lamiin khural*, R-916) and *Dar' ekhiin khural* (R-917).

However, according to Dashtseren, *Dagwa zodochiin khural* was in a different site being located near the old Lenin Klub, South of Sükhbaatar Square, North of *Choijin lamiin süm* (R-915).

According to Pürew (2004, p. 60.) the Lenin Klub (later Sanktpeterburg Klub) was built in 1929 to the North of *Choijin lamiin süm*, with a temple belonging to a lama who was a friend of *Choijin lam*, being pulled down to make way for it. However, he does not mention the name of the temple, so we cannot be sure this was the same as the assembly of *Dagwa zoch*. There might have been more, smaller assemblies situated near *Choijin lamiin süm*.

According to Dashtseren lama, *Dagwa zodochin süm* was a Nyingmapa (Red Stream) temple and was a square shaped wooden building. There were about 20 lamas, women as well as men who took part in the daily chanting. The lamas performed *Zod* (T. *gcod*) tantric rituals. No other data was found about this assembly.

There is contradictory evidence about the precise location of the assembly. According to Dashtseren lama, it was near the later Lenin Klub that is immediately South of Sükhbaatar Square, but, according to Rinchen's map, this assembly was located on the present Seoul Street between the State Drama Theatre and Natsagdorj Library. Today both these areas are built over so it is for certain that there are no remains of the assembly wherever it was situated.

LAY POPULATION QUARTERS

The Mongolian lay population (*kharchuud*) of the *khüree* was relatively low in number and they lived in yurts in different quarters or *khoroos* surrounding the monastic complexes. These were called: *Baruun ömnöd khoroo* in the South-West; *Züün ömnöd khoroo* on the South-East; and *Züün kharchuud* and *Ikh shaw'* in the East. The inhabitants of *Baruun ömnöd* and *Züün ömnöd khoroo* were called 'the lay people of the *khoroos*' (*khoroonii kharchuud*) and the inhabitants of *Züün kharchuud* and *Ikh shaw'* 'the lay people of the *khüree*' (*Khüreenii kharchuud*).

Pozdneev claims (1971, pp. 90-91.) that the *Khalkh* princes and nobles (*zasag*) had had their residences in the *khoroos* or 'townhouse section', which they maintained to accommodate them on their visits to the city to worship the Bogd or to participate in a council. On special occasions for such visits were not very common most of these residences, more than thirty in number, stood empty for many years secured only by watchmen. Besides these nobles who resided in part there, most of the *khoroos* were inhabited by different sections of the Mongol population.²²⁶

The South-West quarter (*Baruun ömnöd khoroo*) had smaller sub-districts such as the Tibetan quarter, Buryad quarter, Dariganga quarter or the quarters of three of the four major administrative divisions (*aimag*) of Mongolia (Tüsheet khan aimag, Sain noyon khan aimag,

²²⁶ A very useful description of the lay quarters with their different *khoroos* districts is available in Pürew's book (2004, pp. 36-92.).

Setsen khan aimag, and Zasagt khan aimag).

According to Dashtseren lama and numerous archival materials, up the 1920s, Gandan lamas were forbidden to enter the *Baruun ömnöd khoroo* district, located to the South between Züün Khüree and Gandan. This was to prevent them coming into contact with lay people, especially women, and merchants. The Nyingmapa (Red Stream) temples were located here as they were excluded from both Gandan and Züün Khüree, as their lamas were permitted to marry. The monastic vows/rules (Vinaya) do not allow marriage so lamas who wanted to marry (or were interested in women) had to leave the two main monastic districts and live here. Soninbayar confirms this statement (1995, p. 68.)

The *khoroos*, despite being the lay districts, had many small assemblies and temples. For example there were the Gelukpa temples, such as *Dar' ekhiin khural* (R-917), *Dorjodwiin khural* (NR-952), and *Töwdiin khural* (R-918) with Tibetan lamas forming a community (*Töwdiin khoroo*) around the residence built for the Dalai Lama in 1905. *Nartad Daginiin khural* (*Damdin lamiin khural*) (R-916) was also situated in this area, on the Eastern part, but little information could be found about it. In this quarter there were two streets named *Usnii gudamj* ('Street of water', named after a water canal that ran there) parallel to each other running from North to South. The quarter had small shops as well.

According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 41.), in the South-West quarter of the whole settlement there were many other assemblies and temples. These had been established by itinerant lamas, male and female shamans, sorcerers, fortune-tellers, tantric practitioners (*sanga*, T. *gsang-sngags-pa* or *agwa*, T. *sngags-pa*) who used magic formulas or mantras, practitioners (*diüwchin/tiüwchin*, T. *grub-chen*) of the great siddhi power, yoginīs (*naljormaa*, T. *mal-'byor-ma*), and practitioners of tantric rituals (*Zod*, *Lüijin*).

Zod (or *Jod*, T. *gcod*, 'cutting') is a tantric ritual. It is a system of practices based on the Prajñāpāramita and set down by the Indian siddha Phadampa Sangye and his consort a Tibetan female teacher Majiglawdonma²²⁷ for the purpose of cutting through the four Maras and ego-clinging. Its practitioner, called *zoch*, *zodoch* or *joch* (either a man or a woman) practices the tantric ritual of cutting the ego-clinging. The *Zoch* lamas followed different tantric lineages in Mongolia, such as *Jagarmolomiin jüd* (T. *rgyud*), *Noyon khutagtiin jüd*, and *Khüükhen khutagtiin jüd*. It is not known how many lamas lived in the two main monastic districts who performed *Zod*. However, *Zod* assemblies existed in the lay quarters and belonged to the Red Stream.

This area is shown in Jügder's painting, although the individual temples are not shown no doubt because they operated mainly in yurts or were established later than 1913. Several of these assemblies existed up until the 1930s. However, the official administration of the *khüree* never recognized these assemblies nor officially gave permission for them to operate.

Pürew's books (1994, p. 45., 2004, pp. 66-67.), give information about the yurt quarter called Badarchnii dow ('the hill of the itinerant lamas')²²⁸ a sub-district in the *Baruun ömnöd khoroo*, which was situated near the present (*Baruun*) *Dörwön zam* road junction. This is

²²⁷ Majiglawdon / Machiglawdon, Machik labdrön (T. *ma gcig lab sgron-ma*), the great female founder of the lineage of the *Chö* practice (i.e. *Zod*) in Tibet, cutting through ego-clinging, living from 1055-1143. She was a disciple and consort of the Indian master Phadampa Sangye (Badamba Sanjaa, T. *pha-dam-pa sangs-rgyas*), the Indian mahāsiddha who visited Tibet five or seven times, the last time in 1098, where he introduced the Pacification of Suffering (T. *zhi-byed*) teaching.

²²⁸ The great majority of *badarchins* was poor. According to Pürewjaw only some *badarchins* were wandering in the countryside to spread the Teaching and collect merits from the activity of alms. It was not rare that animals (wolves, wild dogs) killed *badarchins*. They had to face with the Mongolian climate as well (1961, pp. 131-132.). Numerous *badarchins* did not show any respects for lamas. They were called as *shüügch badarchin* 'judge *badarchin*'. Beside *badarchin* lamas *düldüichin* lamas also visited the country living the same lifestyle as *badarchins* but praying a lot. Many of them lived near the market praying for the merits of people, reciting *Megzem*.

where the poorest people lived in yurts and tents spread over the hill with no fences around them (they are represented in Jügder's painting in a brownish colour). There was another yurt district with no fenced-off yards in the Western part of this area, on the Western hill of the West-Selbe, now the site of the Second Maternity Centre (*2r törökh gazar*). Here lived the extremely impoverished people with no shelter who 'have taken up residence amid piles of rubbish and all sorts of refuse' (Pozdneyev, 1971, p. 73.). Pozdneev described the horrible conditions here: 'Those of them who are stronger and better off beg arms or gather worthless branches, knotted and crooked, which are strewn about the steppes, and construct huts from them, which they sometimes cover with grass, sometimes with rags of some sort. Those who have no strength at all, however, lie directly on the ground without shelter, naked and emaciated from starvation. ... When they die, they are not even buried but are eaten by dogs, on the spot where they lay dying in full view of their companions, who look forward to the same fate.' Ramstedt also described the terrible conditions (1978, pp. 46-47.): 'There lie Urga's lepers or poor wretches, in the worst throes of venereal disease. When someone goes past, they cry with a cracked voice and beg alms. Their illnesses have already reached a stage where other persons no longer endure contact with them. The fingers have gotten partly loose from their joints, the nose or mouth is terribly eaten away. ... Thus they pass away their miserable lives in rags under their dark felt, until the affliction is finally ended – until the dogs one night rend their felt huts and tear them to pieces.'²²⁹ Some pictures of these poor dwellings can be seen in the pictures of Sakari Pälsi.²³⁰

To the North-West of this yurt district there was a bridge over the River Selbe, called 'the bridge of the *zodoch* lamas' (*Zodoch nariin güür*). To the West of this bridge, on the right bank of the river, there was a small Nyingmapa temple called *Tantonjalbiin dugan* (*zodiin khural*) (R-919) where the tantric rituals *Zod* (T. *gcod*) and *Lüijin* (T. *lus-sbyin*) were performed (1994, p. 45.). Note that there were other Nyingmapa temples in the city (mainly in these lay quarters), such as *Jagarmolomiin khural* (*Dechinchöilin tawshi sümbrellin, zodiin khural*) (NR-950) in the same enclosure as *Tantonjalbiin khural*, which also followed the practice of *Zod*. In these temples, lamas and female lamas (female practitioners) held ceremonies together all of them being *Zod* tantric masters who performed *Lüijin*, the body-offering ritual. In general, the *badarchin* lamas followed the Red Stream traditions. On the South-West of *Tantonjalbiin dugan* temple lay the many yurts and tents of the *badarchin* lamas. In the North-West of the *badarchin* quarter, there was a stūpa built with an archway through it (*ark* (*dugui khaalga*) *khelbertei suwraga*), also called 'the stūpa of penetrating' (*shurgadag suwraga*) as the *Badarchin* lamas used to pass under it as they left on their travels (Pürew, 1994, p. 45.). According to Pürew (2004, p. 68.), these pilgrim lamas went on pilgrimage, always on foot, to Wu Tai Shan in China, to Beijing, to Tibetan monasteries like Labrang and to India. There was another arched stūpa in this area, at a place called Makhnii dow or Yargachnii dow ('the hill of flesh' or 'the hill of slaughters') as there were many butchers²³¹ in the vicinity. People drove the cattle under this stūpa before slaughtering. Ramstedt (1978, p. 40.) lived here for a time in 1898 in Mikhail Smirnov's house who was a merchant living in this "Meat city" which displayed a mixture of Russian, Chinese and Mongolian building styles. Ramstedt says (p. 43.) that although lamas have taken an oath to live in celibacy, in reality hundreds of them with families were living in this part of the city. Their children called them as uncle (probably *akh*) and these lamas supported the household

²²⁹ The Mongols used to leave their dead on the surface in special burial places on the Chingeltei and Songino Mountains to be eaten by vultures and wild dogs. *Shar khad* in the North-East, and *Khambiin owoo* in the North-West of the city were the places of executions in 1937.

²³⁰ Halen H., *Memoria Saecularis Sakari Pälsi*. Aufzeichnungen von einer Forschungsreise nach der Nordlichen Mongolei im Jahre 1909, Helsinki 1982, pictures No. 121, 122).

²³¹ The Chinese butchers butchered the livestock in a different way than the Mongols did.

and spent the nights there.

The Buryad quarter was situated on the North of *Tantonjalbiin khural*, on the East of Gandan hill.

The area of the South-Eastern quarter (*Züün ömnöd khoroo*) housed the Manchu and Mongol governors in a specific area called *Amban khanii khoroo*.²³² There was the residence of the Manchu amban since 1786. According to Pürew (2004, p. 37.) the last Manchu amban, San-duo, who lived in the *khüree* until 1911, moved his residence from this quarter, and had his residence and shrine, *Manj ambanii khurliin dugan* (NR-949), on the East bank of the River East-Selbe. *Tsewangiin khoroo*, residences of the Mongol *amban* or governor and Setsen khan (one of the four Khalkh khans), an archive and a prison were also situated in this district. According to Dendew (Nawaan, 1961, p. 11.), on both banks of River East-Selbe there were prisons.

In the area between the two districts of *Züün ömnöd* and *Baruun ömnöd khoroo*, and in the Eastern part of the latter, there were the buildings of the nobles and politicians. One such building was the still standing residence of Chin wan Khanddorj, a minister of foreign affairs in the government of the Bogd khaan. It is the only remaining such building from this time and can be found today on Seoul Street near the Russian Embassy.

To the East of *Züün damnuurchin* (see the details below) was the area called *Ikh shaw*. The inhabitants were called 'People from the subordinated areas' (*Ikh shaw*) as they were subordinated to the Bogd and his ecclesiastical estate. There was a temple here called the assembly of *Ikh shaw* or *Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural* (R-927). There was also a prison in the area.

Another district in this part of the *khüree* was *Züün kharchuud*, which was to the North-East of *Züün Khüree*, North of *Züün damnuurchin*. According to Pürew's book (2004, p. 90.) this district was established in 1883 as a place where lay people associated with *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery and *Dambadarjaalin* monastery lived. They were also subordinated to the Bogd and were tailors and cobblers for him as well as for high-ranking lamas and nobles.

American shops were set up from the beginning of the 20th century in the area, on the hillside around the present Clinic Centre No. II. on Peace Avenue, which was South of *Ikh shaw*. According to Pürew's book (2004, p. 94.) a representative of an American-Chinese firm operating in China opened an office in this part of Urga. Later other American shops opened here and this area became known as *Amerikan denj*, 'The hill of Americans' from 1910 till 1950. What follows here is the description of the temples of the lay population area.

Assembly of the Tibetans, also known as Unzai lama's Assembly

Töwdiin khural, Unzai lamiin khural

GPS: N 47°55.025', E 106°54.148', elevation 1286 m

Töwdiin khural is marked on Rinchen's map (R-918) and is mentioned in some sources as well. However, it cannot be made out on Jügder's painting. Dashtseren lama served relevant information about the assembly.

The 13th Dalai Lama, Thub-bstan rgya-mtsho (1876-1933) came to the *khüree*, in November 1904, when he was escaping from the British army led by Younghusband. Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 35-46., Mongolian text p. 714-726.) accounts that when the Dalai Lama arrived, he was initially installed in a meditation tent and two yurts in Gandan in the place where the stūpas of the 5th and 7th Bogds were. In addition, 50-60 extra yurts were

²³² The area between Ulaanbaatar Hotel and the Lion Bridge.

put up in the fenced-off area (*khashaa*) of the lama dwellings of Gandan for the Tibetans who accompanied him into exile. (According to Jambal these were all men as no women or children were among them). Jambal also claims that all the expenses incurred by the Dalai Lama and his retinue were covered by the four aimags and the *Ikh shaw*, i.e. the five divisions. According to Dügersüren (1999, p. 53.), a fenced-off building called *Dalai lamiin san* ('Treasury of the Dalai Lama'), with its fenced-off area being called *Dalai lamiin sangiin khashaa* ('The court of the Treasury of the Dalai Lama') was built as a dwelling of the 13th Dalai Lama in 1905. According to Dashtseren lama, a Tibetan quarter (*Töwdiin khoroo*) sprang up around this building, which served as a refuge shelter for the Tibetan inhabitants. As it was situated neither in Gandan nor in Züün Khüree where commerce was not allowed, it became a commercial centre selling Chinese goods. In effect it was a free trade zone.

This *Töwdiin khoroo* was situated in Baruun ömnöd khoroo, the South-West district occupied by laymen, where there were numerous other small assemblies. The exact location of the Tibetan quarter was on the East bank of the River West-Selbe, next to the Buryad quarter (*Buryatiin khoroo*), where there weren't any temples.

According to Pürew's book (1994, p. 46.) the treasury (*Dalai lamiin san* or *Töwdiin san*) for the temple was established with donations believers gave in honour of the Dalai Lama that was later managed by the *Shanzaw töwdiin gazar* ('treasury of the Tibetans'), the financial office.

Geleta claims (Forbáth, 1934, p. 172.) that for Mongols the majority of the devotional objects and religious artifacts were ordered from Tibet. An envoy was appointed to manage and maintain this flourishing commercial connection between Tibet and Mongolia. Thus Choini Lussan Chinde lama (Forbáth's transcription, Lussan should be Luwsan, T. chos-? blo-bzang ?, see his photo in Forbáth, 1934, p. 104.) represented the Dalai Lama in the city in the 1920s. He had very good diplomatic skills and commercial acumen and managed to obtain all the commissions for Tibetans rather than using Chinese sculptors and masters, who had a famous workshop in Doloon nuur.

The Tibetan assembly (*Töwdiin khural*), situated in the Tibetan quarter, was also called as *Unzai lamiin khural*, most probably after its head, *Unzai lam* (T. ?). It occupied a wooden building. Only Tibetan male lamas belonged to this Gelukpa temple, about 30 in number. Daily chanting was held. According to Dashtseren lama, some of the lamas had wives.

According to Rinchen's map, the assembly temple must have been situated behind the present State Department Store, which was the North-Eastern part of *Baruun ömnöd khoroo*. According to Idshinnorow (1994, p. 34.) the Tibetan quarter was situated around the present School No. 24. on the West of State Department Store (GPS was taken there). There are no remains, the whole area is built up.

Tārā Assembly

Dar' ekhiin khural (T. *sgrol-ma*)

GPS: N 47° 54.799', E 106° 53.783', elevation 1287 m, readings for the building of Ögöj Candy and Bakery Products Factory, on Seoul Street

GPS: N 47° 54.833', E 106° 54.432', elevation 1283 m, readings for Tserendorj örgön chölöö, on the West of 50th food shop

Rinchen marks *Dar' ekhiin khural* on his map (R-917). However, its building cannot be made out on Jügder's painting. Pürew mentions *Dar' ekhiin khural* in his books and Dashtseren lama also remembers it.

There are two different views about where this temple was located and the Buddhist stream to which it adhered. Rinchen's map marks this temple to the South-East of the State

Department Store, at the crossroad between Peace Avenue (Enkh Taiwan) and Tserendorj Street (Tserendorj örgön chölöö, the road leading to the Circus from the State Department Store). According to Pürew's book (2004, p. 75.), *Dar' ekhiin süm* was situated in the present Tserendorj Street. According to his other book (1994, p. 42.), *Nartad Dagnan khural* was situated on the South of the State Department Store, at the 50th food shop and *Dar' ekhiin khural* on the West of it.

Dashtseren lama said that *Dar' ekhiin khural* was in the South-West quarter of the city, one of the districts where laymen lived. He says the exact site is near the present road junction (Baruun) Dörwön zam (where the Ögöj Candy and Bakery Products Factory is situated), that is, somewhat West of the location suggested by Rinchen. Dashtseren lama says that it was a Gelukpa wooden temple building with ten lamas with ceremonies being performed here every day. However, Pürew (2004, p. 75.), contradicts Dashtseren lama saying it was a Nyingmapa (Red Stream) temple.

There are no remains. Whether or not the temple was situated at the present site of Ögöj Candy and Bakery Products Factory, on Seoul Street, near the road junction below Gandan called (Baruun) Dörwön zam or on the South-East of the State Department Store or on the West of the 50th food shop all these places have been completely built over.

Vajracchedikā Assembly

Dorjzodwiin khural (T. *rdo-rje gcod-pa*)

Rinchen's map does not show this assembly (NR-952) and it cannot be made out on Jügder's painting. Only Maidar (1970, p. 72.) mentions it, and Dashtseren lama remembers it, too. According to Dashtseren lama, this assembly was one of the numerous small assemblies situated in the South-West quarter of the city, one of the districts where laymen lived. It was situated near *Dar' ekhiin khural* (R-917).

It was a Gelukpa temple. The assembly got its name after a religious text, the Diamond-cutter Sūtra (*Dorjzodow*, T. *rdo-rje gcod-pa*, Skr. Vajracchedikā). Maidar claims that it had only one building.

The exact location is unknown, but it is certain that there are no remains as the area is totally built up. GPS was not taken as the exact location is unknown.

Zod Tantric Assembly of Tantonjalba

Tantonjalbiin khural (*Zodiin khural*) (T. *thang-stong rgyal-po*, 'king of the empty plain', *gcod*), *Tantanjalbiin khural*, *Tanshinjalbiin khural*
GPS: N 47°54.836', E 106°54.140', elevation 1295 m

Although Rinchen mentions this temple as *Tanshinjalbiin khural* (R-919), its correct name is *Tantonjalbiin* or *Tantanjalbiin khural*. *Tanton* is the name of a Tibetan siddha, who was worshipped there. Besides written sources Dashtseren lama and two young data providers (B. Ariunbold, the head of Puntsoglin monastery; G. Buyandelger lama) could serve information about this assembly. The temple is visible on Jügder's map.

According to Dashtseren lama's communication, who often participated in the ceremonies in this assembly, the temple building was situated in the same enclosure as *Jagarmolomiin khural* (*Dechinchoilin tawshi sünbrellin, zodiin khural*, NR-950). In these

temples lamas and female lamas (called *khandmaa*)²³³ held ceremonies together and all of them were *Zod* (T. *gcod*) tantric masters performing *Lüijin* (T. *lus-sbyin*), the body offering ritual.

The two Nyingmapa temples were situated in the South-West quarter, on the North of the Middle River that was one of the districts where laymen lived. According to Pürew's book (1994, p. 45.), the quarter called Badarchnii dow, with the dwellings of the poorest people, was situated near the present (Baruun) Dörwön zam road junction, as part of the Baruun ömnöd khoroo. (Today this is the site of the Second Maternity Centre (2-r törökh gazar). To the North-West of it there was a bridge over the River Selbe, called 'the bridge of the *zodoch* lamas' (*Zodoch nariin güür*). *Tantonjalbiin dugan* was situated on the West of this bridge, according to Dashtseren lama's testimony, on the site of the Second Maternity Centre. A fenced off temple can be seen in Jügder's painting as well, consisting of two courtyards with two buildings in them. Maybe these are *Tantonjalbiin khural* and *Jagarmolomiin khural*.

According to Dashtseren lama, immediately prior to the purges, the head of the temple was called Bawuujaw (T. *dpa'-bo skyabs*). About 30-40 lamas and some women belonged to the temple. All of them were *zoch/zodoch*, who performed the *Lüijin* tantric ritual. *Tanton* was worshipped there as the main deity of the temple, and also *Dorjpagam* from among the goddesses worshipped mainly by the Red Stream.

Tanton is considered to be one of the 'seven miracles' of Tibet. Legend tells that he was born in the 15th century from the womb of his mother as a 60-year old man with white beard. Thang-stong rgyal-po (Tanton/ Tantonjalba) was a Tibetan siddha (1361-1485), born at the time of Tsongkhapa in Tsang, Tibet. He visited India, China and many provinces of Tibet. He is well known for establishing the Tibetan opera called *lha-mo*. He founded numerous monasteries, among them a famous monastery in Lcags-po ri, the Medical College Hill, a sacred mountain in Lhasa. He also wrote numerous works on medicine.

The tantric tradition transmitted by him was further developed by Jamiyaanchenzeebambuu (T. `jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse dbang-po, pronounced in Tibetan as Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo, 1820-1892), one of the most eminent Tibetan masters of the 19th century. His practice was introduced to Mongolia by Jagarmolom, who, according to Sükhbaatar,²³⁴ was a poor lama in the 1800s born in Daichin beesiin khoshuu, Tüsheet khan aimag, and later became a lama in the *khüree*. He travelled to Tibet and India on foot, where he received initiations. He meditated a great deal and is said to have achieved *siddhi* power.

Today, there is only one temple in Ulaanbaatar where *Tanton* is worshipped. It is a Nyingmapa (Red Stream) monastery called *Puntsoglin khiid* (on Magsarjaw Street, near the Railway station, Bayangol district). According to its abbot, B. Ariunbold, Luwsandamba (a lama of *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery, died in 2005) and Dashtseren are the two old masters from whom the lamas in today's assembly learnt the *Jagarmolom* tradition and received the *Tanton* initiation. Both these old lamas once belonged to *Züün Khüree*, as well as often participated in the ceremonies at *Dechinchoilintawshisümbrellin* temple, also known as *Jagarmolomiin khural* (NR-950).

In 1938 these two small wooden temples were destroyed. There are no remains. As *Tantonjalbiin khural* was situated at the present site of the Second Maternity Center, GPS was taken in front of it.

²³³ According to Dashtseren lama, a female lama (*emegtei lam*) called *Lkham* from this assembly was still alive in 2005. She was a leader of the Association of Mongolian Women.

²³⁴ Sükhbaatar, O. (transl.), *Majiglawdonmaagiin namtar*. Ulaanbaatar, 2004, p. 11.

Zod Tantric Assembly of Jagarmolom, called *Dechincholintawshisünbrellin*

Jagarmolomiin khural (T. *rgya-gar smon-lam*), *Dechincholintawshisünbrellin*, *Choijin Dechindewshisümbürilen*, *zodiin khural* (T. *bde-chen chos-dbyings thabs-shes zung-'brel gling, gcod*, 'island of the union of means and knowledge of the ultimate sphere with great bliss')

GPS: N 47°54.836', E 106°54.140', elevation 1295m

This temple is not marked on Rinchen's map separately (NR-950), but is visible on Jügder's painting. Apart from the information gained from data providers such as Dashtseren lama (born 1921); B. Ariunbold, head of Puntsoglin monastery and G. Buyandelger lama data was found only in one book on this temple.

In the old times Dashtseren lama often participated in the ceremonies in this assembly.

According to him, this temple was situated in one fenced area along with *Tantonjalbiin khural*, mentioned above (R-919). In both these temples lamas and female lamas (*khandmaa*) held ceremonies together. All of them were *Zod* tantric masters and performed *Lüijin*, the 'body offering' ritual.

The *Jagarmolom* (T. *rgya-gar smon-lam*) assembly worked in a square-shaped wooden temple, founded by Jagarmolom, who was the master of Dashtseren's master. According to Sükhbaatar (2004, p. 11.), Molom, a poor lama lived in the 1800s. He was born in Daichin beesiin khoshuu, Tüsheet khan aimag, and later became a lama in the *khüree*. As a *badarchin*, he went to Tibet and India on foot, where he received initiations. He meditated and contemplated a great deal, thus obtaining siddhi power. After twenty years he returned to the *khüree* and established the first *Zod* tantric assembly, following the tantric system he learnt at Labrang monastery in Tibet. This tantric system became widespread in Mongolia and is known as the tantric lineage of *Jagarmolom* (*Jagarmolomiin jüd*) and also as *Lawran jüd*, after the name of the monastery in which he learnt it.

As for the ranks of lamas in the assembly named after him, there was not a *khamba* or a *tsorj* lama, as these are official positions (*alban tushaal*) as Dashtseren lama claims. The head of the temple was the *lowon* lama. There was one chanting master and one disciplinary master. About twenty lamas and ten female lamas belonged to the temple. Its main deity was Padmasambhava. From among the female deities, *Toinog* (T. *khros nag*, the black wrathful aspect of Vajrayoginī) was also worshipped here.

Daily chanting ceremonies were held in this temple, as it was a permanent congregation. On the 10th and 25th of the month a special ceremony was held in honour of the *dākinis* (*Khand tseejüü*, T. *mkha'-gro tshes bcu*).

According to G. Buyandelger, *Narkhajid* was also worshipped in this temple. A sand maóðala (*Khajidiin jankhar dültsen*, T. *mkha'-spyod-kyi dkyil-'khor rdul-tshon*) was prepared in her honour. A ceremony in honour of Padmasambhava (*Lowon tseejüü*, T. *slob-dpon tshes bcu*) was performed on the 10th and 25th of the lunar month. According to B. Ariunbold, in spring, summer and autumn the lamas held a meditation period on the plain. He also claims that a special ceremony was held every year on the 10th of the monkey month (which is the first autumn month), called *Jagarmolomiin khural*, which had the following four parts: ceremony in honour of the *dākinis* (*Khand chogo*), ceremony in honour of Padmasambhava (*Lowon chogo*), ceremony in honour of *Narkhajid* (*Khajidiin chogo*), ceremony of *Tanton* (*Tanton chogo*).

Though the National Archives does not have materials about the small temples existed once in the lay quarter, this temple is the only exception, which is referred as *Ikh Khüreenii Zodiin khural*, *Choijindechindewshisümbürilen khural* in the catalogue (A-77). It contains 15 texts from the period of the Bogd khaan's reign, dated between 1913 and 1922. The documents are mainly about the artifacts, ritual objects, holy books, religious equipment,

properties, incomes and expenses of the temple and its financial unit (1921, 1922). The temple lent silver loan with interest (1916).

Dashtseren lama is the *lowon* in present-day Red Stream monastery, *Puntsoglin khiid* (on the East side of KhID on Magsarjaw Street, 1st khoroo, near the Railway Station, 2nd khoroolol, Bayangol district). Another of their masters was Luwsandamba (died in 2005), who, like Dashtseren, once belonged to Züün Khüree, but often participated in the ceremonies of *Dechinchoilintawshisünbrellin* assembly. The lamas of the present Puntsoglin monastery learnt the lineage of *Jagarmolom* and *Tanton* from these two masters.

However, the head of another present-day Red Stream monastery, *Dechinchoielintawshisünbrellin* temple (in Zanabazar Street) was also taught the *Jagarmolom* tradition from the same master, Luwsandamba, who instructed him to found a temple under the same name as his teacher's old monastery. Therefore, it is not a simple matter to decide which of them if either the modern *Puntsoglin* monastery or *Dechinchoielintawshisünbrellin* temple can be considered as the revived *Dechinchoilintawshisünbrellin* temple. Probably both of them can be.

In 1938 the two old temples, being small wooden temples, were totally destroyed. There are no remains. The temple of *Jagarmolom* assembly was situated exactly at the present area of the Second Maternity Centre (*2r törökh gazar*). GPS was taken in front of the Centre.

Assembly of Nartad Dagini (or Damdin lama's Assembly)

Nartad Daginiin khural (*Damdin lamiin khural*), *Nartad dagnangiin khural*

GPS: N 47°54.852', E 106°54.485', elevation 1282m

Rinchen marks *Nartad Daginiin khural* (*Damdin lamiin khural*) (R-916) on his map and Pürew also mentions the assembly in his books. Dashtseren lama provided valuable data on it, too. The assembly cannot be made out on Jügder's painting.

Nartad Daginiin khural (T. ?.) led by Damdin lama, was situated in the South-West quarter of the city. According to Dashtseren lama, *Damdin lamiin khural* was situated in the Eastern part of the South-West quarter, but he knew only this name and could not confirm that it was also called '*Nartad Daginiin khural*'.

According to Pürew (2004, p. 75., 1994, p. 42.), *Nartad dagnangiin* or *Damdin lamiin khural* was situated to the South of the current location of the State Department Store, where the 50th food shop (*Khünsnii baraanii 50-r delgüür*) is now situated. Prior to its destruction, it was the Eastern branch of *Usnii gudamj*, 'Water Street' in the South-West quarter.

According to Dashtseren lama, the assembly operated in a yurt with around 20-30 lamas with some women among them as well. It was a mixed Gelukpa – Nyingmapa temple. Daily chanting ceremonies were held. According to Dashtseren lama, there was no-one alive from the lamas of this assembly in 2005.

No other data was found on this assembly neither is the meaning of the name (*Nartad Daginiin khural*) clear.

As the assembly worked inside a yurt, there are no remains and the site has been completely built over. GPS was taken at the 50th food shop.

Temple of Saikhan Gombo or Assembly of the *Ikh shaw'*

Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural, *Saikhan Gombiin süm*

GPS: N 47° 55.423', E 106° 56.367', elevation 1311

The assembly of laymen belonging to the *Ikh shaw'* areas (*Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural*)

is marked on Rinchen's map (R-927), and Pürew also mentions this assembly in his books. Data providers could serve data on it as well. The temple cannot be made out on Jügder's painting.

Laymen lived this North-East area of the city to the East of *Züün damnuurchin* (see below) and the area was called *Ikh shaw'* as its inhabitants came from the areas of *Ikh shaw'*, which were subordinated to the Bogd himself and his ecclesiastical estate. As was usual, it was the laymen living in suburban areas who were the craftsmen providing the Bogd, the nobles and high ranked lamas with their clothing, boots, hats and various luxury articles. According to Dashtseren lama, the Bogd khaan's silken robes, which were decorated with pearls and other precious stones, were made by the laymen who belonged to and lived in *Ikh shaw'* and *Züün kharchuud* (see below). There was also a prison in the area. South-West of this territory vegetable was grown. Manchu military barracks were also situated there.

According to Pürew (1994, p. 92.) there was a temple called *Saikhan Gombiin süm* ('Temple of *Saikhan Gombo*') or *Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural* ('Assembly of *Ikh shaw'*') and he claims that the temple was situated near the present Sansar Trade Center (*Sansar üilchilgeenii töw*) in the area of Sansar (12th *khorooolol*). Gonchig lama confirmed that there was a separate temple for the worship of *Saikhan Gombo* ('beautiful Mahākāla', ?), who was the main protector of *Dashchoimbel datsan* as well. According to a legend, when the Khüree resided in Doloon Nuur a handsome man was entered the temple. The lamas said that he was Mahākāla himself. However, Jügder's painting shows only some yurts in this area without any specific temple building. Considering this, *Saikhan Gombiin süm* may have been an assembly operating inside a yurt or perhaps the temple building was built later than 1913.

There are no remains as the site has been completely built over. GPS was taken at the Sansar Trade Center.

The Manchu Amban's Assembly

Manj ambanii khurliin dugan

GPS: N 47° 54.881', E 106° 55.936, elevation 1286m

Although this temple is not marked on Rinchen's map (NR-949) Pürew mentions *Manj ambanii khurliin dugan* in his books. The temple building cannot be made out on Jügder's painting.

The area of the South-Eastern quarter (*Züün ömnöd khoroo*) had many districts, such as the residences of the Manchu and Mongol *ambans* ('governor', since 1786), and Tsewangiin khoroo, Setsen khanii khoroo. An archive and a prison were also situated nearby. The district where the Manchu and Mongol governors had their residences was called Amban khanii khoroo. Today, the Technical University on Baga Toiruu, the Ulaanbaatar Hotel and the National Pedagogical University occupy the area.

According to O. Pürew (2004, p. 37.) the last Manchu amban, San-duo, who lived in the *khüree* until 1911, moved his residence from the above-mentioned area, and had his residence and shrine, *Manj ambanii khurliin dugan*, on the East bank of the River East-Selbe South of the present Lion Bridge (*Arslantai güür*) located near the present-day School No. 21. The drawing by an unknown painter, exhibited in Ulaanbaatar City Museum, also marks the place of this temple to the East of the residence of the Manchu governor.

There are no visible remains as this area has been completely redeveloped. (However, two old wooden buildings are located in this area, but they seem to be built later than the Manchu period.) GPS was taken at School No. 21.

THE MERCHANT DISTRICTS (DAMNUURCHIN)

In 1877 new Chinese stores (*püüs*) were built on the road to the monastic city in the district next to Maimaachen. This made trade between the two easier. Another similar merchant quarter was formed between Züün Khüree and Gandan. These two retail communities were later called *Züün damnuurchin/damnuurgachin* ('Eastern area of porters') and *Baruun damnuurchin/damnuurgachin* ('Western area of porters') referring to their location relative to Züün Khüree. These areas are shown in Jügder's painting as well. The word *damnuurchin* means 'porter who carries the water pot on a pole', as the merchants in the area carried their goods with them.

In *Züün damnuurchin*, which Pürew (2004, p. 91.) claims was established at the beginning of the twentieth century, Mongolians grew vegetables and made food products to sell. The trading area consisted of one large street with 27 big shops (1994, p. 66.). The Manchu military barracks called *Shinkhua* (sien khua in Chinese) were on the South of *Züün damnuurchin* quarter.

Baruun damnuurchin was a Chinese trading area with Chinese manufactured products on sale. Ramstedt describes (1978, p. 40.) the state of this part in 1898 as the following: "Between the main monastery (i.e. Züün Khüree) and Gandan is the Chinese residential district, a separate city quarter with high enclosures of unburned tile and between the narrow, clay-filled and dirty streets." He adds that "the Chinese houses with their windowless (inner) walls and high (outer) walls looked more gloomy and dull than the Mongol residences." There was a long street with nine cross streets. In the 1920s some of the biggest Chinese stores moved here from Maimaachen. In 1927 the *Geser süm* assembly was moved to this district and established at *Baruun Geser süm* (R-914). Pürew (2004, pp. 83-84., 1994, p. 51.) says that, in the early 1900s, there were 217 shops of various sizes offering different products or services with a total of 495 workers.²³⁵ There was also a Chinese theatre.

The market where the majority of cleric and lay inhabitants and countryside people spent their free time was situated between Gandan and Züün Khüree. Pozdnev writes in some detail about the lively activity there (1971, pp. 64-73.). The market offered a large variety of articles by its nearly 25 Beijing stores and other Chinese shops as well as open-air workshops of carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, butchers and others. The great deal of the commerce was done by Chinese, later Russian merchants, while Mongols were involved in street trading on a smaller scale, selling articles they bought from Chinese shops. The main products were the following: women from the countryside sold milk, kumis (*airag*) and other dairy products while the men sold livestock mainly horses and sheep. They also brought firewood and hay to sell. According to Pozdnev (1971, p. 75.) there were many unofficial public places in the *khüree* market including brothels.) According to Ramstedt (1978, p. 45.) the market was very lively in the mornings crowded by dozens of camels, oxcarts, herds and flocks, men and women on horseback.

Geser Temple

Geser süm, Baruun Geser süm (T. *ge-sar*), Chinese: *Guan di/Guan yu*
GPS: N 47°55.389', E 106°53.953'

Apart from some sources O. Pürew served relevant information on the temple. The temple complex survived the purges several new photos are available (e.g. Dashnyam: 254).

Rinchen marks this temple complex on his map under the name *Baruun Geser süm* (R-

²³⁵ Pürew (2004, pp. 108-117.) lists the stores of *Baruun damnuurchin* street by street, that of the *Züün-ömnöd khoroo*, *Baruun-ömnöd khoroo*, *Maimaachen*, and the most famous factories having operated by Russians.

914) or Western Geser temple due to its location being to the West of the other Geser Temple (R-930) which was situated in Maimaachen. Jügder's painting does not show this complex as it was built after 1913. According to Enkhbat a Chinese Buddhist believer, Zakhar, from the Guwe family (Dashnyam, 1999, pp. 254-255.) set up the *Geser süm* in 1919-1920. His main aim was to spread Chinese Buddhism in the Mongolian capital. He raised money from rich Chinese silk merchants and lamas to build the temple. However, according to O. Pürew, a Mongolian called Dambadorj, who had a Chinese wife, moved the *Geser süm* (R-930) to this site near Gandan from Maimaachen in 1927. It is possible that both these devotees gave money, sponsored the moving and building of the new temple complex.

The temple got its name after Guan di, a Taoist god of war who is also respected by Chinese Buddhists. He was a historical person who became a renowned general of the Three Kingdoms Period. His cult, which was strongly influenced by Buddhist ideas, began around the 7th century. He became known as the God of War and Protector of China. Guan di is portrayed wearing full armour as a tall giant of a man with a long beard. When the Manchu dynasty was established, the spirit of Guan di was implored to lend his spiritual power to help the new dynasty defeat all their enemies and to expand their territory. To this end several monasteries were founded for his worship with the name *Geser süm* being frequently used for these Chinese temples in Mongolia. According to Rinchen's map 44 there were temples dedicated to the honour of *Geser* in several of the bigger settlements throughout Mongolia, such as Khowd, Uliastai, Tsetserleg, Khyagt, Bulgan and in the present Choibalsan, where there were also Chinese inhabitants.

Geser mergen khan was the main deity in the temple. *Gesar* or *Geser* is also a name of an epic hero in Tibetan and Mongolian folk literature. The connection between the *Geser* hero and Guan di is not clear, but in Mongolia it appears that the two figures were fused. There is a photo in the Film Archives, which shows an image of *Geser* hero in a Chinese temple (K-24720, box 95), but it is not known in which Chinese temple this image stood.

The Chinese lamas (*khuushaan*) belonging to this temple were called *khökh malgaitai*, which means 'Blue Hat lamas'. They followed a different Buddhist tradition from the Red and Yellow streams of Tibetan Buddhism. This form of Chinese Buddhism originated in the 1st century, when the teaching of Buddha first spread to China. The ceremonies and texts in *Geser süm* were in Chinese and both Chinese and Mongolian lay people visited the temple. In the main temple there was an idol of Guan di. In the temple of the hero on one side there were wall murals of Guan di's chestnut horse, while on the other side was his white horse. In the 1960s D. Danzan, a famous artist lama in *Gandan* monastery, repainted the figure of Guan di. The 180cm picture showed *Geser khan* with his two consorts. (These murals did not survive into the present.) Some of the old informants stated that *Geser süm* had Chinese monks, but others stated that *Geser süm* had Mongolian lamas. It might happen that in the 1930s monks were mixed, or there were not Chinese monks anymore. This is a doubtful question.

According to Ölzii (1992, p. 157.) the *Dar' ekhiin süm* (Tārā temple) was built behind the Geser assembly hall by adding a small room to it, in the 1930s while the two buildings of the Chinese School were built in 1932 on either side at the back of the main hall. In the same year a fenced-off yard was built for *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

The complex of the temple was not destroyed, but closed from 1933. It was used as a dormitory for state artists from 1937-1940, an office dealing with the revival of cultural heritage from 1950-1960, a library and archives for *Gandan* monastery from 1960-1970, and medical school (*Manba datsan*) of *Gandan* monastery from 1970. A secondary school was established in 1990 by *Gandan* monastery to educate a new generation of lamas aged 12-16. The Mongolian Government recognized it as an official school in 1991 whereby regular academic subjects following the national curriculum were taught, as well as classic Buddhist subjects. A traditional medical centre also worked within the temple.

The temple complex have remained almost completely intact, i.e. high walls enclosing a collection of pink and white temples and other buildings all with green ceramic tiled roofs. It is still standing at the foot of Dasgaanii owoo hill to the West of *Gandan*. There are two entrances, with the main entrance on the South side and the other on the East. Inside there are two courtyards. Today, the *Badma yogo datsan* of *Gandan* monastery and another temple, *Zurkhai datsan* use the two extant temples of *Geser süm*. There are several other religious institutions in the complex as well. Entering through the main entrance, there are the two small buildings on either side of the first courtyard with the *Badma yogo datsan* at the far end, which has recently been repainted. The buildings on the sides are now classrooms for the Secondary School of *Gandan* monastery (*Shashnii surgalttai 112 dugaar surguul*, ‘112th School, providing religious training’), where Buddhist subjects are also taught. (One of them used to be the residence of Zakhar, the founder). There are also consulting rooms for astrologers in these buildings. Behind the temple, at the head of this courtyard there are stairs leading up to the old brick building called ‘temple of the Heros’. It was used by an astrological monastic school (*Zurkhai datsan*), called Tüwdenpeljeelin (T. *thub-brtan dpal rgyas gling*) since 1990, which possesses now an own temple behind the wall of *Geser süm*.

KONSULIIN DENJ, HILL OF THE RUSSIAN CONSULATE

According to Rupen (1964, pp. 163-164.), before 1860, the number of Russians living in the *khüree* was negligible. In 1861 the Russians decided to open a consulate in the city for reasons of trade and political influence. Russian merchants began to come to the city where some of them inevitably settled. By 1873 the Russians operated and staffed the Urga post office with more buildings being constructed around the consulate: an Orthodox Church called *Khutagt Troitsiin süm* (R-928), which was the only Christian church in the capital at that time; the office for the Russian doctor; barracks for the Cossacks of the small consular-guard; and a cemetery. According to Pürew and the Jügder painting, which shows this part as well, this hill where the Russian quarter was situated was called Maakhuz/ Maakhur tolgoi ('Maakhuz hill', 2004, p. 95.).

According to Pozdneev (1971, p. 94.) in the 1890s about 50 people were attached to the consulate with another hundred Russians living in Urga. However, from this date the number of Russians grew, as many merchants, prisoners of war and the white Russian troops came to Mongolia. At the beginning of the 1920s, as the Red Army approached the capital, many fled back to their homeland.

Orthodox Church

Khutagt Troitsiin süm, Sbyato-Troitsiin süm, Gegeen Gurwaliin süm, Ünen aldart süm
GPS: N 47° 55.000', E 106° 57.573', elevation 1333 m

This temple was the only Orthodox Church in the city. Rinchen marks it under the name of *Khutagt Troitsiin süm* (R-928), some sources mention it and a few photos are available, too (Film Archives: K23684, 2708a = H-50377, etc.). The temple is visible on Jügder's painting. Father Alexej (Trubach), the dean of the present church provided data on the history of the old church building.

The founding of a Russian community in the Mongolian capital began with the establishment of Russian factories and trade companies in the 19th century. In 1860 the first Russian consulate was established. According to Dügersüren (1999, p. 41.), the white two-storey building of the Russian Consulate was the first European-style building in the city. It was situated between Züün Khüree and Maimaachen in a hilly area, which was called 'the hill of the consulate' (Konsuliin denj) from that time. Additional buildings were built around the consulate itself: an Orthodox church, an office for the Russian doctor, the Urga post office and also a cemetery on the North.

According to Father Alexej, the present dean of the Church, the first divine liturgy in the Mongolian capital was celebrated by Father Ioann Nikolskij on 22 March 1864. Since then priests from the Russian Clerical Mission in Beijing came to Urga from time to time to conduct services and celebrate the holy rites: Brother Sergij came in 1865 for a year, and brother Gerontij served from 1866 through 1868. In 1872, during the Dungan rebellion, the Cossack barracks were set up to protect the Russian consulate. In that very year the construction of the Orthodox Church to serve as a spiritual center for the Cossacks, was finished. This chapel was a small one-storey building that stood on the left of the consulate, precisely it was immediately adjoining the building of the consulate as it can be seen from photos.

According to Pürew (2004, pp. 98-99.), the building was constructed in 1869-70, and its tower was built in 1872. He writes that Nikolaj Sokolow, the priest from Blagoweshen Church, and Paroenaj, a famous orthodox priest, came from Irkutsk to consecrate the temple

in 1872. It was the only Christian church of that time in Urga. According to Father Alexej the church was also connected with Irkutsk and Baikal Clerical Missions of the Russian Orthodox Church. As Pozdneev accounts (1971, p. 94.), the request for a residential priest in Urga arose before Pozdneev's first visit there in 1876. It seems that the Russian brick tea merchants of Urga, aware of the wishes of their compatriots, initiated the move to establish a parish in Urga. A special annual tax was levied for this purpose collecting 2500 to 3000 rubles annually. However, until 1892, they were only able to invite a priest to Urga once a year, usually for the Easter liturgy. Pozdneev claims that in 1892 the state council, in accordance with the report of K.P. Pobedonostsev, the attorney-general of the Holy Synod, approved the appointment of a permanent clergyman to the Orthodox Church of the Urga Consulate.

From the Baikal Clerical Mission Nikolas Shestin was appointed by the Moscow Patriarch as the first permanent dean of the Consulate Church of the Holy Trinity in 1893. Since that time regular liturgies were held.

After Mongolian independence in 1911, Russian influence became stronger in Mongolia. That year the supervision of the parish was transferred to the Irkutsk Eparchy. A wooden church was also built in Altanbulag in the North (Khyagt), near the Russian border.

In the summer of 1914, an Irkutsk priest, Feodor Parnyakov, was appointed as the new Dean of the church in Urga. Owing to his deep faith, he was very progressive in his religious activities and, during his time, religious life in the parish was revitalised. As a missionary he visited the countryside many times. Furthermore, he established a library and, at his initiative, the first commercial college was opened. Due to his non-sectarian behaviour he was very respected among the Jewish and Chinese communities in the city as well. In 1920 the army of the white Russians, Baron Ungern von Sternberg, captured the Mongolian capital and expelled the Chinese. Baron Ungern wanted to restore the monarchy in Russia, so he was fighting against Siberian communists. His army started the Jewish pogroms and his soldiers committed atrocities all over the capital. Geleta mentions (Forbáth, 1934, p. 136.) one of the sorry episodes of Ungern's bloody terror in the *khüree*, which had Jewish people as one of its main targets. This was the execution of the Jewish Scheinemann family who escaped to Mongolia from Russia. Their baby was saved by his nanny, who took him to the Russian priest. He urgently baptized the baby telling Ungern's soldiers, who were looking for the baby, that he was not Jewish anymore but an Orthodox Christian. Finally, the soldiers killed his nanny.

On 15 January 1921, Father Parnyakov was arrested and charged with being in collaboration with the Russian communists. After three days of cruel torture, Baron Ungern killed the priest.

In 1921 when the civil war in Russia was over and the communists came to power in Mongolia, thousands of Russians left the Mongolian capital. Since that time no deans were appointed to the capital, but priests came from time to time to hold services. The last divine service was celebrated in 1928 and in the early 1930s the church was closed.

According to an article written by Ts. Nawagchamba²³⁶ 'the Russian consul Chikanow left the consulate in 1922. The building was used as a hotel for Europeans led by Milich Karakow. The consulate was partly destroyed in 1937 as a 'representative of a perverse religious thought'. According to Father Alexej, the temple building with its bell tower remained until the 1970s. Then, the bell tower was destroyed. At the beginning of the 20th century there were some other small churches in the city. According to Pürew (2004, p. 77.), some Swedish doctors and teachers came to live in the area of Setsen wangiin khoroo in 1919 where they ran a primary school until they were expelled by the communists in 1924. Pürew also mentions that there was a Christian church there. He mentions another Christian church,

²³⁶ Nawagchamba, Ts., *Yewrop khelberiin ankhonii baishin*. In: ? This short Mongolian article was shown by the present dean. Its date and the source where it appeared is unknown.

which was situated in one of the streets of the laymen's area called *Baruun damnuurchin*. It was situated West of the Chinese store (*püüs*) of Wan-Shin-Khun (2004, p. 82.). In 1939 the Fifth grammar school (*Tawdugaar dund surguul'*) was built there where it still stands on Baga toiruu today.

Partial remains of the old church building can be located on the West of the Film Factory (*Kino üildwer*). It is a white building with two doors to the left of a shop. The building is now used as an internet cafe. On the opposite side of Jukow Street, near to the old orthodox church site there are two orthodox church buildings: a light green coloured one and a white coloured larger one.²³⁷

²³⁷ After the democratic changes, the Russian inhabitants of Ulaanbaatar requested Alexej II, His Holiness Patriarch of Moscow and all Russia, to appoint a priest to Mongolia for regular services. In 1997, priests from Buryatia and Chita Eparchies began to travel to Mongolia regularly. On 19 January 1998 the chief priest of the Holy Trinity church, Father Anatolij Fesechko, arrived at Mongolia to take up a permanent post. In that year, the Russian Church was given the former Russian trade mission building, which was built at the beginning of the 20th century and which became free having been used as an office and a hostel. It was repaired in 2000, the first time since 1937. The white coloured church building was built in 2006 or 2007. The two buildings of the present church are situated in Jukow Street 55a (GPS: N 47°55.057', E 106°57.481', elevation 1340 m). For further information about its operation see www.mospat.ru. A description of the activities of the revived temple is available at www.mongoliantemples.net.

MAIMAACHEN, THE CHINESE MERCHANT TOWN

According to Rupen (1964, pp. 162-164.) the Chinese population in the *khiiree* increased over the centuries. Despite the Manchu emperor's dictat that controlled Chinese trading and forbade Chinese acting as money-lenders in Mongolia, it was, in fact, very common for them to do both of these. Most of the Chinese formed a settled colony around Züün Khüree. According to Pürew's book (2004, pp. 101-107.), in 1778 the Chinese were forced to move out of the city to the East to the area called Red hill (Ulaan dow), between the East and West branches of the River Uliastai. This district became known as Elbeg amgalan gatsaa ('village of abundant peace'). According to Rupen, it was the 4th Bogd who ordered the Chinese to move away from the monastic city. He also attempted to limit their number. The reason for this, as described by O. Pürew, is that the Bogd had to be kept away from the 'wind blowing from the Chinese' as they were considered impure. Thus they set up their own fenced-off quarter, called 'Commercial town' (*maimai cheng* in Chinese, its Mongolian name variations are: Maimaachen, Maimaichen, Maimaa khot, Naimaa khot). This soon became the centre of Chinese economic operations in Mongolia. A temple called *Amgalangiin Geser süm* (R-930) stood in the North part of the enclosed Chinese quarter, the gates of which were closed at night.

Inside the Chinese quarter, people lived in one or two-storey wooden houses. There were large, well decorated stores, which sold a variety of goods including silk, other cloth, ironware, religious articles, brick tea, grain, and delicious bakery goods. According to O. Pürew's map there was a Chinese theatre to the right of *Geser* temple and Chinese educational institutions also operated here. According to B. Daajaw, in 1807 there were about 800 buildings with 4,000 inhabitants. In 1824 1,700 Mongolian people lived in Maimaachen and there were 72 stores (*püüis*). Pozdneev described Amgalan in 1870 as having 374 fenced-off yards (*khashaa*), 12 Chinese stores, 51 restaurants and taverns and two hotels. Among the *khashaas*, 183 were occupied by Chinese and 191 by Mongolians. According to Pürew there were 25 large stores, some inside and some outside the fence (2004, p. 103.).

Pozdneev's book (1971, pp. 77-89.) contains a detailed description on the lively life of Maimaachen. This settlement was quite different from Züün Khüree with its crooked, irregular streets, canals and highly-decorated Chinese style dwellings and shops, inns, storehouses and warehouses full of Chinese food, valuable silk products and other Chinese goods, all being sold in a pleasant atmosphere.

As it can be seen from Jügder's painting and as it is described in Pürew's book (2004, p. 101.) in the fenced area of Maimaachen there was a main street leading from the large entrance gate in the South up to the *Geser* temple in the North. There were also two big gates on the main street in the centre of the town. In front of the main gate there was a protection wall (*yampai*). There were also three streets connecting the gates on the East and West walls of the fence. The arrangement of the streets in the Chinese quarter was such that it was divided into seven parts (*khoolool*). The Northern part, around the *Geser* temple, was the largest part. To the West of it there was the administrative office of the Manchu Qing dynasty, which organized the affairs of the Mongolian and Chinese inhabitants. West of this building, in the North-West corner of the Chinese quarter there was a large store, called *Nomtiin püüs* - remnants of it can still be seen today - and other stores.

Numerous temples were built in and around the Chinese town. (This area is now known as Amgalan.) Rinchen's map marks seven of them. However, according to Pürew and Sereeter (1999, p. 82.), there were seven further temples and shrines. Altogether, seven Chinese temples were situated in the South-East quarter (*khoolool*) inside the fenced-off area of Maimaachen, while six Mongolian assemblies and a Chinese temple were located outside. Pozdneev claims (1971, p. 87.) that 'By religion the inhabitants of Mai-mai-ch'eng may be

divided, properly speaking, into two groups, Taoist and Buddhists. Only Chinese belonged to the first group, and all the Mongols and a small number of Chinese belong to the second. In addition, about twenty Mongol shamans lived in the Mai-mai-ch'eng, although they, properly, may be considered Shamanists to the same extent that any Chinese may be considered a Taoist, Buddhist or Confucianist. It must be said in general that in the *khiiree* Shamanism exists, not as any kind of religion, but as shoothsaying or fortune-telling (...) Thus, in the Mai-mai ch'eng only two faiths exist, Taoism and Buddhism and the temples are accordingly. There are only four temples in the Mai-mai-ch'eng: three Taoist in various places in the Chinese section of the city, and one Buddhist temple built in the South-West side of the Mongol section.'

However, research proves that at the beginning of the 20th century there were more than four temples in Maimaachen. Those built inside were all Chinese temples, with Chinese lamas called *khuushaan* in Mongolian, (*he shang* in Chinese). According to Pürew's book, the Chinese temples were in the South-East part: in the corner of this area was an astrological temple, *Odon süm* (NR-945) and another temple called *Kunziin süm* to honour Confucius (R-933) on its left and a Moslem temple, *Tsagaan malgaitiin süm* (R-934) nearby on the West. North of *Odon süm* the temple of *Dar' ekhiin süm* (R-931) was situated. On its left *Erleg khaanii süm*, and *Urchuudiiin süm* or *Mujaanii süm* (R-932) were located. Jügder's painting represents many temples in the South-West corner of Maimaachen next to each other. The Chamber of Solicitors (*Zargachnii yaam*), established in 1742 according to Pozdneev (1971, pp. 89-90.), was the administrative board of Maimaachen with its five Chinese and ten Mongol clerks. It was responsible for the affairs of the Chinese people and reported to the Ministry of Native Affairs in Beijing. Its headquarter building was situated to West of the temples mentioned above and East of the Moslem temple. (On its West there was a poplar tree, which still stands on the West of *Dar' ekhiin süm*). Two temples bearing the name of *Erleg nomun khaanii süm* also stood here, one inside (R-929) and one outside the fence, on the North-West (NR-948), as O. Pürew says. The prison was located in the South-West part of the Chinese town.

Manchu regulations forbade the Chinese to bring their wives and families with them to Mongolia. Lay Mongols and the half-caste people (the issue of Chinese married to Mongolians) lived in the East and West of the enclosed Chinese district in the two areas, *Baruun khoroo* (Western district), and *Züün khoroo* (Eastern district), each of which had fields for agriculture and artificial lakes. According to Sereeter (1999, p. 82.), during the Manchu period and the reign of the Bogd khaan, several Mongolian temples were established in the districts outside the fence of the Chinese quarter. According to Pürew (2004, pp. 104-105.) in the South area of *Baruun khoroo* the small temple of *Choinkhorlin* (NR-955) was situated. A wide road, called *Gaaliin gudamj*, or Customs Street ran from West to East in front of the South entrance of Maimaachen. Jügder's map shows a large temple on this road. At the East end of this road, there was the Assembly of *Zod* tantric masters belonging to the Red Stream (*Ulaanii shashnii zodoch nariin khural*, NR-959), which was founded during the reign of the Bogd khaan. The name of this temple is currently unknown. On the East of the *Zod* temple, in a fenced off yard, there was the large Mongolian-Chinese style building of *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935) or *Erliiziin süm*, 'the temple of the half-castes' which is identified on Jügder's painting. On the East of *Dashsamdanlin datsan*, also on the South-West of the fence, there was another temple, *Dejidlin süm* (NR-956). It operated in a large yurt-shaped temple building. On the East side of the protection wall (*yampai*), to the South of the town there was a large temple called *Dagdanlin süm* (NR-958). According to Sereeter (1999, p. 82.), there was a temple called *Puntsoglin süm* (NR-957), which was also situated outside the Chinese town.

Sereeter claims (1999, p. 82.), that the *aimags* were arranged around these temples.

Lamas from the *aimags* came to the temples from time to time to hold ceremonies. 40 lamas belonged to *Puntsoglin aimag* and 80-90 lamas to the others. (Sereeter does not give an exact date, but his data may refer to the situation in the 1910-1930s. The temples had their own self-sustaining financial units (*jas*) whereby the believers' donations and offerings in the *aimags* provided for their economic needs such as in the cases of Züün Khüree's *aimags*.)

Pürew (2004, p. 104.), places the large temple of *Erleg nomun khaan* (NR-948), also called as the 'rear temple of Erleg khaan' (*Erleg khaanii khoid süm*), in the Northern area of the Western quarter (*Baruun khoroo*). This is also where Jügder shows it. There were fields for agriculture and a Chinese cemetery outside the North side of the Maimaachen fence, where the coffins were placed on the ground uncovered according to Chinese burial costumes.

There are photographs of the Maimaachen temples in the Film Archives (box 93, K-23971-23987). They were important masterpieces of Chinese architecture and some of these photographs have appeared in books on architecture and history. Some of them show *Geser süm*, and others show the *Dar' ekhiin süm*. However, it cannot always be determined which other Chinese temple of Maimaachen many of the photographs illustrate.

In the mid 1920s, when the Mongolian People's Party came to power, the Maimaachen inhabitants were expelled, both Chinese merchants and the Mongolians, and the shops were closed. Not long before this, in 1920, Baron Ungern's troops committed a massacre here with many Chinese victims. At the time of Geleta's stay, (Forbáth, 1934, p. 224.) in the late 1920s, Maimaachen, which preserved its Chinese character, was no longer an administrative, residential or commercial centre for the Chinese with the majority of its inhabitants being Mongolians. The offices, separate administration, army and flourishing commercial activity had ceased. By the late 1920s this district, comparing with the vivid life of Urga that time, seemed underpopulated and deserted with its quiet and desolated streets.

O. Pürew dates the expulsion of the Chinese merchants as 1928. From this time onwards, the old temple buildings were either destroyed, put into secular use or left neglected. It is supposed that there were no operating temples here at the time of the 1937's purges, though the Mongolian temples, outside the Maimaachen walls, were supposedly still operating. (According to archival data *Dashsamdanlin datsan* operated until 1937). In 1925 the area had been renamed Amgalanbaatar. After the Chinese were forcibly expelled, a military barrack was established for the Russians along with Russian shops.

In this area known in the past as Maimaachen just a few buildings have survived. Some renovated remnants of the *Dar' ekhiin süm* (R-931, N 47 54.375', E 106 59.955', elevation 1293 m) still standing along with some remains of the store, *Nomtiin püüs*, a Chinese store building (N 47°54.438', E 106°59.674') where *Choidechindashsümprellin* assembly has been operating since 2002,²³⁸ with another old building situated between the two (N. 47°54.427', E 106°59.893, 1320 m) which is said to have served as a prison in the middle of the 20th century according to the inhabitants of the yurt behind it. There are no other remains. Based on the sources, the exact sites of the temples existed once in Amgalan can be determined roughly in relation to the ruins of *Dar' ekhiin süm* and the remnants of *Nomtiin püüs*. Therefore the GPS taken at *Dar' ekhiin süm* can serve as a basis to determine the

²³⁸ The ruins of the *püüs*' buildings are situated in the courtyard of the present-day *Choidechindashsümprellin* assembly that operates in a yurt. Batkhaan, the head, claims that these are remnants of not *Nomtiin püüs* but *Geser süm* itself. The buildings started to be renovated in 2005. A building, which stood on the left side of the courtyard has been stripped down to the wooden framework. The building standing at the back, which Batkhaan claims was the *Tsogchin* temple, is also in a very bad state of repair. On either side of its entrance two original Chinese style wall paintings are still visible. The painting on the left side can be made out relatively well, but the right side one is in a very bad condition. Chinese script and ornamentation decorate its façade. According to Batkhaan after the purges in the late 1930s, the complex was used as a hospital, then, as a prison for Japanese prisoners of war. However, it is not clear that he was referring to the two remaining buildings on this site or to what he had read or heard about *Geser süm* or *Maimaachen*.

location of further temple buildings that existed once inside (especially the Chinese temples inside the wall were situated very near to each other) or outside the wall.

In the National Archives there are numerous documents written in Chinese about the commercial life of the Chinese districts: Maimaachen, Züün Damnuurchin and Baruun Damnuurchin. However, in the Mongolian collection only one relevant document is available in the catalogue (A-145) of the Chamber of Solicitors (*Zargaachnii yaam*). This chamber organized the affairs of the Chinese in Niislel Khüree and Maimaachen. The one-page document was issued in 1912 by the Ministry of the Interior and mentions a commercial contract drawn between Russia and Mongolia. A copy of the contract is attached to the letter. Moreover, there is another catalogue (M-219) that contains 74 texts related to a store, *Daashinkhüügiin püüis*. Although it is not clear whether the store stood once in *Maimaachen* or in the areas of Züün or Baruun Damnuurchin, these text types could be relevant for every store giving loans. The documents were written in the Manchu period, between 1820 and 1903 (or later). The first text is a list of loans that people had to pay back to the store in 1820. Another text discusses the payment obligation to China (*Khyatadad tölökk öriig todorkhoilson bichig*), whilst further texts indicates the payment obligation of the aimags and khoshuus (for example in 1888). Numerous notifications inform us about debts paying back to the Chinese usurious (*Püüsiin öriig nekhekh khyatadad temdegt olgokh tukhai bichig*). A notification (*temdegt bichig*) was sent to the Chinese, who trade in the countryside (without date).

Chinese Temples

Geser Temple in Amgalan

Amgalangiin Geser süm (R-930) (T. *ge-sar*), Chinese: *Guan di/Guan yu*

Rinchen marks *Amgalangiin Geser süm* on his map (R-930) and it can be also seen on Jügger's painting. Some sources mention this temple, and O. Pürew and B. Daajaw architect served relevant data on it as well. Photos are available in books²³⁹ and in the collection of the Film Archives.²⁴⁰

The biggest and the most prominent Chinese temple inside the walls of Maimaachen was *Geser süm* dedicated to Guan di, the Chinese hero. According to Ölzii (1992, p. 158.) it was founded in 1870. The temple, with a three-storey large gate in front, was situated in the central place, at the centre of the Chinese town in the North, and was approached from the main Southern gate along the main road, which divided the Chinese town into two parts, East and West. The complex was built in typical Chinese style.

As it was already mentioned, Guan di is a Taoist god of war who is also respected by Chinese Buddhists (*Geser süm*, R-914, see details above). Mostly Mongolian lay people visited this original temple. According to Dügersüren (1999, p. 65.) painted glass oil lamps decorated the temple representing the 100 chapter story of the 'period of the Three dynasty'. A notebook showing records of the weather of Ikh Khüree over a period of 200 years was also kept in the temple. Chinese merchants worshipped *Tsonlkha* (T. *tshong lha*) here, the deity of trade and wealth, to help them increase their wealth.

Ungern von Sternberg's troops devastated Maimaachen in 1921, followed by the expulsion of all the inhabitants, both the Chinese merchants and Mongolians, after the MPRP of Mongolia came to power. After this the Maimaachen area became a military barrack for the Russian with Russian shops. In 1925 this area was renamed as Amgalanbaatar.

²³⁹ Maidar: 60, Palsi: 112-113, 114? (may also represent *Dar' ekhiin süm*), Geleta/Forbáth: 184, two pictures

²⁴⁰ Film Archive: K23973, K23974, K23981, K24720 (figure of Geser hero),

According to O. Pürew, *Geser* temple was moved to its new building, near Gandan in 1927 by Dambadorj who had Chinese wife. According to O. Pürew, the Chinese merchants were expelled from the area in 1928 after their trade was made impossible.

This temple was situated to the North-West of *Dar' ekhiin süm* (R-931). There are no visible remains. Based on the sources, the exact sites of the temples of Amgalan can be determined roughly in relation to the ruins of *Dar' ekh* temple and the remnants of a Chinese store building. It is said that the lions that were situated in front of this temple survived and are now at the Lion Bridge (*Arslantai güür*), over the River Selbe.

Tārā Temple

Dar' ekhiin süm (T. *sgrol-ma*)

GPS: N 47°54.375', E 106°59.955', elevation 1293 m

One of the Chinese temples in the South-East quarter (*khorooolol*), inside the walls of Maimaachen was the complex of *Dar' ekh süm*. It is said to be built about 230 years ago in the South-East part of the Chinese settlement on the initiative of the Manchu emperor of the time. There were about 15 buildings in the complex mostly constructed from wood and blue bricks, with tissue paper windows. Rinchen marks *Dar' ekhiin süm* on his map (R-931). Besides written sources old photos of the temple are available in the Film Archives²⁴¹ and in books²⁴² as well.

According to Oyuunbileg (Dashnyam, 1999, pp. 255-256.) the complex was enclosed by three rows of walls made of blue bricks. There was a large gate on the Southern wall and a smaller gate on the East. As the photos show, it was a complex built in Chinese style, with white terracotta fences, oil lamps and Chinese calligraphic inscriptions. In the main temple the curtained off image of the Chinese form of *Dar' ekh* goddess was worshipped. In the temples on either side *Khashin khaan* and *Tsagaan öwgön*, the White Old Man were worshipped. *Khashin khaan* (T. *hwa-shang rgyal-po*, *hwa-shang* originating from the Chinese word for Buddhist lamas) represents the figure of the Manchu emperor, Kang-xi, who supported the dissemination of the Yellow Stream tradition of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia. He became a donor and protector of the Teaching and his figure appears in the *Tsam* religious dances. The White Old Man (*Tsagaan öwgön*, T. *rgan-po dkar-po* or *lha chen tshe-ring*) is always depicted as an old man with flowing long white hair and beard, and also appears in the *Tsam* dance.

Behind the main temple there is a smaller temple, with even smaller temples on either side of it. According to Pürew (2004, p. 103.) the two steles directly South of the main temple were erected in 1783. The 11m high granite stele had carved ornamental decorations of mythical beings and other symbols. Ornamented pillars of this height are unique in Mongolia, so they have been strictly protected since 1994.

According to Oyuunbileg (Dashnyam, 1999, pp. 255-256.) the Chinese script on the left pillar reads: 'Liberates every being of the world from the suffering of the intermediate stage (between death and rebirth)'. The Chinese script on the right pillar reads: 'It saves the million beings with great compassion'. She adds that Chinese lamas held the great feast of Tārā every year on the 15th day of the first summer month. For three days Chinese plays (*shii*, Chinese *shi*) were performed and everybody burnt incense and came to prostrate in the temple with the women adorning themselves with their jewellery and best dresses. During the big feasts the main gate was opened, incense was burnt and offering lamps were lighted. The

²⁴¹ K23978, K23979, K23980, K23985, K23986, 44811

²⁴² Pälisi: 114 (may also represent Geser süm); Shepetilnikov: 47, 58, 112; Maidar 204

lamas played the drums, rang the bells and waited for the believers coming to bow. They also told people about their future on request. During the winter the Chinese lamas went outside the monastery to worship Tārā by playing the drums and other musical instruments. During the great feast a black flag with Chinese script was hung on the pillars and different kinds of plays were performed along with a street festival. During the play, Mongolian and Chinese officers sat on the second floor of the Western temple, and Chinese lamas and Chinese workers sat on the second floor of the Eastern temple, to see the performance.

According to Soninbayar lama, female lamas called *khandmaa*, belonged to *Dar' ekhiin khural*. According to the nuns in the present temple the *khandmaas* had long hair and also performed religious dances. No evidence could be found to prove these statements, these may only be based on the fact that today women belong to the community in the site.

According to Pürew (2004, p. 103.), *Dar' ekhiin süm* became the primary school for Amgalan in 1922. Maybe this is why the buildings survived. According to D. Mönkhbat (2004, p. 16.), some buildings in the complex were destroyed in 1937-1938.

Since April, 2001 a nunnery, called *Dolmalin khiid* (T. *sgrol-ma gling btsun dgon*) or *Dar' ekh khiid* has been working in the remained buildings of this old Chinese temple complex, the only one in Ulaanbaatar currently with resident nuns. Only the main temple and the two temples on either side remain and these have been renovated. The main temple functions as such today while the two side buildings are the residence of the female lamas, of whom all live in the nunnery. The two steles are in the middle at the South end of the buildings on the two sides. The ornaments, style and characteristics of the remains show Chinese features. GPS was taken in front of the main gate.²⁴³

Temple of the Lord of Death

Erleg nomon khaanii süm / Erlig nomun khaanii süm

Besides a couple of written sources O. Pürew provided data on this temple. Although Rinchen marks only one temple with this name (R-929), according to O. Pürew, there were two temples dedicated to *Erlig khaan* or the 'Lord of Death' in Amgalan and he claims (2004, p. 102.) that the temple referred here was inside the wall of the Chinese town, while the other was situated near the Chinese cemetery on the North-West (NR-948, see below). According to Pürew's book *Erleg khaanii süm* was situated on the left (West) of *Dar' ekhiin süm* (R-931) and on its left *Urchuudiin süm* (R-932) was located.

According to Rinchen's map No. 44, there were also temples to the honour of *Erleg/Erlig* in Khowd, Uliastai and Khyagt as these towns also had Chinese inhabitants. According to Dulam (2004, p. 106.), *Erlig khaan* was celebrated in the middle spring month, on the day of the deceased (*Khansh neej ödör*), and on this occasion a Chinese style theatre-style play was performed.

There are no remains. This temple was situated immediately to the West of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

Craftsmen's Temple or Carpenter's Temple

Urchuudiin süm, Mujaanii süm

²⁴³ For further details on the new temple see www.fpmtmongolia.mn, www.mongoliantemples.net.

Rinchen marks this temple on his map (R-932) and Pürew provides data on it. According to Rinchen's map and Pürew's book (2004, p. 102.) one of the Chinese temples situated in the South-East quarter (*khooloolol*) inside the walls of *Maimaachen* was *Urchuudiin süm* (Craftsmen's temple) or *Mujaanii süm* (Carpenter's temple). According to Pürew on the left of *Dar' ekhiin süm* (R-931) *Erleg khaanii süm* and *Mujaanii* or *Urchuudiin süm* (R-932) were located. As for the inhabitants outside the wall of *Maimaachen* many carpenters (*mu jiang* in Chinese) and smiths lived. Maybe they erected or visited this temple. No other data was found on this temple.

There are no remains. The exact site of this temple can be determined roughly. This temple was situated on the west of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

Temple of Stars

Odon süm

This temple (NR-945) is not marked on Rinchen's map. Only Pürew provides data on the temple in one of his books (2004, p. 102.). It was situated to the South of the *Tārā* temple (*Dar Ekhiin süm*, R-931) within the same fenced enclosure, also inside the Chinese town's wall. Maybe it was an astrological shrine.

There are no known remains. This temple was situated immediately to the south of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

Confucius Temple

Kunziin süm, Kunz bogdiin süm, Künziin süm

Rinchen marks this temple under the name *Kunziin süm* (R-933). According to Rinchen's map and Pürew's book (2004, p. 102.) the Chinese temple situated in the South-East quarter inside the walls of *Maimaachen* was *Kunziin süm* or *Kunz bogdiin süm*, erected to the honour of Confucius (Kong-tse in Chinese). According to Pürew *Odon süm* (NR-945) and *Kunziin süm* or *Künz bogdiin süm* were situated in the South-East corner of the area of *Maimaachen*. North of *Odon süm* the temple of *Dar' ekhiin süm* (R-931) was situated.

There are no remains. The exact site of this temple can be determined roughly. This assembly was situated to the South-East of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

Mosque

Tsagaan malgaitiin süm, Tsagaan malgaitnii süm, Laliin süm (T. *kla-klo*)

Rinchen marks this temple as *Tsagaan malgaitiin süm* (R-934) and Pürew provides data on it in one of his books (2004, p. 102.) claiming that *Tsagaan Malgaitnii süm* or the 'Temple of the White Hat lamas' was one of the Chinese temples situated in the South-East quarter inside the walls of *Maimaachen*.

It was also called *Laliin süm*, which means a Mohammedan or Muslim temple. It was a temple of Chinese Muslims (*dungan*). According to Pürew's book (2004, p. 102.), the Chinese temples were in the South-East part: in the corner of this area was an astrological temple, *Odon süm* (NR-945) and another temple called *Kunziin süm* or *Künz bogdiin süm* to honour Confucius (R-933) on its left and a Moslem temple, *Tsagaan malgaitiin süm* (R-934) nearby on its West. The Chamber of Solicitors (*Zargachnii yaam*), the administrative board of *Maimaachen*, was situated on West of these temples but East of the Moslem temple.

There are no remains. The exact site of this temple can be determined roughly. This temple was situated immediately to the West of *Dar' ekhiin süm*.

Rear Temple of the Lord of Death

Erleg khaanii khoid süm, Erleg nomun khaanii süm

One of the Chinese temples of *Maimaachen* was *Erlegiin süm* or *Erleg nomun khaanii süm*, the 'Temple of the Lord of Death'. Some sources provide data on this temple and O. Pürew personally added some information on it, too. According to O. Pürew, two temples bearing the name of *Erleg nomun khaanii süm* stood in *Maimaachen*, one inside (R-929) and one outside the fence, on the North-West, near the Chinese cemetery (NR-948). According to Pürew (2004, p. 104.), this latest was a large temple, also called 'rear temple of Erleg khaan' (*Erleg khaanii khoid süm*), as it stood in the Northern area of the Western quarter (*Baruun khoroo*). On Jügder's painting this large temple is shown on the North-West outside *Maimaachen*. It was a Chinese temple, though all the other temples outside the town fence were Mongolian temples.

According to S. Dulam (2004, p. 106.), in the middle spring month *Erleg khaan* was celebrated, when a feast was held in honour of him on the day of commemorating the dead (*Khansh neej ödör*) and a Chinese style theatre play was performed. It is not clear in which temple it took place in *Maimaachen*.

There are no remains. The exact site of this temple can be determined roughly. This assembly was situated far to the East of *Dar' ekhiin süm* outside the wall of the town, East of *Nomtiin püüs* (N 47°54.438', E 106°59.674').

Mongolian Temples

Dashsamdanlin datsan

Dashsamdanlin khural, *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (T. *bkra-shis bsam-gtan gling grwa-tshang*, 'island of auspicious meditative concentration'), *Sandlin datsan* (T. *bsam-gtan gling*), *Ölzii dayanii süm*, *Erliziin süm* ('Temple of the half-castes')

Rinchen marks *Dashsamdanlin khural* on his map (R-935) and several sources mention it under the name *Dashsamdanlin datsan*. O. Pürew added valuable data on it personally as well. Three sources, O. Pürew, Jügder's painting and a drawing by unknown artist in Ulaanbaatar City Museum, show that *Dashsamdanlin* temple was situated on the left of the main entrance to Maimaachen in the South, outside the Chinese wall in the area known as the Western quarter (*baruun khoroo*) where Mongolians lived. It was a temple visited by not Chinese but Mongolians.

According to Pürew (2004, pp. 104-105.), a wide road called *Gaaliin* Road ran from East to West in front of the South entrance to Maimaachen. The large Mongolian-Chinese style building of *Dashsamdanlin datsan / khural* was situated in this road, in a separated fenced-off yard. In its courtyard there was another small building and some yurts.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 82.), in 1774 *Gonchig*, a clerk of *Ikh shaw*', and other believers initiated the establishment of a small assembly. Later it was dedicated to the 5th Bogd on the 1st of the 6th month, 1837, who gave the name *Dashsamdanlin* and the privileges of a *datsan* to it. It was mostly Mongolians who lived in the area just outside the wall of the Chinese district, and, according to O. Pürew, the lamas of the temple were mixed Chinese/Mongolians. Another name for *Dashsamdanlin* temple was *Erliziin süm*. On its East, also South-West of the fence, there was another temple, *Dejidlin süm* (NR-956) with a *Zod* tantric assembly on its West.

According to Sereeter, the main tutelary deity of the temple was *Jigjid*, while the main protectors were *Gombo*, *Jamsran* and *Geser*. Administratively the temple initially belonged directly to the *Tsogchin* of Züün Khüree, but later it had its own *jas* and property. The following financial units belonged to the temple: *Ikh jas*, *Mönkh zuliin jas*, *Mönkh-Erdenii jas*, *Dorjzodwiin jas*, *Mönkh 13-nii Geseriin jas*, *Mönkh 25-nii Narkhajidiin jas*, *Mönkh Maaniin jas*, *Mönkh Altangereliin jas*. From these *jas* names we can draw the conclusion that a ceremony was held in honour of Geser on the 13th of the month and *Narkhajid* dākini was worshipped on the 25th.

According to Sereeter, lamas from the four Mongolian *aimags* (*Choinkhorlin*, *Dejidlin*, *Puntsaglin* and *Dagdanlin*) surrounding Maimaachen came here to celebrate, but not the lamas of Züün Khüree or Gandan. According to Maidar's list (1970, p. 72.), *Dashsamdanlin* had five temples and four financial units (*jas*). These numbers seem to refer to the above-mentioned four *aimags* and their *aimag* temples (NR-955-959).

According to S. Dulam (2004, p. 106.), *Sandlin datsan* (his name for *Dashsamdanlin*) was a temple for Mongolian believers with daily chanting (*tsogchin khural*) and with a temple in honour of the *Ganjuur*. The tradition of the temple was to process the *Ganjuur* (*Ganjuur ergekh*) around the town (of Maimaachen) every year in the first summer month. According to L. Dүgersүren (1999, p. 38.), the boots (*boitog*) worn by Öndör gegeen as a child were kept in the *datsan* as a relic.

The temple was forced to stop its operation in the autumn 1938. According to Dendew (Nawaan, 1961, p. 41.), artefacts from the *datsan* were moved to the Bogd khaan Museum.

All in all 171 individual documents related to *Dashsamdanlin datsan* are available in the National Archives. It was one of the *Ikh shaw*' monasteries. According to its catalogue

(M-97) of the Manchu period, the temple was firstly initiated in 1774 by Gonchig, who was a clerk of the Manchu emperor, Kien-lung. The temple was dedicated to the 4th Bogd and operated for the benefit of the Buddhist Teaching and the ministers (*said*) who resided in Maimaachen. Fixed date ceremonies and occasional ceremonies were held here. In the beginning its expenses were covered by the *Ikh Tsogchin jas*, but later the temple had its own privileged financial unit(s) (*yambanii jas*).

The Manchu collection contains 139 texts related to the temple. They were written between 1852 and 1911. There are lists of artefacts, books, and ritual objects. Rules and tasks of the financial unit were written down as well. The year of foundation of the *datsan*, and the esteem of high-ranking lamas of the temple were recorded, too. As it is clear from the titles the temple gave brick tea loans to people. The catalogue (A-88) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains 23 texts written between 1912 and 1918. They cover the following topics: brick tea and other incomes of fixed date ceremonies, incomes of the eternal butter-lamp, expenses of the requisites of fixed date and occasional ceremonies, loans and interest of brick tea and banknotes, brick tea offered or sold by devotees at the ceremony of *Danshigiin khangal*. Suspicious Chinese people wandering around the temple were under investigation in 1912. Other documents contain facts about the renovation of the temple building and its sculptures, the consecration procedure (*arawnai örgökh*), incomes and expenses of brick tea and silver (1913). A command was issued about the incomes and expenses of Luwsanjaw, who was the *gürtembe* (whose body during invocations are occupied by different protectors and who communicate their pronouncements) of Maimaachen. He had to be acknowledged as an oracle (*choijin*) and invited to the *datsan* monthly to interpret the protectors (*sakhuis*), and people had to trust him (1915). There is a letter containing the decision of the Ministry of Finance (*Sangiin yaam*) about the rules showing the way of payroll in wood. The Bogd' command was sent to several temples of the city and to rural monasteries about the daily recitation called *jasaa khural*. There is a text about the rules of such particular religious events as the *Tsam* dance. The *datsan*'s disrobed lamas were prohibited to hold their monastic status (1918). A forecast of the incomes and expenses of the *datsan* and its services (*alba garguulakh*) were written down in 1918. From the above-mentioned titles suspicious Chinese who appeared in 1912 and the acknowledgement of a *choijin* in 1913 seem to be the most interesting ones. It is also clear that the temple building was renovated in 1913.

The catalogue (Kh-195) of the Modern Period contains only nine texts. They were recorded from 1925-1936. They provide data about the incomes and expenses of the *datsan* and its fixed date ceremonies, its expected incomes and expenses, the ways of tax collection, and the price of meat. Lamas and novices of the *datsan* were listed in 1936. From this period there is not any information about such a huge livestock property which was typical in the Bogd khaan's period. These documents confirm that the temple was not put out of use in the 1920s as were the Chinese Maimaachen temples.

There are no remains of this temple. It was situated somewhere to the South-West of *Dar' ekhiin süm* outside the wall of the town.

Choinkhorlin Assembly

Choinkhorlin süm / khural (T. *chos-'khor gling*, 'island of the wheel Dharma'), *Nomiin khürdiin süm*

According to Pürew's book (2004, pp. 104-105.), the small assembly of *Choinkhorlin* (NR-955) was situated in the South area of *baruun khoroo*, the Western quarter outside the Chinese town.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 82.), the temples *Dagdanlin* (NR-958), *Choinkhorlin*,

Dejidlin (NR-956) and *Puntsoglin* (NR-957) were temples of the four *aimags* with the same names situated around the Maimaachen. Forty lamas belonged to *Puntsoglin aimag* and 80-90 lamas to the others. These temples had their own financial units, along with the *aimag* believers' donations and offerings serving as the financial basis of their operation. He also says that the lamas in these four *aimags* used to participate in the ceremonies of *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935).

There are no remains of this assembly. It was situated somewhere to the South-West of *Dar' ekhiin süm* outside the wall of the town.

Dejidlin Assembly

Dejidlin süm / khural (T. *bde-skyid gling*, 'island of happiness'), *Enkh amgalant süm*

Two sources mention this temple (NR-956). According to Pürew (2004, pp. 104-105.), there was a wide road called Gaaliin Road from West to East in front of the South entrance of Maimaachen. *Dejidlin khural* was situated on this street, to the East of *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935), also to the South-West of the fence. It operated in a large yurt-shaped temple.

As it was mentioned above Sereeter claims (1999, p. 82.) that *Dejidlin aimag* had a temple with about 80-90 lamas. It had its own financial unit(s), along with the *aimag* believers' donations and offerings serving as the financial basis of its operation. He also says that the lamas in these *aimags* used to participate in the ceremonies of *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935).

Written sources related to *Dejidlin aimag* are available in the National Archives from the Bogd khaan's reign. Its catalogue (A-117) lists nine titles. These texts, compiled from 1915-1921, were all written in Tibetan script. They provide data about the properties and the brick tea capital of fixed date ceremonies that were held in the *aimag*, about its total incomes and expenses, expenditure of fixed date ceremonies, and extra costs. The existence of these texts confirms that the *aimag* temple was active with fixed date ceremonies in the Bogd khaan's period. However, one can suppose that the bookkeeper(s) of the assembly was not familiar with Mongolian script. No more texts deal with this assembly.

There are no remains of this assembly. It was situated somewhere to the South-West of *Dar' ekhiin süm* outside the wall of the town.

Puntsoglin Assembly

Puntsoglin süm/ khural (T. *phun-tshogs gling*, 'island of excellence'), *Khotol chuulalt süm*

According to Sereeter's book (1999, p. 82.), *Puntsoglin* or *Khotol chuulalt süm* (NR-957) was also situated outside the Chinese town. It had an *aimag* temple with forty lamas, and had its own financial unit(s), along with the *aimag* believer's donations and offerings serving as the financial basis of its operation. Its lamas used to participate in the ceremonies of *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935).

There are no remains. Its direction from *Dar' ekhiin süm* cannot be determined.

Dagdanlin Assembly

Dagdanlin / Dagdlin süm / khural (T. *rtag brtan gling*, 'island of everlasting'), *Bat mönkhiiin süm*

Dagdanlin süm (NR-958) or *Dagdanlin khural* (*Dagdlin khural*) was situated in the South of

the town, on the East side of the protective wall (*yampai*) according to Pürew (2004, pp. 104-105.). He claims that it was a large temple.

According to Sereeter (1999, p. 82.), 80-90 lamas belonged to the temple. It had its own financial unit(s), along with the *aimag* believer's donations and offerings serving as the financial basis of their operation. He also says that its lamas used to participate in the ceremonies of *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935).

In the National Archives the catalogue of the Bogd khaan's reign (A-116) mentions ten texts related to *Dagdanlin aimag*. They were written between 1916 and 1919. These sources provide data about the incomes and expenses, and silver and brick tea properties put out on interest. There are inventories of artefacts and ritual objects, registers of incomes flowing in from recitation at the requests of individuals, lists of ceremonial costs, accessories and requisites of occasional ceremonies, and brick tea loans. Four of the texts were written in Tibetan script.

This assembly was situated somewhere to the South of *Dar' ekhiin süm* outside the wall of the town. There are no remains.

Assembly of *Zod* Tantric Masters of the Red Stream

Ulaanii shashnii zodoch nariin khural (*Maimaachen*, T. *gcod*)

The Assembly of *Zod* tantric masters of the Nyingmapa (Red Stream) (NR-959) was one of the six Mongolian assemblies situated around the Chinese town. Pürew (2004, pp. 104-105.), similarly to Maidar (1970, p. 72.), mentions this tantric assembly. According to Pürew's description, the Assembly of *Zod* tantric masters was situated at the East end of Gaaliin Road. It belonged to the Nyingmapa or Red Stream and was founded during the reign of the Bogd khaan. Note that Pürew refers only to the type of the assembly not the name of the temple, which is unknown. *Dashsamdanlin datsan* (R-935) was situated to the East of this *Zod* assembly.

There are no remains. This assembly was situated to the South-West of *Dar' ekhiin süm* outside the wall of the town.

MONASTERIES AND TEMPLES IN THE OUTSKIRTS

Three *Ikh shaw'* Monasteries on the North

In the area of the Chingeltei Mountain, North of the capital, there were two bigger monasteries, *Dambadarjaalin khiid* (R-939) and *Dashchoinkhorlin khiid* (R-936), and a meditation centre, *Shaddiüwlin khiid* (R-937). All these three monasteries belonged to the *Ikh shaw'* area and are presented on Jügder's painting. Although in the catalogues of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs of the National Archives numerous documents have remained concerning the operation of *Dambadarjaalin* and *Dashchoinkhorlin*, sources related to *Shaddiüwlin* are not abundant.

Dambadarjaalin Monastery

Dambadarjaalin (T. *bstan-pa dar-rgyas gling*, 'island spreading and flourishing the Teaching'), *Dambadarjaa*, *Danbadarjialin*, *Damba*, *Dambadarjaagiin khiid*, *Shashniig badruulagch khiid*, *Shajniig badruulagch khiid*

GPS: N 47°58.953, E 106°56.263

A couple of books contain data about *Dambadarjaalin* monastery and some photos are available in books²⁴⁴ and in the collection of the Film Archives (K23777-K23791). Rinchen marks the monastery as *Dambadarjaagiin khiid* on his map (R-939) and Jügder's map also shows it under the name *Shashniig badruulagch khiid*.

Dambadarjaalin monastery, one of the first three monasteries in Mongolia, was founded North of what later became *Ikh Khüree*, at the confluence of the Rivers East-Selbe and West-Selbe. The Manchu emperor, Kien-lung ordered this large complex be built in 1759 (in the 24th year of his reign), dedicating it to the 2nd Bogd's memory. Its construction was financed from the treasury of the Manchu emperor whose order was carved on stone steles in four languages (Mongolian, Tibetan, Manchu and Chinese). The language steles are housed in the two Historical Temples (*Tüükhiin siim*).

The complex was built between 1761 and 1765. Daajaw claims (2006, p. 122.) that for its site the area to the North of the present Ulaanbaatar, at the feet of Bogd Zonkhow uul, where Belkhiin gol meets the Eastern branch of Selbe gol was chosen. Administratively the site belonged to the area of Tüsheets khan aimag's Darkhan chin wangiin khoshuu (parts of today's Töw, Bulgan and Öwörkhangaï aimags). According to Daajaw (pp. 122-125.), *Chin wan* Sanzaidorj was placed in charge of its building.²⁴⁵ Daajaw adds (p. 123.) that in 1762, *Ikh Khüree* moved to the bank of the River Selbe, to the North of *Dambadarjaalin khiid* that was being built at that time, very near to it. According to him, it moved there because the many artists, sculptors and other workers that worked for the monastery being built could live nearby in this way.

The buildings of the complex were different in style, appearance and material. The main assembly hall was constructed in Tibetan style, while other buildings were made of bricks with ceramic tiles in Chinese style, and there were wooden temples as well. According to Banzragch (2004, p. 15.), the complex occupied an area of 335×370 *ald*. The monastery complex was surrounded by walls, with different separate courtyards inside, and the *aimags* situated outside.

²⁴⁴ Tsültem 1988: 122; Maidar: 84, 85, 123; Shepetilnikov: 119-121; Dashnyam: 255

²⁴⁵ Daajaw claims that *Chin wan* Sanzaidorj was the oldest son of *Zorigt wan* Danzandorj (died in 1736), and became the ruler of *Zorigt wangiin khoshuu*. Many of the lamas of *Dambadarjaalin* monastery were from the area of *Zorigt wangiin khoshuu*, and the neighbouring *khoshuus*, *Süjigt güinii khoshuu* and *Bishrelt güinii khoshuu*, the last two being ruled by the two younger brothers of Sanzaidorj, bearing the titles *Bishrelt gün* and *Süjigt gün*.

According to Oyuunbileg (Dashnyam, 1999, p. 255.) in 1774, a stūpa for the 2nd Bogd was erected in the North-West corner of the main courtyard, within a temple of relics (*Shariliin sūm*). In 1778, the relics of the 3rd and later the 6th Bogds were also placed to the monastery. However, Sereeter (1999, p. 92.) gives this data for the erection of the stūpa for the relics of the 2nd Bogd. According to Pürew (2004, pp. 87-90.) and Daajaw (p. 127.) the relics temples of the 2nd and 3rd Bogds were situated on the North-West, while that of the 6th Bogd on the North-East.

Initially 40 lamas were appointed to hold ceremonies and according to archival data (National Archives, M-130/2) 340 lamas were sent here in 1790 from the different *aimags* of Ikh Khüree. In its heyday there were around 1,500 lamas in the monastery (presumably between 1911 and 1921, as the number of lamas decreased later in the 1920-30s), living in the 12 *aimags* settled around the monastery. Jügder's painting represents the monastery and its *aimags* and *aimag* temples in details. There are three sketches of it in Daajaw's book, too (2006, p. 122., pp. 126-127.). As a drawing in Dambadarjaalin monastery and the sketches in Daajaw's book represent the general view of the monastery, the *aimags* surrounded the temple complex almost in a \cap shape form but as there is a hill behind the monastery the shape was broken there. The *aimags* were the following in order from the South-West to the South-East: *Shüteenii aimag*, *Jadariin aimag*, *Anduu nariin aimag*, *Toisomlin/Toislin aimag*, *Makhamayaagiin aimag*, *Jasiin aimag*, *Sangain aimag*, and the kitchen (*manz*, T. *mang ja*) on West of the palace, while it was continued from the North-East as *Zoogoin aimag*, *Dugariin aimag*, *Khüükhen noyonii aimag*, *Bandidiin aimag*, *Örlüüdiin aimag* were situated there. Dariimaa (2003, p. 44.) adds *Setsen toinii aimag*. Every *aimag* had its own temple, so in the whole territory of *Dambadarjaalin* there were about 25 temples. According to Daajaw (2006, p. 126, 129.), *Jarankhashar* stūpa was situated on the North-East of the monastery walls, outside it, at the back of *Zoogoin aimag*. On the South-East there was another stūpa.

Inscriptions in white stones of the three main Buddhist mantras in Tibetan script have been set into the hillside behind the monastery. According to Daajaw (2006, p. 129. and the sketches), to the North-West of the monastery, on the South-Western slopes of Zonkhow uul there were two stūpas. Above them there was an image of Tsongkhapa scarved in stone, inside a small wooden shrine. This image is now kept in Gandan, in the courtyard *Zuugiin sūm* and *Ochirdariin sūm*. On the top of Zonkhow uul there was an *owoo* worshipped by the monastery's lamas.

As the drawing kept in the present monastery shows, and Daajaw's sketches illustrate, the following buildings belonged once to the monastery: a protecting wall (*yampai*) in front of the main entrance on the South, a protective wooden hedge (*shörgön khashaa*), the *Khaalgan sūm*, ('Temple of Gate') with two poles (*chiiga*, *awraga maaniin mod*) on its two sides as an entrance, the (*Jin*) *Kharangiin* or (*Jin*) *Khonkhonii dugan/sūm* ('the shrine of the bell') and (*Jin*) *Khengeregiin dugan/sūm* ('the shrine of the drum') on the right and left sides of the way leading to *Makhranziin sūm*, the Temple of the four direction guards as a second entrance leading to the main courtyard. Then, housing the steles *Tüükhiiin baruun sūm* ('the West side historical shrine') and *Tüükhiiin züün sūm* ('the East side historical shrine') stood in the inner courtyard on the two sides of the way leading to the *Tsogchin dugan* (main assembly hall). The main assembly hall was a huge three-storey white coloured Tibetan-style building (36.4 x 36.4 metres according to Daajaw, 2006, p. 126.). West of the main assembly hall a yurt, which was used as the winter temple of *Tsanid datsan* and behind it the building of *Tsanid datsan* and the two-storey *Güremiin dugan* for healing services were situated from the South to the North and in the North-West corner of the main courtyard the relics temples (*Shariliin sūm*) of the 2nd and 3rd Bogds stood. East of the main assembly hall on the South *Mamba datsan* for medical science, behind it the yurt winter temple of *Jiid datsan* and the wooden temple building of *Jiid datsan* (T. *rgyud grwa-tshang*) for tantric studies were located with the

relics temple of the 6th Bogd in the North-East corner of the main courtyard. Behind the main assembly hall *Zuugiin dugan/siim* (Buddha temple) stood once, in front of the three relics temples. In front of the main assembly hall, in the South-East corner of the main courtyard, a very high wooden platform used for calling the lamas to the ceremonies (*büreenii shat*) was situated. Behind the inner courtyard another courtyard housed the two-storey *Serüin lawiran* (summer palace) or *Logshir siim* (the temple of Lokeçvara) and *Düinkhor datsan* (T. *dus-'khor grwa-tshang*), the Kālacakra temple in the North-East corner, and two *Jodkhans* (T. *mchod-khang*, 'shrine room, chapel') or, according to Daajaw (2006, p. 129.) *Khantshans* (T. *khang tsan*, smaller regional section in a monastery) facing each other in the South. On the two sides of this Northern courtyard there were two other small courtyards, which could be reached from this one. In the Eastern one one temple building stood on the North and a yurt and a stūpa on the South. In the Western one there was only one temple building. In the two long courtyards on the West and South, some *jas* buildings and yurts were situated.

Those who completed their studies in the philosophical *datsan* could take an examination (*gawjiin damjaa*) to attain the *gawj* (T. *dka'-bcu*) philosophical rank. The *Tsam* dance was not held in this monastery although the Maitreya procession was performed every year. Representations of the complex (Daajaw, 2006, pp. 126-127. and the drawing kept in the monastery) marks the *Tsam* dance field in front of the main monastery gate in the South, between it and the *yampai* protecting wall, which was in fact the usual site of *Tsam* dances in monasteries of this arrangement. However, *Tsam* was not held in the monastery at all, but *sagar* (T. *sa gar*, 'Earth-dance', a kind of religious dance in honour of the local spirits) and *chogar* (T. *mchod gar*, 'offering dance', a kind of religious costumed meditative dance) were performed in *Düinkhor datsan*.

According to the Golden Annals (Lokesh Chandra, 1964, 160v)²⁴⁶ nearby the *khüree*, on the North, the monastery called *Dambadarjaalin* which was founded for the command of the 2nd Bogd is situated. The main deity of its shrine was a santalwood Lokeçvara (*lo-ki-shwa-ra*) known as the self-arisen manifestation of *Janraiseg* (only one from the four divine brothers). All kinds of *datsans* and districts (*khams-tshans*, i.e. *aimag*) of lamas belonged to the monastery.

Dendew (Naawan, 1961, p. 12.) mentions that the other name of the monastery was *Logiishurai* (Mongol distortion of Sanskrit Lokeçvara, T. *'jig-rten dbang-phyug*) referring to its main idol, *Logshir Janraiseg*, the two-handed standing emanation of *Janraiseg*. Dariimaa claims (2003, p. 44.) that the santalwood sculpture of *Logshir* was situated on the first-floor of the main assembly hall. This original sculpture is presently kept in Gandan monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist*, pp. 285-286.).

As Daajaw says (2006, p. 130.), the temple buildings were repainted between 1880 and 1886 and according to Ölzi's book (1992, pp. 97-98.) and Daajaw, the buildings of the complex were repaired in 1907.

About the operation of the monastery 145 individual texts are available in the collection of the National Archives, as all the others are arranged in the catalogue of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, because *Dambadarjaalin* was one of the monasteries that belonged to the *Ikh shaw*'. Besides, individual catalogues of the monastery provide important data. Its Manchu catalogue (M-130) refers it as *Shashniig badruulagch Dambadarjaalin khiid*. It contains 94 texts that were written between 1765 and 1911. The very first text of the catalogue is the original inscription of the monastery's stele written in Tibetan and Mongolian (1765), whilst the second text lists the names of 345 lamas of the monastery who were delegated from different *aimags* to sit on the first ceremonies (1790). Lots of texts discuss the

²⁴⁶ (160v) *hu-re'i byang phyogs nye-sar 2 gong-ma chen-po'i bkas phyag btab mdzad-pa'i dgon-sde bstan-pa dar-rgyas gling-du rten-gyi gtsa-bor rang-byung 'phags-pa mched-bzhi'i ya-gyal-du grags-pa'i tsan-dan jo-bo lo-ki-shwa-ra bzhugs-shing grwa-tshang dang khams-tshan chi rigs yod/*

incomes and expenses of the monastery. However, there is a contract which was drawn between Mongolians and Chinese people about the renovation of the monastery in 1857. An evaluation of the quantity and the price of wood which was required for the renovation was compiled in 1859. As interesting pieces of material nominations of bookkeepers of the treasury (1875), that of the disciplinary master of the monastery (1877), a lama holding healing rituals (*gürmiin lam*) (1878), the nomination of Tseween as chief officer (*zaisan*) (1881) and the chanting master of the monastery (1883) were issued as well as a register of ranked lamas (1884). There are documents about the investigation of the people who had spent the properties of the *jas* for their own purposes. Nomination and withdrawal of ranked people were recorded in 1888, and lamas, their required food, the monastery's incomes, expenses, and the number of herds and flocks were recorded in 1906. The quantity of wood required for the renovation of a temple building was recorded in 1908. People who supported the departure of a Tibetan lama, and people who gave donations for the construction of the *loilon*, relief maóðala for meditation, together with lamas' ordinary register were recorded in 1909.

The catalogue (A-121) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains only seven texts. They were written between 1914 and 1920. Some of them concern the number of lamas, and the division of lamas coming from the countryside to the 12 *aimag* surrounding the monastery (1916). There are lists of the five kinds of livestock, incomes and expenses of the monastery and its main treasury (*ikh san*); documents about the reparation of the temple buildings and about taking *gawjiin damjaa* (1920). The number of herds and flocks of *tsanid datsan* and the name of their herdsmen are also known.

Documents of the Modern Period relevant to *Dambadarjaalin* are wrongly arranged into two catalogues. One of them (SKh-232) bears the name of *Shashniig badruulagch khiid*. It contains 40 items which were written between 1922 and 1933. From their titles we can conclude that at least three financial units belonged to the monastery in this period, namely *Ikh jas*, *Tsogchin jas*, and *Maaniin büteeliin jas*, and two treasuries. The catalogue mentions *Zoogoi(n)*, *Sangai(n)*, *Makhamayaa*, *Anduunar*, *Jadar*, *Khüükhen noyon*, *Dugar*, and *Tsetsen toinii aimag* as well as *Tsanid datsan*, *Emchiin datsan*, *Jüid datsan*, and *Mönkh Sanjid* and *Dar' ekh* ceremonies, thus, they were surely related to the monastery. The documents cover the following topics: properties of the monastery and its main treasury (*Ikh san*) for example leather, milk, felt, and renting out of bulls. *Tsanid datsan* and *Emchiin datsan* surely had their own herds and flocks as texts from 1928 mentions them. There are registers of the *aimags*, the livestock of the treasury and the financial units, and the buildings of the monastery (1926). Firewood, coal and economic products of the monastery and herds and flocks of the Three Stūpas' treasury (*Gurwan suwarganii san*, i.e. stūpas of the 2nd, 3rd, and 6th Bogds) were recorded in 1929. A list clarifies the silver accessories of the monastery that were sold in order to pay the tax which was levied to the monastery (1930). There is a contract about the incomes and expenses of the monastery and an order to transfer the livestock into co-operatives to herd (*sürgiig khamtralaar khariulgakh*) (1930). Moreover, from the same year there are registers of lamas living in the *aimags* around the monastery, with and without their properties and livestock. A list of tax paid by *Dambadarjaalin* and *Dashchoinkhorlin* monasteries was conducted in 1931. Lamas were listed in 1933. The other catalogue of the Modern Period bears the name of *Dambadarjaalin khiid* (TSKh-240). It contains only four texts. Among them there is a register of lamas (1936), a list of fixed date ceremonies (1937), and two other texts without date, which listed the lamas and high-ranking lamas of the monastery.

The register (Kh240/1/2) of ceremonies is a very detailed one. It contains valuable data not only about the name, date and the number of lamas who were expected to participate and who actually participated in ceremonies but also about texts which were recited during

the ceremonies. The whole register was written by the same person as it is obvious from his handwriting. Besides the main assembly hall, ceremonies of *Dashchoimbel*, *Emchiin* and *Düinkhor datsan*, and ceremonies of some *aimag* temples are also listed which give a complete picture about the religious life of the monastery. Approximately 90 ceremonies are listed which were permanently performed there in 1937 (i.e. in the 27th year).

According to the text in the main assembly hall (*Tsogchin*) the following 16 ceremonies were held with fixed date: *Tsogchin* ceremony, i.e. reading of *tsogchin* and *kharanga* was held every day by all the expected approximately ten lamas. *Gürem* ceremony (i.e. reading the text of the 9 *khangel*) was held every day by four appointed lamas. *Yerööl* ceremony (reading of *magtaal* and *kharanga*) was held for 15 days from the 1st of the Lunar New Year. About 50 lamas of the expected 120 participated in it. *Sakhius* ceremony (reading of the texts of each *khangel*) was held on the 15th of the first summer month with the participation of all the expected about 30 lamas. *Ganjuur* ceremony (reading of the *Ganjuur*) was held for six days from the 10th of the last summer month. 30 lamas of the expected 130 lamas participated in the ceremony. *Khailen* ceremony (reading of *magtaal*, *kharanga*) was held for 45 days from the 15th of the last summer month till the 30th of the first autumn month. 22 lamas of the about 22 *gelen* and *getsel* participated in it. *Büteel* ceremony was held for a day on the 19th of the last summer month with the participation of all of the approximately 120 lamas who were expected to come. *Logshiriin wan* ceremony (reading of *Logshiriin wan*) lasted for seven days from the 21st of the last summer month. All the about 30 lamas participated in it who were expected to gather. *Sakhius* ceremony (reading of *Gombo's* texts) was held for a day on the 29th of the last summer month. All the 30 expected lamas came to the ceremony. *Gongor Namsrai* ceremony (*san dallaga*) was held for a day on the 30th of the last summer month with the participation of all the 30 lamas who were expected to come. *Sojin* ceremony (holding *sojin*) was held on the 15th and 30th of every month. *Dash Sojin* ceremony (auspicious fasting) was held for a day once a season. It was held twice a day with the participation of all the expected 20 lamas who had *gelen* or *getsel* vows. *San* ceremony (reading of *Eregchin barma san* (?) ²⁴⁷ was held on the 2nd of every month with the participation of about ten lamas who were all expected to participate. *Öwliin tergüün sariin 25-nii yerööl* (prayer) ceremony was held for a day on the 25 of the first winter month with the participation of all the about 80 lamas who were expected to come. *Khuuchin nom* ceremony (dedicated to each *khangel*) was held for three days from the 27th of the last winter month together with *Sor*. *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony was held for a day on the 30th day of the last winter month. According to the source everyday chanting, monthly and annual ceremonies were held in the main assembly hall even in 1937. The temple possessed the volumes of the Kanjur. There were about 20 lamas with vows. The majority of the lamas (120 in number) participated in the *Büteel* ceremony. The majority of the fixed date rituals were held in the last summer month, and emphasis was laid on the closing ceremonies of the lunar year.

In *Dashchoimbel datsan* the following more than 23 ceremonies took place: *San* ceremony (*Namdag san*, called *Choigünawan* (?) ²⁴⁸ was held on the 2nd and 15th of every month with the participation of 20 from the 20-100 lamas. *Janraisegiin chogo*, *Ayuushiin chogo*, *Mintügiin chogo*, *Günregiin chogo*, *Naidan chogo* ceremonies (these five texts were read from the 1-15 of the Lunar New Year) were held by all the required 5 lamas respectively. *Sereetsee* (?) ²⁴⁹ ceremony (reading of *san dorbul*) was held in the *Tsogchin* temple with all the about six lamas who had to come. The six prayers ceremony (*Zurgaan niit khural*) (*kharanga*, *san*) was held for 15 days from 3-17 of the middle spring month with the recitation of *san*,

²⁴⁷ Exact meaning unknown. M. *erengčen barma sang*, probably T. *rigs chen* (?) 'bar-ma bsang (?)

²⁴⁸ Exact meaning unknown. M. *Čoyigünawan* (?), T. *chos* ... (?)

²⁴⁹ Exact meaning unknown.

dorbul and *demberel* every day. 30 lamas of the expected 100 participated in it. *Gawjiin damjaa* lasted for 15 days from 10-20 of the middle spring month. All the 120 lamas who had been supposed to come were participated in the ceremony. On this occasion the content of the five books of philosophy (*tawan bot*) was discussed with debate and *daj* practices (*dan kheleltsekh*, *daj ergekh*). *Khawriin süül sariin khural* ('ceremony in the last spring month') lasted for 30 days from the 3rd of the last spring month till the 2nd of the first summer month. From the expected 100 only 50 lamas participated in it reading the same books every day. On the 30th day *Tünjin/Domjin* (?)²⁵⁰ was recited together with praises. On the 15th of the first summer month *Sanjid khural* was performed for a day with the participation of 80 lamas of the expected 100. During this ceremony *Sanjidiin chogo* was recited. *Sariin khural* took place again from the 17th of the first summer month to the 2nd of the middle summer month. 50 of the expected 100 participated in the ceremony, which was detailed above. *Gawjiin damjaa* was taken from 8-20 of the middle summer month with the same *daj* practice and books mentioned above. All the 120 lamas, who had been expected to come, were participated in the event. *Sariin khural* was held again for 30 days from the 17th of the middle summer month to the 16th of the last summer month with the same ceremony described above. 30 of the 100 lamas participated in it. *Sariin chogo* including *Mintüg chogo*, *Jambiin chogo*, *Migzemiin büteel*, *Awidiin chogo* ceremonies was held from the 10th of the last summer month with a *düitsen* on the 15th day. 30 of the 100 lamas participated in the ceremony. *Lyankhua* ceremony (reading of *san*, *sojin* and *magtaal*) was held on the 3rd and 4th of the last summer month. All the expected 16 lamas gathered together. *Sakhius dallaga* ceremony (*Gombo*, *Lkham*, *Sendom*, *Namsrai*, *Tawan khaan*) was held for a day on the 17th of the last summer month with the participation of all the expected about 100 lamas. *Namriin dund sariin khural* was the same as mentioned above. It lasted for 12 days from 3-14 of the middle autumn month with the participation of 20 of the 100 lamas. *Namriin süül sariin khural* was held from 3-30th of the last autumn month. *Öwliin süül sariin khural* was held from 3-30th of the winter month, when 100 lamas were expected to gather together. *Lkhawawiin dom* ceremony (its reading is the same as *Lyankhiin dom*) was held from 22-24th of the month by all the expected 16 lamas. *Öwliin tergüün sariin khural* (its reading is the same as that of the other 30 day ceremonies) was held for 15 days from the 17th of the first winter month to the 3rd of the middle winter month. 100 lamas were expected to come (the number of the actual participants cannot be made out in the text). *Tsogchid/Choinjid dom* (T. *chos-mdzad ston-mo*) was performed from the 24-25th of the first winter month. 16 lamas held this ceremony, though 16 were requested. *Biziyagiin donchid* was held for a day on the 24th of the month by 100 lamas. *Dar' ekhiin khural* (reading of *Dar' ekhiin chogo*) was held for a day on the 30th of the first winter month by 100 lamas. A feast, called *Züjii dom*, the texts of which were the same as *Lyankhiin dom*'s, was held for ten days on the 13th and 14th of the middle winter month with the participation of 18 lamas. *Öwliin dund sariin khural* (texts is the same as before) was held for 30 days from the 17th of the middle winter month to the 17th of the last winter month with the participation of 50 of the 100 lamas. *Düinjin khural* (? , *magtaal* reading) was held for a day on the 12th of the month with the participation of 100 lamas. *18-nii dom* was held on the 18th of the last winter month by 14 lamas (its reading was the same as that of *Lyankhiin dom*). *19-nii dom* was held on the 19th of the last winter month by 16 lamas (its reading was the same as that of *Lyankhiin dom*). *20-nii dom* was held on the 20th of the last winter month by 16 lamas (its reading was the same as that of *Lyankhiin dom*). *Domiin damjaa* was held from 20-22 (?) of the last winter month with debate on the content of the five books of philosophy. 100 lamas were expected to participate in this event. From the text it is clear that philosophical exams were held even in 1937. *Gawjiin damjaa* was held twice, and *Domiin damjaa* was held once.

²⁵⁰ Exact meaning unknown. M. *Tonjal/Tonjil/Dügal*, T. ?.

More than 100 lamas arrived to these events. The temple had ceremonies that are typical for philosophical schools, such as the ceremonies lasting for a month, and special feasts (*dom*).

In the medical monastic school (*Emchiin datsan*) the following nine ceremonies were held with fixed date: as a New Year ceremony *Manaliin yerööl* was read for 15 days from the 1-16 of the first spring month with the participation of about ten lamas from the 30 expected ones. *San* ceremony, called *Jingiin san* (?)²⁵¹ was held on the 2nd day of every month by eight of the 30 lamas. *Manal* recitation was performed on the 8th of every month by two of the 30 lamas. *Sakhius* ceremony (during which *Shanlan* and *Damjin*'s texts were recited) was held on the 15th and 29th each month with the participation of ten of the 30 lamas. *Sakhius* ceremony (during which *Damjin*'s texts were recited) lasted for a day on the 15th of the middle summer month when all the 35 lamas gathered together. *Manaliin khural* (during which *Manal*'s text were recited) was held from 24-27th in the middle summer month with the participation of all the 35 lamas. *Sakhius* ceremony (reading of *Shanlan* and *Damjin*'s texts) was performed on the 28-29th of the middle summer month with the participation of all the 35 lamas. *Manaliin donchid* ceremony (reading of *Manal*'s texts) were held for a day on the 29th of the last autumn month. *Magtaal* ceremony (reading of *yerööl* and *magtaal*) was held on the 17th and 18th of the last winter month. *Khuuchin nom* ceremony (texts of *Shanlan* and *Damjin*) was held for a day on the 29th of the last winter month. From these facts it is obvious that 35 lamas belonged to the *datsan* in 1937. Its fixed date ceremonies show the features of medical monastic schools, as the Medicine Buddha, and the two main protectors of such *datsans*, *Shanlan* and *Damjin* were celebrated several times. The end of the lunar year was honoured by holding the *Khuuchin nom* ceremony for one day. Only few ceremonies were held with fixed date.

Three ceremonies were held with fixed date in the Kālacakra monastic school (*Düinkhor datsan*). On the 2nd day of the lunar New Year smoke-offering was performed by ten lamas instead of 18. On the 16th and 25th day of each month texts of *Düinkhor* and *Demchog* were recited by eight lamas instead of 18. A three-day *Khangal* ceremony was held in honour of the wrathful deities from the 1st of the middle summer month. 12 lamas of the 18 participated in it. From the text it turns out that the school had 18 lamas and special ceremonies.

The texts also contain data on ceremonies that were performed in some *aimag*. In *Shüteenii aimag* the following 7-8 ceremonies were held with fixed date: *Yerööl* ceremony (reading of prayers) was held for a day on the 14th of the New Year by 30 of the 40 lamas (of the *aimag*). *Sanjidiin khural* (*Sanjidiin chogo* was recited) was held on the 25th of the first spring month by 30 of the 40 lamas. *Magtaal khural* (reading of eulogies) was held for a day on the 28th of the first spring month by all the 40 lamas. *Sakhiusnii khural* was held for a day on the 27th of the first spring month with the readings of *Gombo*, *Namsrai* and *Tsamba*'s texts by all the 40 lamas. *Vairocana* ceremony (*Namnan khural*, *Namnangiin chogo*) together with *Gongor Namsrai* was held for a day on the 8th of the last summer month by all the 40 lamas. *Danshigiin khangal* ceremony was held for two days on the 3rd and 4th of the middle winter month with the celebration of the 9 *khangal* together with thanksgiving offering. *Khuuchin nom* ceremony was performed for a day on the 29th of the last winter month when texts of *Choijal* were recited. *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony with *Lkham*'s reading was held for a day on the 30th of the last winter month. We can conclude from the above-mentioned data that the *aimag* had 40 lamas in 1937. The majority of the ceremonies was held in the first spring month, and a special ceremony to worship the wrathful deities was held on the 8th of the last summer month. *Namnan* could be honoured in the temple as he was worshipped in *Shüteenii aimag* of Züün Khüree as well.

²⁵¹ Exact meaning unknown M. *Jing-yin sang*, T. ?

Concerning *Bandidiin aimag* and *Örlüüdiin aimag* together, the text mentions their five ceremonies: *Magtaal* ceremony with the recitation of eulogies was held for two days from the 15th of the middle spring month with the participation of 15 lamas instead of 13.²⁵² *Sakhius* ceremony was held for a day on the 17th of the middle spring month when texts of *Chojjal*, *Lkham*, and *Jamsran* were recited. 15 lamas came instead of the supposed 10. *Sakhius* ceremony with *Mandalshiwaa* and *Lkhamiin dallaga* was held on the 8th of the last summer month for a day. 14 lamas participated in it instead of the requested 10. *Niit khangal* ceremony was held for two days from the 3rd of the middle winter month. *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony with *Lkham*'s texts was held during the night of the 30th of the last winter month. It is clear that the *aimag* had 15 lamas. The majority of the ceremonies was held in the middle spring month. An important ceremony in honour of the wrathful deities was held on the 8th of the last summer month. *Lkham* was also the protector of *Örlüüdiin aimag* situated in Züün Khüree.

The text lists six ceremonies that were held in *Noyonii aimag*. On the 14th of the New Year *Yerööl* was recited with the participation of 13 lamas of the 22 who were expected. *Mandal* recitation was held for a day on the 15th of the middle spring month with the participation of 12 lamas of the 22. *Gombo Namsrai* recitation was held for a day on the next day, on the 16th of the middle spring month with the participation of 12 lamas of the 22. *Yerööl* was read for a day on 25th of the first winter month; coming of 22 lamas were expected. *Danshigiin khangal* was held for three days from the 3rd of the middle winter month when 22 lamas were expected to come. *Lkham*'s recitation called *Tsedor* was held for a night on the 30th of the last winter month when 22 lamas were required to participate. We can conclude that 22 lamas belonged to the *aimag*. However, only 12-13 lamas appeared on ceremonies.

Six common ceremonies that took place in *Sangai aimag* and *Zoogoi aimag* are discussed together in the text. *Tsagaan sariin 14-nii yerööl* was held on the 14th of the New Year when eulogies and the six prayers were recited. 15 lamas of the 18 arrived. *Chagsh(i) Gombo*, *Chojjal*, *Lkham*, *Jamsran* ceremonies were held for two days on the 8th of the last summer month when all the 18 lamas of the *aimag* had gathered together. *Ikh yerööl* (*Yerööl chenbo khural* which means 2-3 *magtaal*, 6 *yerööl*) was held for a day on the 25th of the first winter month. *Danshigiin khangal* ceremony was held around the 3-4 of the middle winter month, during which texts of each protector (*niit khangal*) were read. *Khuuchin nom* ceremony with the reading of *Chojjal dügjüü* was held for a day on the 29th of the last winter month. *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony with the reading of *Lkham*'s text with thanksgiving offering lasted for a day on the 30th of the last winter month. Studying the text it seems that 18 lamas lived in the two districts. On the 8th of the last summer month a ceremony was held to honour the wrathful deities. *Danshigiin khangal* ceremony was also performed. In Züün Khüree *Zoogoin aimag*'s protector was *Chagsh Gombo*, whilst *Sangai aimag*'s was *Jamsran*. Thus, their rituals are evident here.

In *Anduunar* and *Düinkhor aimags* several ceremonies were held together: *Yeröölin khural* was performed on the 15th of the New Year with the presence of 16 lamas from the 23. *Magtaal* ceremony with readings of prayers and eulogies was held on 3-4th of the middle spring month with the participation of all the 20 expected lamas. *Sakhius* ceremony with reading of *Gombo*'s and *Jamsran*'s texts, was held for a day on the 8th of the middle spring month with the presence of all the 20 lamas. *Jalwajamts* ceremony (the reading of *Gombo*, *Chojjal* and *Lkham*'s texts) was held for four days from the 18th of the middle spring month with the participation of ten from the 20 lamas. *Danrag* thanksgiving ceremony was performed together with the readings of *Gombo*'s and *Jamsran*'s texts for a day on the 8th of

²⁵² In every text the number of required lamas are always equal or more than the number of the arrived participants. This temple seems to be an exception.

the last summer month with the participation of 15 lamas from the 20. *Khangal* ceremony with readings of each *khangal*'s text was held in the middle winter month. *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony with *Lkham*'s reading was held on the 30th of the last winter month. As it is clear from the text the districts had 20 lamas. *Jalwajamts* was honoured in *Anduunariin aimag* of Züün Khüree, too. On the 8th of the last summer month a ceremony was held here to worship *Gombo* and *Jamsran*.

In *Jas* and *Makhamaya aimags* the following seven rituals were performed: *Tsagaan sariin yerööl* was held for a day on the 14th of the New Year with the participation of all the expected six lamas. *Magtaal* ceremony was held for two days from the 1st of the last spring month with reading benedictions. All the ten required lamas participated in the ceremony. *Sakhius* ceremony for *Damdin* and *Jamsran* was held for a day on 4th of the last summer month by all the ten lamas who were expected to participate. *Danshigiin khangal* ceremony when texts of each *khangal* were recited was held on the 3rd of the middle winter month. On the 20th of the first winter month *Yerööl* ceremony was held. *Khuuchin nom* ceremony with the texts of *Damdin* was recited for a day on the 29th of the last winter month. *Tsedor Lkham* ceremony with the texts of *Lkham* was held on the 30th of the last winter month. According to the source the two districts had ten lamas. *Danshigiin khangal* ceremony was held as well as the rituals of the New Year Eve. Honouring *Damdin* was a practice in *Jasiin aimag* in Züün Khüree as well, whilst *Jamsran* was the protector of both *Jas* and *Makhamayaa aimags*.

All in all, the source gives the names of more than 90 ceremonies. Everyday chanting was performed only in the main assembly hall, whilst the monastic schools had specialized ceremonies related to their fields. The most significant events of the year were the philosophical exams where lamas participated in large number (120). Approximately 125 lamas lived in the surrounding districts. For bigger ceremonies (New Year Eve, philosophical exams) they gathered in one temple. The source does not mention the tantric monastic school that belonged to the monastery, thus probably it did not have lamas that time. It seems that in some shrines (*Logshiriin süm*, stb.) ceremonies were not held, only an offering preparer could belong to light butter lamps there. According to the document the lamas lived in ten *aimags* in 1937. *Jadariin aimag*, *Toislon aimag*, *Dugariin aimag*, and *Tsetsen toinii aimag* are not mentioned, but the text adds *Düinkhor aimag*. In the text the *aimags* are not mentioned in accordance with their posture. While *Shüteenii aimag* and *Noyonii aimag* are mentioned individually, *Anduunar* and *Düinkhor*, *Jas* and *Makhamaya*, *Sangai* and *Zoogoi*, *Bandid* and *Örlüüd* are mentioned in pairs. *Shüteenii aimag* had 40 lamas, *Noyonii* had 22, whilst the others had at most 20 lamas in pairs, thus, they hold ceremonies together.

In the 1920-1930s the number of lamas decreased. According to Dashtseren lama there were only 150 lamas before the 1937/8 purges. The daily, monthly and annual cycle of ceremonies continued uninterrupted until 1930. As a result of the political repression in 1937, the monastery was closed and many wooden temples within the monastery complex and also in the *aimags* outside were destroyed. A huge white building for a holiday resort was built in 1940-41 on the foundation platform of the *Tsogchin* temple, which was pulled down just before this. In 1939, the monastery and all its buildings were transformed into a hospital for the Japanese prisoners of war, with a Japanese doctor who tended to the Japanese prisoners. Some of the buildings were used as pharmacies or drug stores. According to Ölzii's book (1992) following its use for the Japanese, the monastery was used as a tuberculosis hospital from 1946-47 while between 1987 and 1997 it was used as an old people's care centre. In 1971, all the remaining monastic buildings became strictly protected by the State.²⁵³

²⁵³ North of *Dambadarjaalin* to the direction of *Dashchoinkhorlin khiid* (R-936) there is a cemetery where Japanese victims of war were buried between 1945 and 1947. The cemetery was converted into a memorial place in 1966. In 1972 for the invitation of the Red Cross in Mongolia, relatives of the victims came to express their last honour. Between 1995 and 1999 the relics were delivered to Japan. In 2001 a memorial statue was erected

Today, the whole territory of the yurt quarter, situated 8 km North of the capital, is called Dambadarjaa (shorty Damba) or Dar' ekh and the area surrounding the monastery fence has been built over. The inscriptions in white stones of the three main Buddhist mantras in Tibetan script remain on the hillside behind the monastery. A stūpa has been recently erected outside the monastery wall on the initiative of the monastery and there is another smaller stūpa on the hillside. On the top of the hill behind the monastery there is a large and several smaller *owoos*.

Senior lamas, D. Dashrenchin and G. Ochirjaw, initiated the revival of the monastery in 1990. The lamas, who joined the community reconstructed the yurt-shaped temple of *Setsen toinii aimag* and began to hold ceremonies once again. The eleven temples of the monastery that survived in part or in full the destruction of 1937 are: *Jin khonkhonii süm* (the shrine of the bell, survived and renovated), *Jin khengeregiin süm* ('the shrine of the drum', survived and renovated), *Tüükhiin baruun süm* ('the right side historical shrine', survived and renovated, contains a stele carved in Mongolian), *Tüükhiin züün süm* ('the West side historical shrine', survived and renovated, contains also a stele carved in Mongolian), *Serüün Lawiran* (summer palace, survived and renovated in 2005), two *Jodkhans* (T. *mchod-khang*, 'shrine room, chapel', survived and renovated), the main gate and two gates to the East and West (survived and renovated in 2005), outer fence (survived and renovated in 2005), inner fence surrounding the *Lawiran*. Two smaller buildings right and left of the fence of the *Lawiran's* courtyard also survived but they are in a very poor condition so there is an urgent need to renovate them.²⁵⁴ The *Lawiran* has been renovated. This two-storey building houses the new statue of *Logshir Janraiseg* (Skr. *Lokeçvara*), the two-handed standing emanation of *Janraiseg* (Skr. *Avalokiteçvara*) as the main deity of the monastery.²⁵⁵ The main goal of the community today is to restore the monastery to the way it was in the past.²⁵⁶

Dashchoinkhorlin Monastery

Dashchoinkhorlin khiid (T. *bkra-shis chos-'khor gling*, 'island of the auspicious wheel of Dharma'), *Buyan yeröolt(iin) süm*
GPS: N 48°00.477', E 106°56.194'

Rinchen marks this monastery as *Dashchoinkhorlin khiid* on his map (R-936) and Jügder also represents it on his painting. Some books contain sporadic data about this complex and also

here and the site is maintained from Japanese funds. According to Pürew (2004, p. 89.) the place was a burial place of lamas of *Dambadarjaalin* before the revolution.

²⁵⁴ One of them to the left of the *Lawiran* is still used for reading requested texts to individuals.

²⁵⁵ It is on the second floor. The statue was donated by Gurudeva rinpoche (a highly esteemed lama of Inner-Mongolian origin who has made a significant contribution to the revival, restoration and reopening of temples in Mongolia). It is similar to the one that was worshipped here before the purges, which can now be seen in *Gandan*. During the summer, ceremonies are also held in this building.

²⁵⁶ In 2004, the *Jarankhashar* stūpa was erected behind the yurt-shaped temple. A square-shaped stūpa-complex in honour of the Buddha was built in 2003 sponsored by a director of the Narantuul market at the site of the ruins of *Shariliin süm*. It is surrounded by prayer wheels and functions as a chapel called *Isheepandelin dugan* (T. *yeshe phan bde gling*). Photos showing the monastery before 1936 and statues made in Tibet and Nepal can be seen inside. It is also the place where the *Oroin yerööl* ceremony, performed in order to gain better rebirth for the deceased ones, is conducted. A shrine to the memory of Japanese soldiers who lost their lives in Mongolia was constructed in 2005. It bears the name of *Khonshim* bodhisattva (another name for *Janraiseg*). In the monastery complex of today, as well as the original and new temples, some of the white hospital buildings, built after the purges, remain. For example: the main building of the hospital (at the site of the old *Tsogchin* temple) and the hospital laundry, situated on the South-East of the yurt-shaped temple building. A description of the activities of the revived temple is available at www.mongoliantemples.net.

some photos are available in books²⁵⁷ and in the collection of the Film Archives.²⁵⁸ Dashtseren lama and B. Daajaw provided relevant data on the monastery.

The fenced-off temple complex of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery was situated on the left bank of the River Selbe, North-West of *Dambadarjaalin* monastery in Chingeltei Mountain area. It was founded in 1778 with the participation of *Zorigt wan*, Yündendorj (1778-1828), who was a governor (*amban*) at the time. According to Pürew (1994, p. 34., 2004, pp. 88-89.), the monastery was founded in 1789. According to Banzragch (2004, p.15.), the area occupied by the monastery was 238×201 *ald* and more than 100 lamas belonged to it. According to Dashtseren lama, before 1937 the monastic complex comprised of about ten buildings with about 50-60 lamas in residence. According to Pürew's book (2004, pp. 88-89.), in the beginning this monastery was independent, but later it came to belong to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs.

Photographs in the Film Archives and in Forbáth's book, and two pictures in Daajaw's book (*Uran barilgiin tүүkh*, pp. 232-233.) show a monastic complex with Tibetan-style white buildings and a protective wall (*yampai*) in front of the monastery. On either sides of the main entrance (with the main gate and two side gates), there were two high wooden flag poles (called *chiiga/chiigan*). The *Makhranziin süm* housed the statues of the guards of the four directions.

According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 45.), the main temple (*Tsogchin*) was a two-storey brick building with a painting showing *demberel yanlag junai* (T. *rten-'brel yan-lag bcu-gnyis*), the twelve aspects of interdependent origination, on the wall of the first floor. B. Daajaw, whose description and sketches are based on old pictures and an interview made in 1966 with an old ex-lama of the monastery, Dorj, marks three small shrines at the rear part of the second floor of the *Tsogchin* temple in his book. According to him, the middle one was called *Shagjtüw* (T. *shākya thub-pa*) dedicated to Çākyamuni Buddha. Here, on the second floor, was displayed a huge sculpture of *Shagjtüw*. The *Tsogchin* temple had a very interesting design with these three temples on its upper floor, this way its Southern part being a one-storey building, its Northern part being a two-storey building with a third storey on the central *Shagjtüw* temple.

Geleta gives a vivid (Forbáth, 1934, pp. 158-168.) description of *Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery as he witnessed a ceremony there. Its main temple was a masterpiece of the Tibetan style. According to Geleta (Forbáth, 1934, p. 162.), the monumental North temple of the monastery housed a huge statue of Buddha (it is the *Shagjtüw* sculpture mentioned by Daajaw) surrounded by only three walls as in the South there was a roof-terrace on the first floor from where people could enter. In addition, there were two small rooms one on the right and the other on the left (the two smaller shrines on the two sides of *Shagjtüw* temple). Religious accessories, clothing and other ritual objects like masks for the *Tsam* dance were stored in the East room. The Western room housed 'equipment' that was kept secret, such as special robes and musical instruments, bows, swords, hats and helmets and embroidered ceremonial robes.

Three other temples surrounded the main temple: two on the West, namely the Buddha temple (*Zuu süm*, T. *jo-bo*) and the Kālacakra temple (*Düinkhoriin süm*) in front of it, and one on the East, called the temple of the 'Five Kings' (*tawan khaan*).

In the North-East corner of the complex, a two-storey wooden temple called the Green Palace (*Nogoon Lawran/Lawrin*) stood within its own fence, attached to the wall of the complex. It is said that the Bogd khaan and the Ekh Dagina stayed in this palace when they visited the area. After Dondogdulam passed away, the Bogd khaan built a stūpa for her.

²⁵⁷ Tsültem 1988: intr. 32, 123; Maidar: 83, 116; Shepetilnikov: 118; Geleta/Forbáth: 40 (*Tsam* dance), 152 (two pictures)

²⁵⁸ Film Archives: K23612-K23635, 24746, 24782, 24787, 24796, 24815, 24817, 24829

There was also a wooden shed on the hill. According to B. Daajaw it housed the stone carvings of *Jigjid*.

According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 45.), a lama with either a *gawj* or *agramba* degree was nominated from Bogdiin Khüree to perform the highest, *tsorj* rank of *Dashchoinkhorlin*.

According to Dashtseren lama, a *Tsam* ritual dance was performed in the monastery on the 29th day of the last winter month. Dariimaa claims (p. 45.) that *Tsam* was held once a year on the 29th of the last summer month. It might performed twice a year, with significant differences. Photos in the Film Archives show how big this complex was (K-23612-23635, box 92), and there are also many pictures showing scenes of *Tsam* dance performed here (together with *Sor* and *Jakhar*, K-24725- 24891, 95 box, see also the photos in Forbáth's book) in the summer. The *Tsam* dance field was to the South of the main gate, between it and the protective wall (*yampai*).

Lamas lived in fenced-off wooden buildings to the South-East and South-West of the monastery. According to Dariimaa (p. 45.) they lived in *Zoogoin aimag* which was the only *aimag* belonging to the monastery.

30 sources about *Buyan yeröolt Dashchoinkhorlin* monastery are available in the individual catalogues of the National Archives. As it was one of the *Ikh shaw'* monasteries several texts discussing its economic system are arranged to the catalogues of the Ministry of Ecclesial Affairs. However, some texts are available in individual catalogues, too. The catalogue (M-132) of the Manchu period contains 13 texts²⁵⁹ dated between 1870 and 1909. They inform us about the herds and flocks of the monastery and their herdsmen, and about the stallions which were prepared for military services (1870). The catalogue (A-222) of the Bogd khaan's reign contains eight texts. Their majority describes the incomes and expenses of the monastery, the number of ordinary lamas (1912), and lamas who gave donations to the *jas* of the monastery. The catalogue (TSKh-237) of the Modern period contains ten texts dated between 1923 and 1937. They are mostly related to the herds and flocks and the agricultural fields of the monastery. The collection contains the list of lamas (without date). Moreover, a register of ranked lamas of the monastery was compiled in 1937, before the monastery demolition. From the titles it is evident that the monastery was known under the names of both *Dashchoinkhorlin* and *Buyan yeröolt süm* or *khiid*. Among the individual texts, which are very small in number, there is not any information about *Tsam* dance. The fact, that the ranked lamas were listed in 1937 confirms that the monastery had been operating that time. It was forced to cease operation in 1937.

There is nothing remaining of this large monastic complex beyond some lines and heaps of bricks and stones. After the destruction, local people delivered all the bricks away to build their shelters. Today, the exact area where the monastery once stood is fenced-off and a pillar wrapped in blue *khadags* stands in its centre. There is a small hut in the enclosure but it is new. GPS was taken at the gate of the fenced-off area.

Shaddüwlin, Retreat for Meditation and Contemplation

Shadduwlin/Shadiüwlin/Shaddublin khiid (T. *bshad-sgrub gling*, 'island of theory and practice'), *Shaddüw gepel janchüwlin* (T. *bshad-sgrub dge'*-*'phel byang-chub gling*), *Ikh shawiin Dayaanii Shaddüwlingiin khüree*, *Nyamba dayaanii Shaddüwlin khiid*, *Nomlon büteeliin khiid*, *Nomlol büteel buyan arwidakh Bod' tiw*

GPS at the old tree marking the monastery site: N 48°00.843', E 106°54.195'

GPS data of the presumed meditation temple remains: N 48° 01, 071', E 106° 52, 863',

²⁵⁹ At least two of them are related to Kharaagiin Dar' ekh lam, who had a monastery in the South part of Selenge aimag.

elevation 1766 m

Rinchen marks this monastic site on his map as *Shaddublin khiid* (R-937) and Jügder also represents it on his painting. Apart from written sources Gonchig lama, the main disciplinary master of *Dashchoimbel datsan* (born 1917), and Jan Felgentrau, founder of Tilopa Centre provided information on the old temple.

As a place for meditation (*byasalgai*), it was also called *Dayanii Khüree* (Skr. dhyāna, meditation). Sixteen fully-ordained lamas (*gelen*) and four novices (*getsel*) lived there, all being contemplative lamas (*dayanch*).

According to the Golden Annals (Lokesh Chandra, 1964, 160v)²⁶⁰ behind the *khüree*, in the valley of Chingeltei Mountain, a retreat or isolated place, called *Shaddüw janchüwlin* (*bshad-sgrub byang-chub gling*), founded by the 4th Bogd was situated housing the statue of Tsongkhapa (saying *rje bla-ma*) accompanied by his eightfold pure retinue in its sacred main chapel (*dri gtsang-khang*). In the two small retreat houses (*bya-btang*), huts of grass of herds and flocks, a disciplined elder lama and 16 fully-ordained lamas lived together with four novices who were servants in the kitchen (*rung-khang*).

One of the main sources about the monastery is the text written by the 8th Bogd in Tibetan, a modern Mongolian translation of which has been published by Iderbayar.²⁶¹ Apart from the history of the founding of the monastery, it also contains the very strict monastic rules (dictated by the 8th Bogd) that had to be applied in the monastery. According to a text of the 8th Bogd (Iderbayar, p. 4.), the 4th Bogd expressed his wish to sit in meditation in a place lacking the disturbance of masses of people, which was beautiful with a pleasant garden full of a multitude of flowers and greenery and with its fresh crystal clear water springs. Nor did he wish it to lack trees and other plants indeed he wished it to be abundant with them. He wanted the place to be not too far away from but not near settlements, which was complete with the ten signs of the good virtues. So it was that the nice place in the valley of *Bumbat*, *Shaddüw gepel Janchüwlin* monastery, on the South-East of the Chingeltei Mountain, was found. The text also mentions that the 4th Bogd had used this place for meditation.

According to Banzragch (2004, p. 13.), the meditation place (*samadiin dayaanii Khüree*) was founded in 1807 near *Dambadarjaalin* monastery (R-939) in the valley of Bumbat. The territory of the complex was 70×186 ald (p. 15.).

According to Dulam (2004, pp. 88-90.), a monastery called *Shaddübgempillin* (an alternative spelling variation being *Shaddüwgepillin*, T. *bshad-sgrub dge-'phel gling*) was founded in 1858 in the Chingeltei Mountain about 10 km far North of *Ikh Khüree*, on the right bank of the River Selbe in Shaddüwlin valley. The place was also known for the sculptures kept there: *Shaddüwlingiin Ochir-Dar'* (Vajradhara of *Shaddüwlin*) or *Shaddüwlingiin Dagwanamdal* (T. *dag-pa rnam-grol* (?) of *Shaddüwlin*). There was a yurt-shaped temple with the sculpture of *Bazarsad* or *Dorjsembe* with his consort. According to Dulam, this is now kept in Gandan monastery. According to Gonchig, the main disciplinary master of *Dashchoimbel datsan*, the main worship object of *Shaddüwlin* monastery was of *Naidan jüdüg* (T. *gnas-brtan bcu-drug*), the sixteen arhats.

Jügder's painting shows the complex and Dulam describes the place as well. A large wooden fence surrounded the complex with the main gate in the South with two other gates

²⁶⁰ (160v) *hu-re'i rgyab ri ching-gil-thu'i khug-tu skyabs mgon rje btsun dam-pa sku-'phreng bzhi-pa'i dben gnas bshad-sgrub byang-chug gling-du rje bla-ma 'khor-dag-pa rnam bgyad bcas-kyi dri gtsang-khang/ 2 khong-gi gzims chung dang/ bya btang* (161r) *ba-tsho'i spyil-bu-rnams-su gnas bla-ma dge-slong bcu-drug bcas/ rung-khang-du zhal-ta-pa dge-tshul bzhi bcas bzugs-so/*

²⁶¹ Iderbayar, B., *Shaddüw gepel janchüwlin khemeekh büteeliin khiidiin diyanch nariin tsaaz jayagiin altan üseg jewzündambiin aman zarlig orshwoi*, In: *Erdeniin tülkhüür*, Ulaanbaatar, (date unknown) pp. 4.,5.,8. ('The golden letters of the rules and regulations for the lamas of the meditational monastery called *Shaddüw gepel janchüwlin*, being the command of the Bogd')

on the East and West. According to the text of the 8th Bogd (Iderbayar), the sculptures of Tsongkhapa and the statue of *Ochirdar* were kept here. According to Dulam, in the North of the complex there was a yurt-shaped temple, *Ochirdariin örgöö* ('Palace of Vajradhara') with other places for worship and prayer such a temple (*süm*), a palace (*lawrin örgöö*) and other places scattered around. The statue of *Ochirdar* which was kept in the *Ochirdariin örgöö*, is presently in *Gandan* monastery (*Bilgiin melmii*, p. 3., *Northern Buddhist*, pp. 285-286.).

The two Southern corners were fenced off and enclosed the lamas' residences: sixteen yurts for the sixteen fully ordained lamas (*gelen*). According to Dulam these lamas held the *gawj* ('ten hardships', philosophical degree) rank, although this is not supported by any of the other sources used. They followed very strict rules and spent a great deal of time in meditation. Rituals were held during the day and night as well. According to Gangaa (2003, p. 29.), the sixteen *Shaddüwlin* lamas spent ten days in meditation from the 1st of the last spring month, when they also prepared the incense and holy water that was later used to purify the *Tsam* dance field for the *Tsam* held in the *khüree*.

The monastery was part of the *khüree*, which administered it with the great treasury providing the funds.

According to Dulam (2004, p. 88.), the *gelens* wore yellow, not red *orkhimj*²⁶² and yellow ceremonial hat (*shar owoodoi*) with its flaps folded down not only in winter but in summer as well. It could be worn with its flaps folded up only when they rode a horse or a vehicle. The 'head' of the monastery was called *Shaddüwlingiin naidan* (T. *gnas-brtan*) or "the saint of *Shaddüwlin*".

According to the 8th Bogd's text, the lamas of this monastery were highly educated in the three classes of the Buddhist texts (*gurwan aimag saw*, T. *sde snod gsum*, Skr. *Tripiṭaka*), and especially in discipline (Vinaya). Only *gelen* and *getsel* lamas could belong to the community. From among the *gelen* and *getsel* lamas only those who had a great wish to learn and were older than 25 years old were allowed to join the monastery. The *gelens* of the monastery always had to wear the yellow coloured *bansha* or *wanshü* (T. *pan-zhwa*, 'pandita hat'), and wear the pieces of lama garments called *namjar* (T. *snam-sbyar*, a loose mantle), *lagoi* (T. *bla-gos*, yellow upper robe, a big shawl worn only by *gelens*) and *orkhimj* (the red coloured shawl worn over the left shoulder). It was impossible for *getsels* to wear any kind of ornaments such as the ornamented bag for the bowl (*ayaganii uut*), knife and the tools for making a fire (*khet khutga*). (Mongolian men traditionally wear these items on their belt.) In summer, lamas had to take off their boots when they gathered for the ceremonies. *Gelens* and *getsels* had to wear all items of the *nomiin khuwtsas* (T. *chos-gos*, Skr. *cívara*, 'religious robe', the collective name for the different pieces of monastic garment of lamas - originally there were three) at all times except when they were riding a horse.

The text, being the Bogd's regulations of the monastery, includes other details as well. For example, it was forbidden for the lamas in the monastery to go far from it if they did not have an important reason so doing. It was not allowed to let cows, horses, dogs, goats and any other animals inside the confines of the monastery, nor were beggars and other sinful people let in. Drinking alcohol was not allowed nor was it permitted take any kind of intoxicating or narcotic drinks into the monastery. The text also mentions that all impure water such as dishwater, dirty water, or sewage should be disposed off far away from the monastery site. And, of course, it was forbidden to kill animals or living beings here.

The 8th Bogd's text also describes the conditions for letting visitors enter the monastery. Thus, those married men given permission to worship, prostrate and make offerings in the monastery, had to be controlled when they entered. The text also specifies that the lamas should try to keep out any suspicious person who tried to enter. Women were not

²⁶² *Orkhimj* is the scarf worn over the left shoulder of lamas, but here this yellow-coloured one may refer to not *orkhimj* but another piece of garment, *lagoi* (T. *bla-gos*, yellow upper robe, a big shawl worn only by *gelens*).

allowed to enter at all, except on the three blessed days of the year (*ikh adist gurwan ödör*): the 8th of the first summer month when Buddha left his home and became a lama; the 15th of the same month, that is, the anniversary of three events of his life on the same day (his birth; the day he reached enlightenment or became a Buddha; and the day when he passed away); and the 4th of the last summer month when he first preached the Dharma, often referred to as ‘when he first turned the wheel of Dharma’.

According to Pürew (1994, p. 45.), during the reign of the Bogd khaan and on his orders *Shaddiüwlin* became a training centre (often referred to as *nuuts tagnuuliin gazar*, ‘centre of secret agents’ in the Socialist period). The lamas studied languages and foreign culture, with the aim of getting foreign support for the country. Many of them were sent abroad to countries such as China, Japan and Germany. The apparent reasons for these missions were diplomatic. *Dilow khutagt* Jamsranjaw (1884-1965) was the last such ‘diplomat’ lama. He fled away to Inner-Mongolia and finally to the USA after being arrested in 1932 at the beginning of the purges when he was accused of spying for the Japanese though he was only given a suspended sentence.²⁶³

About *Shaddiüwlin* 28 individual sources are available in the collection of the National Archives. Its catalogue (M-137) of the Manchu period contains five long lists (36-51 pages) dated between 1897 and 1909. These are relevant for the treasury, artefacts, holy scriptures and objects of worship of the retreat place. It is interesting that relevant material from the period of the Bogd khaan’s reign is not available. The catalogue (TSKh-229) of the Modern period contains 23 texts dated between 1922 and 1937. Among them there are texts about lamas and ranked people of the complex, its cattle, properties of its financial units (*Ikh jas*, *Lawrangiin jas*, *Shaddiüwlin jas*) and the livestock of the monastery which were herded in Northern and Southern pastures. There are lists of religious necessities such as butter, flour, juniper, and brick tea as well as goods like butter, flour, wheat, and juniper again which were sold by the monastery (1937). From these data we can conclude that *Ikh jas*, *Lawrangiin jas*, and *Shadawlin* or *Shaddiüwlin jas* surely belonged to the complex. Its herds and flocks were herded in Northern and Southern pastures. The complex sold products such butter, flour, wheat and juniper even in 1937. It is interesting that there is no data from the Bogd khaan’s reign as the complex housed “spies” according to other sources. Unfortunately, there is no data about the dwellers of the site, and the rituals and meditation they had practiced.

All the buildings of the monastery complex were wooden as was the fence. Today there are no remains. A tree, decorated by ceremonial silken scarves (*khadag*) (GPS: N 48°00.843’, E 106°54.195’), is the only marker of the place where the complex was situated. There are two *owoos* next to the tree. This ancient place of meditation now is totally occupied by weekend houses. However, according to Jan Felgentreu, there was a smaller building, supposedly a retreat temple about 500 meters up on the hillside from the complex. (It is highly possible that it was used for retreats although there are no written sources confirming this.) Some bricks remained on the site and the foundation of the temple is indicated by mounds or a brim.²⁶⁴

²⁶³ On his life see: Lattimore, O., *The Diluv Khutagt: Memoirs and autobiography of a Mongol Buddhist reincarnation in religion and revolution*. Asiatische Forschungen, Band 74, Wiesbaden- Harrassowitz, 1982.

²⁶⁴ The Tilopa Centre (*Dilaw töw*) a Drikung kagyü (T. ‘*bri-gung*) organization founded in June 2004 by Jan Felgentreu, has built a new retreat center there, with a small temple and four huts intended for meditation for their members and anyone else who wishes to do a retreat. On the website of Tilopa center (www.tilopa.net) there is a picture showing the remains of what is said to be the remnants of the old meditation temple. See also www.mongoliantemples.net.

Temples and Shrines in the Outskirts

There were chapels with temporary assemblies in the surrounding countryside, which were dedicated to worship the local mountain spirits. Such temples were: *Dünjingarwiin süm* (R-924), *Tsetsee gūnii khural* (R-938), and *Bayanzürkhiin dugan* (R-941). Other assemblies worshipped the spirits (*lus*, T. *klu*) of springs and rivers, such as *Züün salaanii khural* (R-940), *Baruun salaanii khural* (NR-946) and *Lowon Jalbiin süm* (NR-944). It is likely that there were many other such assemblies, where a few lamas lived permanently, around the city, in addition to those marked on Rinchen's map, especially on the four holy mountains (Bogd Khan, Songino, Chingeltei, Bayanzürkh) surrounding the capital. Local shepherds were the main visitors to these shrines. (One such assembly was the *Sanzaidorjiin khural*, NR-954). Most of these temples are not represented on Jügder's painting as they were situated a long way from the centre. According to O. Pürew this kind of small temples were abandoned and neglected after 1937-38. Sources about these shrines are not available in the archives.

Assembly at Tsetsee Gün Peak of Bogd Khan Mountain

Tsetsee gūnii khural, *Bogdiin khiid (dugan)*, *Dünjongaraw*, *Dünjingaraw(iin süm)* (T. *dung-skyong dkar-po*)

GPS: N 47°48.492', E 107°00.164', elevation 2261 m

This assembly is marked on Rinchen's map under the name *Bogdiin khiid (dugan)*, *Tsetsee gūnii khural* (R-938) but not marked on Jügder's painting. This small complex was built on the Tsetsee gün, the highest peak of Bogd Khan Mountain, the Northern range surrounding the capital. Some photos of the small old temple complex are displayed in the *Manzshir* temple museum, Zuunmod, and a photo is available in the Film Archive, too (K23846). The temple is known as *Bogdiin khiid* or *Tsetsee gūnii khural* though Maidar calls it the *Dünjingarawiin süm* (Maidar, 1970, p. 72.). However, this is the name of another temple mapped by Rinchen (R-924).

The honour of Tsetsee gün is connected to the worship of local mountain spirits and also the national heroes and ancestors of Mongols. Therefore, the belongings of famous descendants of Chinggis khan (see below) were kept here and used for worshipping the *owoo*. Later, lamas from the *khüree* and from the nearby *Manzshir* monastery also came here to hold rituals in honour of the local spirits. Women were forbidden to enter the temple or take part in the ceremonies.

According to Dulam (2004, pp. 74–76.), the 2nd Bogd once visited the mountain Khan Uul, and since that time, it has been known as the Bogd Khan Mountain. On the initiative of *Zorigt wan* Yüendendorj (1778-1828), the *amban*, three mountain areas were officially declared protected sacred areas to be conserved and revered. They were: Bogd Khan uul in 1778, Khentii Khan Uul in 1797 and Olgontenger Uul (in the Altai mountain range) in 1818. Thus, the Bogd Khan Mountain was the very first strictly protected area in the world. Ritual ceremonies were held on the two highest peaks of Bogd Khan Mountain, Tsetsee gün and Tüshee gün, annually. The 2nd Bogd asked *Raden khanchen* Agwaanprinleijamts (T. *rwa-sgreng mkhan-chen* ngag-dbang 'phrin-las rgya-mtsho) to compose the text for the ritual ceremony, which also included offering incense and a golden drink offering (*san serjim*, T. *bsang gser-skyems*) all of which were presented to the local spirits of the mountain. The main protector spirit of Bogd Khan range is Garid (Skr. Garuḍa, T. *khyung*), the mythical bird. On Tsetsee gün, the *owoo* of Bogd Khan Mountain was in front of a cliff in whose face was a formation looking like a Garuḍa bird with extended wings. In front of the *owoo*, there was a square table that was used for food and drink offerings. In either side of it there were two smaller *owoos*, the left one being the *owoo* of religion, and the right one the *owoo* of politics.

Pozdneev (1971, p. 51.), has a similar account to Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text pp. 16-18., Mongolian text pp. 693-695.), saying that offerings were made twice a year to Khan uul. Jambal states that the Bogd Khan Mountain was worshipped twice a year, with the Manchu *amban* attending the spring worship and the Mongol *amban* the autumn one, the latter staying at the nearby Chuluut valley for almost two months on these occasions.

There was also a temple complex, which can be seen in an old photo taken in 1925 by a German tourist, Schulz in the exhibition hall of *Manzshir* monastery. The photos show a complex consisting of three small wooden shrines, with a tower on the right used for calling lamas to the ceremony in the right. The main temple was decorated with a top ornament, and its roof spines were decorated with a thousand of carved elephant heads (Dulam, 2004, p. 76.). In the background, behind the temple, the *owoo* can be seen on the top of the cliff. (Today in the museum situated at the site of *Manzshir khiid* there is a makett showing the old *Tsetsee gūnii khural*, based on these pictures.)

Dulam adds that rituals were held here from time to time. Bows and arrows, saddles and harnesses of the two heroes, called Büüwei Baatar (Baatar beil) and Shijir baatar (Zasag beil) who was the younger brother of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar were kept in the temple. Both Dendew (Nawaan, 1961, p. 41.) and Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 16., Mongolian text p. 694.) say that the bow and arrows of Baatar beil or Büüwei baatar were kept here. According to legend, Büüwei baatar was sometimes seen on the North-East of the peak as if looking around (Nawaan, 1961, p. 41.). Thus, the peak was said to be his watch post. Moreover, one day before the ceremony to the mountain spirits, which was to be led by a prince from Tüsheet khan clan (descendants of Chinggis khan) the following items were delivered from *Dünjingaraw* temple (R-924, see below) on two white camels to Tsetsee gūn: the black weapon (Dulam, 2004, p. 76. *khar tsakhiur buu*, ‘black rifle, gun’), bows, arrows, swords and armor belonging to Awtai sain khan (16th century statesmen of Tüsheet khan aimag) and Baatar beil, as well as a tiger-skin, leopard-skin, bear-skin, wolf-skin etc.

Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 16, Mongolian text p. 694.), relates how silver was sent from Beijing to be offered on the Bogd Khan Mountain’s *owoo* because the Bogd Khan Mountain bore the rank ‘*Tüshee gūn*’. There was a hole in a building situated beside the *owoo* and the silver used to be thrown into this hole. (Jambal used the word *baishin*, meaning building. It must be identical with the temple complex described above.)

According to Dulam (2004, p. 76.), for the great incense offering (*san*) many sackfuls of different kinds of incense and juniper branches were burnt in the Tsetsee gūn incense vessel, which was decorated with three elephant heads. The worshippers arrived at the temple the day before the ceremony to make offerings at the table. The *tsorj* went to the Bogd to ask for the religious and political symbols of the country such as the flag, the golden helmet, golden silk robes etc. to be delivered in a procession to the mountain. Dulam adds (2004, p. 75.) that in 1845 brick tea, flour, oil and other ingredients were delivered to worship the *owoo* by *Manba datsan*, the medical monastic school.

According to B. Daajaw’s view before the annual ceremony, the nobles and the lamas prepared for it in nearby valleys to the South-East of Tsetsee gūn called Shashin khurakhiin am (‘the valley of religious gathering’), and Tör khurakhiin am (‘the valley of political gathering’). After the ceremony, they held a *naadam* festival in each of the two valleys.

There are other sacred places in Bogd Khan Mountain, such as Baruun shireet/shiweet, where Öndör gegeen’s meditation cave (*Öndör gegeenii agui*) can be found with an incense vessel (*boipor*, T. *spas-phor*, incense burner) placed near it. According to Dendew (Nawaan, 1961, p. 41.), in this cave there was a rock, which became black (no other or more exact data is given). According to Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text pp. 17-18., Mongolian text p. 695.), *Yünden wan* (the same *Zorigt wan* Yündendorj mentioned above) also erected a monumental statue on the Baruun shireet peak of Bogd Khan Mountain. Dendew (Nawaan,

1961, p. 41.) confirms this and adds that the statue had an inscription on it saying “It was presented by the holy Yüendendorj” (“*Bogd Yüendendorj khicheengüilen örgöw*”). Dünjingaraw peak (on the South-West of Zaisan tolgoi, elevation: 1755 m, N. 47°52.124’, E. 106°53.503’) was also worshipped (no information is given on which days or by whom it was worshipped). Nowadays there is a large *owoo* complex, called *Khiimoriin owoo*, on the Northern slope of the mountain.

According to Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 17., Mongolian text p. 695.), it was also Yünden *wan* who, in about 1837, set out the words OM ĀH HŪM in white stones on the North side of Bogd Khan Mountain so as to make the Bogd khaan’s drinking water pure. It was replaced in 1936 on the 15th anniversary of the revolution with the *Soyombo*, the national Mongolian symbol, which can be seen today.

According to Mönkhbat (2004, p. 31), *Tsetsee gүн* temple was destroyed in 1924.

Tsetsee gүн is still the name of a rocky peak which is reached after a 10 kms walk through the forest from *Manzshir khiid*. The *owoo* is on a rocky peak of the mountain. According to Dulam (2004, pp. 82-83.), after the democratic change the Mongolian President, P. Ochirbat, issued a decree (Number 110) on the 16 of May, 1995 to resume the practice of worshipping the three holy mountains. On the 7th of October 2004, N. Bagaband’, the President of Mongolia along with other statesmen, took part in a ceremony and *maóḍala* offering to the local spirits of the mountain. Nowadays the President visits this place once a year to pray for the good fortune of the country. The square ruined foundation platform of the old temple serves as the base (7x7 m) for a new *owoo*. Some rocks carved with relieves of vajra or lotus can still be seen, remaining possibly from the original temple. There are also a table, a cauldron and some stone benches. There is a pile of stones each with a hole in it, forming a six-sided structure in front of the *owoo*, which is used to display the State flags and the Ulaanbaatar city flag at the annual ceremony. A wooden pole decorated by ceremonial silken scarves, prayer flags and a Shaman drum stands nearby. A 1,500 kg white marble monument was erected here in 2004. Its purpose, according to its inscription, is to ensure that the spiritual power of Bogd Khan Mountain penetrates the sky and earth. According to Mönkhbat (2004, p. 31.), a 900kg Garuḍa statue is inside the marble monument.

Dünjingaraw Temple

Dünjingarwiin süm, Dünjingaraw, Dünjingarbo, Dünjongaraw (T. *dung skyong dkar-po*, ‘White nāga king’)

GPS: N 47° 54.830’, E 106° 55.344’, elevation 1286 m

Rinchen marks this temple under the name of *Dünjongarwiin süm* (R-924). It is represented on Jügder’s painting as well, and a photo of the shrine is available in the Film Archives (K24089), too. Besides the written sources O. Pürew and Dashtseren lama provided data on the temple.

The outskirts of the city were dotted with chapels where temporary assemblies of lamas gathered on specific days to worship the local spirits of mountains, such as *Dünjongarwiin süm*, or *Tsetsee gүнii khural* (R-938) and *Bayanzürkhiin dugan* (R-941).

Dünjingaraw (T. *dung skyong dkar-po*) is the name of one of the eight kings of water spirits (T. *klu*, Skr. *nāga*). One of the sub-peaks in the Bogd Khan Mountain, which is near Zaisan tolgoi has the same name (Elevation 1755m, N 47°52.124’, E 106°53.503’).

According to Dashtseren lama, this temple was used to worship the spirit of the Bogd Khan Mountain. High-ranking lamas were invited to celebrate the ceremonies held here. There were no resident lamas in the temple just a guard who lived nearby.

According to Dulam (2004, p. 74.), the day before the ceremony to worship the spirits under the leadership of a prince from Tüsheet khan clan (descendants of Chinggis khan) the following things were delivered by two white camels from *Dünjingaraw* temple to Tsetsee gün, a shrine on the highest peak of Bogd Khan Mountain: black weapon (Dulam, 2004, p. 76. *khar tsakhiur buu*, 'black coloured rifle/gun'), bows, arrows, swords and armor belonging to Awtai sain khan (1534-1589, statesman of Tüsheet khan aimag) and Baatar beil, as well as a tiger-skin, leopard-skin, bear-skin, wolf-skin etc.

According to Pürew (1994, p. 40.), the area between *Dünjingaraw* hill and the Middle River (Dund gol) was under the authority of *Zorigt wan* Osorbazar (1841-1895) or O. wan, a Mongolian noble from Tüsheet khan aimag who had a Chinese wife. *Dünjingaraw* shrine was built in the 19th century (Pürew, 2004, p. 57.) as his private property and the two-storey temple building had a pleasing garden with flowers and trees within the fenced-off area (see Jügder's painting).

According to Jambal (Bawden, 1997, English text p. 17, footnote 8), who also mentions that *Dünjin garbo süm* was established by O. Wan, there were a number of bronze Buddha images inside the temple. It was said that the spirit lord of the Bogd Khan Mountain inhabited this temple.

There are three photos in the collection of the Film Archives (K24087-89), which have been identified with the name *Dünjingaraw*. However, the three pictures seem to show three different temples, as neither the surroundings, nor the number and characteristics of the buildings in each are the same. One of them (K24089) seems to show the real *Dünjingaraw* temple.

According to the drawing kept in Ulaanbaatar city museum *Osorbazar wangiin khoroo* and *Setsen khaanii khoroo* were located North of *Dünjingaraw*. There are no remains today. The temple was located on the East side of the fun-fair park, next to the present-day Bulgarian Embassy.

Temple of the (King of the) Nāga Spirits, Assembly of the Holy Water Spring

Lusiin jalbaa khaanii takhiliin süm, *Lümbümgaraw* (T. *klu- 'bum dkar-po*), *Rashaanii khural* (Skr. *rasayāna*), *Lusiin süm*, mistakenly *Luwsanjalbiin süm* (T. *blo-bzang rgyal-po*), *Lowon Jalbiin süm* (T. *slob-dpon rgyal-ba*)

GPS: N 47°57.768', E 106°55.925', elevation 1336 m

Pürew mentions this temple in his books and also provided additional data personally. Although not marked on Rinchen's map (NR-944), Jügder's painting and a drawing by an unknown painter in Ulaanbaatar City Museum show the yurt and building of *Lowon Jalbiin süm* situated on the left bank of the River Selbe between *Dambadarjaalin* monastery (R-939) and the *Züün kharchuud* ('Laymen living in the Eastern region of the city') district. It is also mentioned by other sources but with different names: *Luwsanjambiin süm* or *Lusiin jamba khaanii takhiliin süm* (Pürew, 2004, p. 90.), *Lusiin süm*, *Luwsanjalbiin süm* (Pürew, 1994, p. 67.). However, it seems that *jamba* is mistaken for *jalba* (T. *rgyal-po*, 'king'), which refers to the king of the nāgas (*lus*, T. *klu*, Skr. *nāga*) or water spirits. Jügder's painting also shows this temple but it is hard to make out the details of the temple layout.

According to O. Pürew, this *Rashaanii khural* was a shrine for the worship of the spirit of the holy water (*Lusiin süm*, 'temple of water spirit'). Outside the city there were many chapels with temporary assemblies where the spirits of springs and other holy waters were worshipped, therefore *Lusiin süm* can be considered as a general term for this type of shrine, not as the name of this individual temple. According to Pürew (2004, p. 90.), there is a place about two km South of *Dambadarjaalin*, called *Rashaanii khöl*, having many springs.

The most important of these springs is called the 'Spring of Dambadarjaa' (*Dambadarjaagiin rashaan*). Pürew asserts (2004, p. 90.) that the nāga king of Rashaanii khöl was worshipped here from the beginning of the 18th century.

According to Dashtseren lama, there was a shrine here, called *Rashaanii khural*. It was called *Lümbüingaraw* (T. *klu-'bum dkar-po*), which refers to the title of a text, 'White Scripture helping against the harmful influence of water spirits' (originally it was a Bon text entitled *klu-'bum sde-tshan dang-po* (Bon is the traditional Shamanist or native religion of Tibet prevalent before the Buddhism spread and influenced it). This text is also related to the water spirits this temple was erected to and was named after. According to Dashtseren lama lamas did not reside there permanently.

Pürew (2004, p. 90.) claims the temple was destroyed in 1938. In the 1960s, at the initiative of the scholar, O. Namnandorj, a building was built here to protect the spring with the water being used by the tuberculosis hospital for curative purposes. Later the building was reconstructed (post 1990) and surrounded by an iron fence.

Today a holy water spring can be found in the area called Rashaant ('The place with holy water') which is on the left side of the road leading to Dar' ekh and Dambadarjaa suburbs, on the outskirts of Ulaanbaatar. The area is fenced-off with a wooden gate construction some metres away from the spring. A small bridge over the spring with a pavilion on it was built in 2004. Local people come here for the water. The exact site of the chapel is not known but presumably it stood near the spring (GPS was taken there).

Assembly in Züün salaa

Züün salaanii khural

GPS: N 47°59.664', E106°53.157', elevation 1440 m

Rinchen marks the place of the assembly by and large on his map (R-940), but it is not marked on Jügder's painting. However, Pürew provides data on this assembly in one of his books. The temple was situated in Tolgoit, a mountain and the surrounding area to the North-West of Ulaanbaatar. The two side valleys in the mountain North-West of Ulaanbaatar are called Züün salaa and Baruun salaa (right and left branches of the road/valley). Prior to 1937 there was a small temple or chapel in each valley, which were visited mainly by nomads from the surrounding area.

Today, two smaller valleys can be reached from the final bus stop of Züün salaa. The one to the North, called *Lam nariin baaz/lager*, is now full of weekend houses, while the one to the North-East is military territory, which cannot be entered. According to the soldiers, there are no ruins in this valley and no-one could be found who had heard of the temple.

The Bayankhoshuu monastery (*Namdoldechinnen khiid*, *Jagarmolomiin neremjit ulaan yosnii töw*, a present-day monastery located nearby) disciplinary master claimed that the temple was in the place called *Lam nariin baaz/lager* ('the weekend area with weekend houses of lamas') in the valley North of the final bus stop. He mentioned Bayan khulgait as another name for the place and has even visited it searching for the ruins, but, according to him, there is nothing left. Pürew (1994, p. 71.) gives a different location for this temple, claiming it was situated in the valley called Belgüünii am.

According to Pürew, *Züün salaanii khural*, like *Baruun salaanii khural*, was a chapel for the worship of water spirits (*lus sawdag*, T. *klu sa-bdag*) and only ever had a temporary assembly. These kind of smaller temples scattered on the outskirts of the capital were neglected after 1937-38 and nowadays nothing remains of them. According to Pürew (1994, p. 71.), this temple was destroyed in 1937-38.

The temple site is at the current area of Tolgoit, in (Tolgoitiin) Züün salaa, on the

North-West of Ulaanbaatar. Presumably there are no remains left. The exact site was not found having contradictory data on its exact location. The whole area is built over with weekend houses. GPS was taken at the final bus stop of Züün salaa, as the exact location is unknown.

Assembly in Baruun salaa

Baruun salaanii khural

GPS: N 47°58.190', E 106°48.491' m elevation 1378 m

The assembly is not marked either on Rinchen's map (NR-946) or on Jügder's painting. Only O. Pürew provides data about this assembly saying that apart from *Züün salaanii khural* (R-940), there was another temple in Tolgoit. The two side valleys are called Züün salaa and Baruun salaa. Both areas are now built up with weekend houses. Presumably this temple was built beside a source of holy water called Takhiltiin us ('saint water') which exists even now. Dondogdulam, the 8th Bogd's wife, used to go there to drink the fresh water. According to Pürew (1994, p. 71.), this temple was situated on the slope of the mountain near the weekend house area for the workers of Biokombinat (*Kombinatiin amralt*).

Baruun salaanii khural was a temple where holy water spirits were worshipped. According to Pürew (1994, p. 71), this temple was closed in 1930-31.

The exact place could not be identified, so the GPS reading marks only the area, where it was situated. It is presumed that there are no remains. Today, there is a new temple in the area of Baruun salaa, *Dashchaglin* monastery (T. *bkra-shis phyag gling*), which was founded in 2004, but it has no connection with the old shrine. GPS was taken in Tolgoitiin baruun salaa area, near the present-day temple unrelated to this old one.

Temple in Bayanzürkh

Bayanzürkhiin dugan

GPS: N 47° 53.309', E 107° 04.097', elevation 1364 m

Bayanzürkh Mountain, one of four mountains around Ulaanbaatar, is situated on the East of the valley in which the city lies. Rinchen marks the temple on his map (R-941). O. Pürew served information about this assembly which is not marked on Jügder's map as it was situated in the outskirts.

In *Bayanzürkhiin dugan* the dog-headed spirit (*Chidon* or *Nokhoi nüüirt*, T. *khyi gdong*) of Bayanzürkh Mountain was worshipped, as well as this holy mountain, one of the four surrounding the capital. Apart from those marked in Rinchen's map, Pürew claims there must have been many others such temples around the city, for example for the other two mountains, Songino and Chingeltei, surrounding the capital, but there are no extant records of them (some are marked on the maps of the conjoining aimags by Rinchen).

According to Dariimaa (2003, p. 50.), poor Mongolians lived in this territory, which is next to the bridge on the River Tuul. The "settlement" called *Khöliin modchin* ('carpenters of the foot of the mountain') was at the foot of the mountain next to the bridge and *Deed modchin* ('upper carpenters') in the East, near the mountain. It was divided into two fenced off districts each with yurt dwellings. The two place names contain the word woodmen or carpenters (*modchin*), as the inhabitants were woodmen, and made vehicles and objects for everyday use such as buckets, containers, vessels, etc. They exchanged their products for food with those who came to the capital from the countryside on the trading route. Maybe they also visited *Bayanzürkhiin dugan*.

Geleta (Forbáth, 1934, p. 225.) describes this place East of Ulaanbaatar in the following way: leaving the city of Maimaachen, from the road one could see a huge timber-yard on the left bank of the River Tuul, which was the property of the state. The mountain-inhabitants used to float the logs down on the river to transport it. Above the timber-yard, there was a small temple with a sharp red Chinese-roof with the green Bogd Khan Mountain in its background. This was situated before the bridge, on the South of the river, as Geleta describes it. However, it may have been situated not in Bayanzürkh, but near, or on the North slopes of Bogd Khan Mountain. Considering the data above it is evident that there was a shrine near the bridge to the East of the *khüree*, but it may also be the case that different sources mention more than one temple in this area.

There are no remains. The exact place of the temple is unknown, and no information about its exact whereabouts could be obtained. The GPS was taken over the bridge on the River Tuul at the city border crossing post, which is the presumed site according to Rinchen's map.

Assembly of Sanzaidorj, Temple at Sanzain Mountain

Sanzaidorjiin khural, Sanzain uuliin khiid

This assembly is marked neither on Rinchen's map (NR-954) nor on Jügder's painting. Only Mönkhbat's book (2004, p. 41.) provides data on the temple mentioning that, there was a small temple that was situated in the mountain called Sanzain uul near the 'Golden basin' (Altan tewshiin khöndii) of the Chingeltei Mountain. Unfortunately, he does not name his source, so its authenticity cannot be judged. He claims that in the former times, Sanzaidorj, a doctor lama (*otoch*), was famous for making up prescriptions and preparing medicines from herbs. He felt that making medicine to cure people was more useful than reciting texts. However, this view did not meet with approval of his fellow lamas so he founded his own assembly in the mountains with some of his disciples. He chose an area where many different herbs and medicinal plants grew. He and his lamas collected the plants here and made a great variety of herbal medicines from them. Later, the mountain got the name, Sanzain uul, after this doctor lama. Even later the area became known as Sanzai amralt ('the weekend house area in Sanzai') as weekend houses were set up there for transport workers. The temple is most probably one of the many set up by individual lamas or small communities in the outskirts of the city. It is hypothesised that many such temples existed prior to the purges.

The site of the old temple is unknown. Therefore, GPS was not taken. As it is likely to have been a small wooden temple or a yurt, it is certain that nothing remains of it.

REMNANTS

Of the 51 monastic sites described in this book none has remained completely intact. Eleven sites survived partially, but in forty locations there are no ruins at all, and the exact locations of about twenty monastic sites cannot be determined in the present-day city (mainly the temples of Maimaachen). Some of the remained buildings are in a very bad state of repair. What has remained from the old capital city is: three yurt-shaped temple buildings of Züün Khüree (the temples of *Wangain aimag*, *Erkhem toinii aimag* and *Ekh daginiin aimag*); the main courtyard and Avalokiteśvara temple of Gandan; the Bogd's Green Palace together with the Winter Palace, some buildings of *Khaistai lawran*, the temple complex of Choijin lama; *Geser* temple, a part of the small Orthodox church; Tārā Temple of the Chinese town; a couple of buildings of *Dambadarjaalin* monastery, and the foundation of *Tsetsee gүн* assembly at Bogd Khan Mountain. In the followings, the 51 monastic sites and their present conditions are summarized (R denotes the numbers used by Rinchen, whilst the added sites are marked with NR):

1. Züün Khüree

- *Nomiin ikh khüree, Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin* (T. *ri-bo dge-rgyas dga'-ldan bšad-sgrub gling*, R-910): the main assembly hall and another 15 temples of the centre of the Eastern monastic district have not remained.
- *Dechingalawiin khural* (*Düinkhor datsan*, T. *bde chen bskal-pa, dus-'khor grwa-tshang*, R-925) has not remained, neither other parts of the Yellow Palace.
- Three of Züün Khüree's 30 *aimag* temples (NR-942) have remained. Two of them had survived in 1990 (*Wangain aimag*, *Erkhem toinii aimag*) as *Züün khüree Dashchoilin khiid*. Until that time the building housed the animals and belongings of the nearby circus. The third remaining temple (*Ekh daginiin aimgiin khural*, R-926) was the circus itself, and is now the training school of the circus. The other 27 *aimag* temples and the *aimags* themselves today are no longer extant.

2. Gandan

- *Gandantegchenlin khiid* (T. *dga'-ldan theg chen gling*, R-912): its main assembly hall was a stable from 1938, but now it functions again as the main assembly hall of Gandan. The relics temples of the 5th and 7th Bogds have survived the purges, and in 1944, when Gandan was partly reopened, seven lamas started to hold rituals in these temples. The relics temple of the 8th Bogd is a library now, while in *Didinpowran* high-ranking lamas hold ceremonies, and lamas read texts at the request of lay people. The monastery contains numerous old artefacts brought here by old lamas from all parts of the country. Gandan's monastic schools (*datsan*) were demolished or burnt in 1938, but several of them were rebuilt after the democratic changes.
- *Migjid Janraisegiig süm* (*Janraiseg datsan*, T. *mig-'byed spyen-ras gzigs-kyi grwa-tshang*, R-913): it was used as a military barrack from 1938. A huge amount was offered to pull down the temple in the 1950s, but nobody applied. From the 1950s it functioned as the State Archives. Today, it houses Avalokiteśvara's new statue, which was consecrated in 1996.
- *Tsagaan suwragiin khural* (*Jarankhashariin suwraga*, T. *bya-rung kha-shor*, NR-960) has not remained. The Television tower stands on its site today.

3. The lay quarters

Nothing has been left from the lay quarters.

South-West quarter (*Baruun ömnöd khoroo*):

- *Nartad Daginiin khural* (*Damdin lamiin khural, Nartad dagnangiin khural*, R-916)
- *Töwdiin khural* (*Unzai lamiin khural*, R-918)
- *Tantonjalbiin khural* (*zodiin khural, T. thang-stong rgyal-po, gcod*, R-919)
- *Dar' ekhiin khural* (*T. sgrol-ma*, R-917)
- *Jagarmolomiin khural* (*Dechinchoilin tawshi sünbrellin, zodiin khural, T. bde-chen chos-dbyings thabs-shes zung-'brel gling*, NR-950)
- *Dorjzodwiin khural* (*T. rdo-rje gcod-pa*, NR-952)

South-East quarter (*Züiin ömnöd khoroo*):

- *Manj ambanii khurliin dugan* (NR-949)

Ikh shaw':

- *Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural* (*Saikhan Gombiin süm, T. mgon-po*, R-927)

4. Choijin Lama's Temple Complex and its Surroundings

- *Choijin lamiin süm* (*Örshöoliig khögjüülegch süm, Zankhan, Zepellin süm, Nomiig tetgegch, Shashin sakhigchiin ordon, T. chos-skyong bla-ma, brtse-'phel gling, gtsang-khang*, R-915), the temple complex of the State Oracle has remained. During the monastery destruction several sculptures and other artefacts were stored here. In 1942 it was turned into a museum. Although in 1990 devotees wanted to revive its monastic tradition, it is still a museum exhibiting *Tsam* masks, and objects of worship presenting the art and crafts of the old capital city.

The buildings surrounding it have not remained:

- *Yonzon khambiin süm* (*T. yongs-'dzin mkhan-po*, NR-947)
- *Oidowiin khural* or *Yutawiin khural* (R-920)
- *Dagwa zodchiin khural/süm* (*T. gcod*, NR-951)
- *Agwa datsan* (*Akhu datsan, Awag datsan, T. sngags-pa grwa-tshang*, NR-953)

5. Palaces on the Banks of the River Tuul

- *Bogd khaanii nagoon süm* (*Bogd khaanii öwliin ord, Sharawpeljeelin süm, Erdem itgemjit bilgiig khögjüülen badruulagch süm, Deed süm, Bogd khaanii ordonii müzei, T. shes-rab dpal rgyas gling*, R-911), the Green Palace together with the Winter Palace is a museum now. After the passing away of the Bogd khaan in 1924 all his belongings were stored here. Later, it became a museum, where the remaining artefacts of the city are also exhibited.
- *Erdmiin dalai buyan chuulgan süm* (*Bogd khaanii serüün ord*) (R-921): five buildings of the *bogd khaan's* and his wife's summer residence have survived.²⁶⁵ Today they are abandoned or poor families live inside. A two-storey building is completely renovated with an added part and has been used as the Child welfare centre of the Metropolitan Police Department since 1996.²⁶⁶

Nothing has been left from other palaces:

- *Tsagaan süm* (*Güngaadejidlin*) (*Dood süm, Tuuliin tsagaan süm, Khotol bayasgalant amgalan jargalangiin süm, T. kun-dga' bde-skyid gling*, R-922)
- *Narokhajidiin süm* (*Narkhajidiin süm, Pandelin, Baldankhajidlin, T. na-ro mkha'-spyod, phan-bde gling, dpal-ldan mkha'-spyod gling*, R-923)
- *Norowlin* (*Norowlinkhai, Erdnii süm, T. nor-bu gling-ka*, NR-943)

²⁶⁵ The buildings are situated South of the Manager Academy (*Udirdlagiin Akademi*).

²⁶⁶ *Niisleiin Tsagdaagiin Gazriin khüükhdiin khalamj, üilchilgeenii töw.*

6. The Hill of the Russian Consulate

- *Khutagt Troitsiin süm* (*Sbyato-Troitsiin süm, Gegeen Gurwaliin süm, Ünen aldart süm*, R-928), the small Orthodox Church's building remained without tower. Today it is a storage and an internet cafe. Opposite to it new Orthodox temples have been built.

7. Maimaachen (Maimaicheng, Maimaa khot, Naimaa khot)

- *Dar' ekhiin süm* (R-931) has remained. It functions as a Buddhist nunnery today.

Nothing has been left from the other temples:

- *Erleg nomun khaanii süm* (R-929)
- *Amgalangiin Geser süm* (*Guan-di shüteen*, R-930)
- *Urchuudiin süm* (*Mujaanii süm*, R-932)
- *Kunziin süm* (*Kunz bogdiin süm*, R-933)
- *Tsagaan malgaitiin süm* (*Laliin süm*, T. *kla-klo*, R-934)
- *Dashsamanlin khural/datsan* (*Erlüziin süm*, T. *bkra-shis bsam gtan gling grwa-tshang*, R-935)
- *Odon süm* (NR-945)
- *Erleg nomun khaanii süm 2* (*Erleg khaanii khoid süm*, NR-948)
- *Choinkhorlin* (T. *chos-'khor gling*, NR-955)
- *Dejidlin* (T. *bde-skyid gling*, NR-956)
- *Dagdanlin* (T. *rtag-brtan gling*, NR-958)
- *Puntsoglin* (T. *phun-tshogs gling*, NR-957)
- *Ulaanii shashnii zodoch nariin khural* (*Maimaachen*) (T. *gcod*, NR-959)

8. Merchant Districts (Damnuurchin/Damnuurgachin)

- *Baruun Geser süm* (*Guan-di shüteen*, R-914): this temple complex survived the destruction and served as a dormitory for state actors for a while. Later, it became an archive, and after the democratic changes the medical school of Gandan monastery used its buildings. Today, Gandan's *Badma yogo datsan* and secondary school operate here as well as some traditional doctors.

9. Monasteries in the Outskirts

- *Dambadarjaagiin khiid* (*Dambadarjaa, Danbadarjialin, Shashniig badruulagch khiid*, T. *bstan-pa dar-rgyas gling*, R-939): several buildings survived the destruction. On the site a hospital for Japanese prisoners of war was built, which was later turned into a tuberculosis hospital, and an old people's care centre was built. In 1990 one of the old yurt-shaped *aimag* temples was rebuilt and the Buddhist tradition was revived. Renovation of the remaining temples has been started.

The other suburban monasteries and shrines have not remained:

- *Dashchoinkhorlin khiid* (R-936)
- *Shaddublin khiid* (*Shaddüwlin*, T. *bshad sgrub gling*, R-937)
- *Dünjingarwiin süm* (*Dünjongarwiin süm*, T. *dung-skyong dkar-po*, R-924)
- *Bogdiin khiid* (*dugan*), *Tsetsee güinii khural*, R-938)
- *Rashaanii khural* (*Lusiin jalwaa, Lümbümgaraw, Lusiin süm*, T. *klu-rgyal, klu'i rgyal-po, klu-'bum dkar-po*, NR-944)
- *Züün salaanii khural* (R-940)
- *Bayanzürkhiin dugan* (R-941)
- *Baruun salaanii khural* (NR-946)
- *Sanzain uuliin khiid* (*Sanzaidorjiin khural*) (NR-954)

Although from the monastic city only a few buildings are left, the city's heritage has been preserved in various ways. About 250-300 old photos are kept in the Film Archives and in the Photo Archives of the Mongolian National Academy. The Ulaanbaatar City Museum keeps maps, paintings, photos. The National Museum preserves artefacts, photos and objects of everyday use. The Victims of Political Persecution Memorial Museum also keeps some historically valuable materials. Artefacts are preserved in Gandan Monastery, in the Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts, in the Temple Museum of Choijin Lama, and in the Palace Museum of the Bogd khaan. Tibetan books are available in the National Library of Mongolia, and in Gandan Monastery. Moreover, individuals possess old objects of worship and books inherited from their old relatives.

Old documents are available in the National Archives, in the Archives of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, and in the National Library of Mongolia. Some old lamas can still remember and tell of the busy religious life of the old city, and legends are also abounded. Today, of the more than 10 000 lamas of Bogdiin Khüree only about ten can be found. Though it is obvious that the purges decimated the population, and numerous lamas escaped to the countryside, or disrobed, and joined the army, the number of still alive old lamas of the city is extraordinarily low. In 1990 still more of them lived and helped the revival of a couple of temples and the basic Buddhist traditions. After the democratic change several new temples were established and Buddhism flourishes again in Mongolia.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Catalogues of the National Archives of Mongolia's Three Collections

- Manchu: M-85, M-86, M88-124, M-130, M-132, M-137, M-171, M-173, M-174, M-207, M-208, M-210, M-211, M-216, M-219
- Bogd khaan: A-76-85, A-88-117, A-121, A-145, A-166, A-175-177, A-220, A-222, A-224, A-228-230
- Modern: 179-230, 232, 233, 237, 239, 240

Sources of the National Archives of Mongolia's Modern Collection (keeping their spelling)

- Kh193/42 without title [Annual ceremonies of the medical monastic school]
- Kh196/8 Gandantegčinling-yin dangsa [List of *Gandantegchenlin*]
- Kh199/55 Barya-yin ayimay-un toytamal qural-ud [Fixed date ceremonies of *Bargiin aimag*]
- Kh200/21 Wanggai ayimay-un qural-ud nersiin bürtgel dans [List of *Wangai aimag*'s ceremonies]
- Kh208/73 Duyar-yin ayimay-un nigen ঁil-dü toytamal qurday qural-yi todorqailaysan küsünügtü [Data sheet of *Dugariin aimag*'s fixed date ceremonies]
- Kh211/18 ǣamyangsüren-yin ayimay-un nigen ঁilün toytamal qural-ud-un neres [Name of fixed date ceremonies held in *Jamiyaansürengiin aimag*]
- Kh216/44 Toyisamling ayimay-un бүкүй qural-un dangsa [List of all ceremonies of *Toisamlin aimag*]
- Kh218/18 Mergen q.ambu-yin ayimay-un qural-un ungsily-a-un dangsa [List of ceremonies in *Mergen khambiin aimag*]
- Kh224/9 Örligüd-ün ayimay-yin 27 on-u toytamal qural-un bürgüdel-e [Fixed date ceremonies in *Örlüüdiin aimag* held in 1937]
- Kh240/1/2 27 on-u Dambadariǣiya keyid-ün toytomal qural-un dangsa [List of fixed date ceremonies held in Dambadarjaa monastery in 1937]
- Kh188/144 Gungaachoilin datsangiin 1 jild khurdag khurliin nersiig todorkhoilson dans [List of annual ceremonies held in *Güngaachoilin datsan*]
- Kh189/2 Yidgg.ačoyingling dačan-un nigen ঁilün toytamal quriday qural-un küsünüg-tü: [Data sheet of fixed date annual ceremonies of *Yidgaachoinzinlin datsan*]
- Kh209/66 ǣooyai ayimay-un toytamal qural-un dangsa [Fixed date ceremonies in *Zoogoi aimag*]
- Kh212/38 Namdolling ayimay-un toytamal qural-ud [Fixed date ceremonies in *Namdollin aimag*]
- Kh227/48 without title [Fixed date ceremonies of *Erkhem toinii aimag*]
- Kh201/58. ǣidar-un ayimay-un nigen jil-dü togtamal qurday qural-yi todorqayilaysan mayig. [List of fixed date ceremonies of *Jadariin aimag*]
- Kh206/ 37. 27 on 9 sar-a-du Čečen toyin-i ayimay-un nigen ঁil-un toytamal qural-ud-un neres: [Names of fixed date ceremonies of *Setsen toinii aimag* written in September, 1937]
- Kh220/44. Dasidandarling-yin ayimay anu [Dashdandarlin aimag ('s ceremonies)]
- Kh198/135. Qayilang ǣisa-yin nigen ঁilün qurday qural-un 1 toytamal neres: [Names of fixed date ceremonies of *Khailan jas*]
- Kh205/79. Mongyol-ulus-un 27 on Sangqai ayimay-un qural ungsily-a-uud-un todorqayilalta bolai [List of ceremonies held in 1937 in *Sangai aimag*]

- Kh219/36. 27 on 9 sar-a-yin 30-u edür Noman qan ayimay-un бүкүй qural-i todorqayiluysan күсүнүг-тү dangsan [List of ceremonies of Nomon khan aimag written on 30 September, 1937]
- Kh197/12. Bandid-yin ayimay [Bandidiin aimag's ceremonies]
- Kh214/19. Darqan emči-yin ayimay-un toytamal qural-ud [List of fixed date ceremonies of Darkhan emchiin aimag]
- Kh207/23. Nomči-yin ayimay-un qural ungsily-a-ud-yin todorqayilalta bolai [List of ceremonies held in Nomchiin aimag]
- Kh221/26. Kүken noyan-ni ayimay-un toytamal qurday qural-ud-un neres-i bičigsen anu [List of ceremonies held in Khүүkhen noyonii aimag]
- Kh215/19. Ёisa-yin ayimay-un dangsa [List of Jasiin aimag]
- Kh198/23. List of Biziya aimag's ceremonies

Other Sources

- AL'BERTSEN, K. P., *Örgөөд болj bui үйл yawdluud*. Ulaanbaatar 2008 [Recent Events in Uрга]
- BAABAR B. (BAT-ERDENE BATBAYAR), *Twentieth century Mongolia*. White Horse Press, Cambridge 1999
- BAABAR, B. (Bat-Erdene Batbayar), *History of Mongolia*. Ulaanbaatar 2005
- BADARCHI, O. S., DUGARSÜREN, SH. N., *Bogd khaanii am'draliin on daraalliin towchoon*. Ulaanbaatar 2000 [Events of the Bogd Khaan's Life Year by Year]
- BALDIR, KH. - ÖLZIIBAATAR, D., *XX zuunii 20-iod onii temdegleliiud*. Ulaanbaatar 2007 [Records about the 1920s]
- BANZRAGCH, CH., SAINKHÜÜ, B., *Mongol khüree khiidiin түүkh (emkhtgel)*. Ulaanbaatar 2004 [History of Mongolian Monasteries]
- BATBAYAR, TS., *Kodama, mitsui, пүүs khüree end baisan yaponchuud 1911-1921 on*. Ulaanbaatar 1993 [Kodoma, Mitsui, Store: Japanese who visited Khüree between 1911-1921]
- BAWDEN, C. R., *The Jebtsundamba khutukhtus of Uрга. Text, Translation and Notes*. Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden 1961
- BAWDEN, C. R., *The Modern History of Mongolia*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson. London 1968 (revised edition: KPI, London 1989)
- BAWDEN, C. R. (translated and edited), *Tales of an Old Lama*, The Institute of Buddhist Studies [Buddhica Britannica Series Continua VIII], Tring, U. K. 1997
- *Bilgiin melmii*, 2005 February, No. 15 /57/ [Eye of Wisdom]
- BOLDBAATAR, J. – SANJDORJ, M. – SHIRENDEW, B. (ed.), *Mongol ulsiin түүkh. Tawdugaar bot'*, (XX zuun). Ulaanbaatar 2003 [History of Mongolia. Volume 5. 20th Century]
- BIRA, SH., *Mongolian Historical Literature of the XVII-XIX centuries written in Tibetan*. Translated from Russian by S. N. Frye. The Mongolia Society, The Tibet Society. Bloomington 1970
- БҮRNEE, D., ENKHTÖR, D., *Mongoliin Burkhanii shashnii түүkhен surwalj*. Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Historical Sources of Mongolian Buddhism]
- BYAMBAA, D. *Ulaanbaatar khotiin namiin baiguullaga (1921-1940)*. Ulaanbaatar 1972 [Party Organization in Ulaanbaatar (1921-1940)]
- Byambaa, R., *Mongolchuudiin töwd kheleer tuurwisan mongol khelend orchuulsan nom зүүn бүrtgel*. Ulaanbaatar 2004, 2005, 2006 [Texts Written by Mongols in Tibetan or Translated to Mongolian]
- CHARLEUX, I., *Temple et Monastères de Mongolie-Intérieure*. Paris 2006

- CHULUUNBAATAR, L., *Shanzadwiin yaam yuu khiij baiw*, Ulaanbaatar 2005 [The Responsibility of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs]
- CHIMED, Ö., *Ikh Khüreenii süm khiidiin möngön khüüllin tukhai* (1810-1918). Shinjlekh Ukhaan, Deed Bolowsroliin Khüreeleengiin khewlel. Ulaanbaatar 1958. [Notes about the Money Invest of Ikh Khüree's Temples]
- CRONER, D., *Guidebook to Locales Connected with the Life of Zanabazar First Bogd Gegeen of Mongolia*. Ulaanbaatar 2006
- DAAJAW, B., *Mongoliin uran barilgiin tүүkh*. (Three volumes) Ulaanbaatar 2006 [History of Mongolian Architecture]
- DAMCHOS GYATSO DHARMATĀLA, *Rosary of White Lotuses, Being the Clear Account of How the Precious Teaching of Buddha Appeared and Spread in the Great Hor Country*. Translated and annotated by Piotr Klafkowski, supervised by Nyalo Trulku Lobzang Rinpoche. Otto Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden 1987
- DAMDINSÜREN, TS., *Öwgön Jambaliin yaria*. Ulaanbaatar 1959 [Reminiscence of Old Jambal]
- DARIIMAA, G., *Dursagdakhiin buyantai burkhan zuraach*. Ulaanbaatar 2003 [The Virtuouos Monastic Painter]
- DASHBADRAKH, D., *Mongoliin khutagtuudiin namtriin oillogo /XVII-XX zuun/,* Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Thoughts about the Biographies of Mongolian Reincarnations]
- DASHDAWAA, CH., KOZLOW W. P., *Komintern ba Mongol*. Ulaanbaatar 1996 [Mongolia and the KomIntern]
- DASHNYAM, L. (ed.), *Mongol nutag dakh' tүүkh soyoliin dursgal. Sedewchilsen lawlakh*. Mongoliin Khümüünligiin Ukhaanii Akademi. Ulaanbaatar 1999 [Monuments of Mongolian History and Culture]
- DASHTSEWEG, B., *Mongol ardiin khuwsgaalt namaas lam nariin talaar yawuulsan bodlogo* (1921-1940), Ulaanbaatar 1969 [The People's Revolutionary Party's Opinion concerning Lamas]
- DIWAASAMBUU G., TAIWANSAIKHAN D., *Mongoliin Burkhan shashnii tүүkhен toim*. Ulaanbaatar 2005 [Brief History of Mongolian Buddhism]
- DIWAASAMBUU, G., *Gandantegchenlin khiid dakhin sergesen tүүkh*. Ulaanbaatar 2009 [History of the Revival of Gandantegchenlin Monastery]
- DARMADALAA, *Ikh Mongoliin orond deediin nom yamar met delgersen yosiig todorkhoi ögүүlegch tsagaan lyankhuan erkhis khemeekh orshwoi*. Translated by S. Gombojaw. Ulaanbaatar 1995 1999 [Rosary of White Lotuses, Being the Clear Account of How the Precious Teaching of Buddha Appeared and Spread in the Great Mongolia.]
- DULAM, S., *Khüree dörwön uuliin takhilga, belgedel*. Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Worship of the Four Mountains Surrounding Khüree]
- DÜGERSÜREN, L., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin tүүkhees*. (2nd edition), Ulaanbaatar 1999 [Views about the History of Ulaanbaatar]
- FORBÁTH, L., *A megujhodott Mongolia*, Franklin [A Magyar Földrajzi Társaság Könyvtára], Budapest 1934 [The New Mongolia]
- GALDAN TUSLAGCH, *Erdeniin erikh khemeekh tүүkh boloi*. (ed. Janchiw, Yo.). Ulaanbaatar 2010 [The Chronicle called Erdeniin erikh]
- GANBOLD, G. (ED.), *Mongold tölböriin kheregслин үүргийг гүйтsetgej baisan ed зүүls болон гadaadiin möngön temdegt зоos* (XVII-XX zuunii ekhen üye). Ulaanbaatar 2010 [Foreign Coins, Banknotes and Other Means of Payment used in Mongolia from the 17th Century till the Beginning of the 20th century]
- GANGAA, D., *Khüree tsam*. Ulaanbaatar 2003 [Masked Dance in Khüree]
- GELETA, J., *The New Mongolia*, by Ladislaus Forbath, as related by Joseph Geleta;

translated from the Hungarian by Lawrence Wolfe, London, Toronto, W. Heinemann Ltd. 1936

- HALEN H., *Memoria Saecularis Sakari Pälsi. Aufzeichnungen von einer Forschungsreise nach der Nordlichen Mongolei im Jahre 1909*, Helsinki 1982
- HEISSIG, W. (ed.), *Erdeni-yin erike. Mongolische Kronik der lamaistischen Klosterbauten der Mongolei von Isibaldan*. Ejnar Munksgaard. Kopenhagen 1961
- HUTH, G., *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei. Aus dem Tibetischen des 'Jigs-med nam-mkha'*. Karl J. Trübner. Strassburg 1892
- IDERBAYAR, B., Shadüw gepel janchüwlin khemeekh büteeliin khiidiin diyanch nariin tsaaz jayagiin altan üseg Jewzündambiin aman zarlig orshwoi, In: *Erdeniin tülkhüür*, Ulaanbaatar, (date unknown) pp. 4.,5.,8. [The golden letters of the rules and regulations for the lamas of the meditational retreat called *Shaddüw gepel janchüwlin*, being the command of the Bogd]
- IDSHINNOROW, SH., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin khuraangui*. Ulaanbaatar 1994 [Short History of Ulaanbaatar]
- ISHTAWKHAI, SH., *Nom zokhiul tuurwisan mongol lam nariin bürtgel*. Ulaanbaatar 2006 [Mongolian Eminent Polymaths]
- JIGMEDDORJ, E., *Dashchoinpel, Gungaachoinlin, Idgaachoinzinlin datsand domiin damjaa bar'san lam nariin bürtgel*. Ulaanbaatar 2011 [List of Lamas Who Took Domiin Damjaa Exam in Dashchoinpel, Gungaachoinlin, and Idgaachoinzinlin Monastic Schools]
- KHATANBAATAR N. - NAIGAL, YO., *Erdene zuugiin tüükh (XVI-XX zuun)*. Ulaanbaatar 2005 [History of Erdene Zuu]
- KOZLOV, P. K., *Tibet i Dalaj-Lama*. (ed. S. L. Kuz'min) Moskva 2004
- LAAGAN, B., *Khalkhiin tamga бүkhii khutagtuudiin towchis*. Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Short Story of Mongolian Saints Decorated by Seal]
- LARSON, F. A., *Mongol gün Larson*. Ulaanbaatar 2010 [Larson, Noble of Mongolia]
- LOKESH CHANDRA (ed.), *Eminent Tibetan Polymaths of Mongolia, Ye-shes thabs-mkhas, bla-ma dam-pa-rnams-kyi gsung-'bum-gyi dkar-chag gnyen 'brel dran gso'i me-long zhes-bya-ba*. Çata-Pipaka Series 16. New Delhi 1961
- LOKESH CHANDRA (ed.), *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*, Part 2, . Çata-Pipaka Series 29. New Delhi 1963
- LOKESH CHANDRA (ed.), *The Golden Annals of Lamaism. Hor chos-'byung of Blo-bzang rta-mgrin. 'dzam-gling byang phyogs chen-po hor-gyi rgyal-khams-kyi rtags-pa brjod-pa'i bstan-bcos chen-po dpyod-ldan mgu byed ngo-mtshar gser-gyi deb-ther zhes-bya-ba bzugs-so*. Çata-Pipaka Series. Vol. 34. New Delhi 1964
- LOKESH CHANDRA (ed.), BIRA, SH., *The History of Mongolia. (Tibetan text in Roman transcription. Dharmatāla Dam chos rgya-mtsho*. Çata-Pipaka Series. Vol. 235. New Delhi 1977
- LOKESH CHANDRA (ed.), *Life and works of Jibcundampa I*. Çata-Pipaka Series, 294. New Delhi 1982
- LOKESH CHANDRA, *Biography of Jibcundampa IV*. Çata-Pipaka Series, 295. New Delhi 1983
- LOMAKINA, I. I., *Mongol'skaya stolica, staraya i novaya*. Moskva 2006
- LUWSAN, CH., *Niisleliig chimsen khüree dörwön uul khatan Tuul gol*. Ulaanbaatar [Ornaments of the Capital City: the Four Mountains and the River Tuul]
- MAIDAR, D., *Mongoliin arkityektur ba khot baiguulalt*. Ulsiin Khewleliin Gazar, Ulaanbaatar 1972 [Mongolian Architecture and City Planning]
- MAIDAR, D., *Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag*. Ulaanbaatar 1970 [Three Maps of Mongolian Cities and Villages]

- MINIS, A., *MAKhN-aas süm khiid, lam nariin ediin zasgiin khüchin chadliig ewdej ustgakhiin tölöö yawuulsan temtsel*. Ulaanbaatar 1972 [The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party's Struggle to Annihilate the Economy and the Reputation of Monasteries and Lamas]
- MOSES, L. W., *The Political Role of Mongol Buddhism*. Indiana University Uralic Altaic Series. Vol. 133. Bloomington, 1977
- MÖNGÖNDALAI, B., *Qalq-a dörgeen ayimag-tu бүгүдeгeг takiydaysan boyda яибзundamba-yin namtar*. Khökhkhot 2006 [Biography of the Bogd Jiwezundambas worshipped in the Four Khalkh Provinces]
- MÖNKHBAT, D., *Mongoliin түүkh soyoliin dursgaliin lawlaga*. Ayalal juulchlaliin mergejliin ангиin оyuutnuudad zoriulaw. Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Brief Account of Heritages of Mongolian History and Culture]
- MÖNKHJARGAL, S. – TSEDEW, D. – LUWSANGOMBO, S. - JARGAL, YU. - JADAMBAA, T. – SHARKHÜÜ, YA., - GOMBOSÜREN, R. - BOLD, G., NYAMSAMBUU, G., *Ulaanbaatar khotiin khögjil*, Ulaanbaatar 2006 [Development of Ulaanbaatar City]
- NAWAAN, D., *Öwgön Dendewiin durdatgal*, Shinjlekh Ukhaanii Akademiin Khewlel, Ulaanbaatar 1961 [Reminiscence of Old Dendew]
- NAWAGCHAMBA, TS., *Yewrop khelberiin ankhonii baishin*. In: ? [The First European style Building]
- *Northern Buddhist Conference on Ecology and Development*, Ulaanbaatar 2005
- ÖLZII, J., *Mongoliin dursgalt uran барилгиin түүkhees*. Ulaanbaatar 1992 [About the History of Mongolian Architecture]
- ÖLZIIBAATAR, D., *Yaagaad 1937 on?* Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Why 1937?]
- OTGONSÜREN, D. (ED.), *Choijin lamiin süm muzyei*. Ulaanbaatar 2011 [The Temple Museum of Choijin Lama]
- OYUUNBAT, R., *Khüree duu khögjmiin үүsel, khögjil*. Ulaanbaatar 2005 [Origin and Development of Music in Khüree]
- POZDNEEV, A. M., *Goroda severnoj Mongolii*. Sankt-Peterburg 1887, 1980 (repr.)
- POZDNEEV, A. M., *Mongolija i Mongoly*. T. 1-2. Sankt-Peterburg 1896, 1898 (repr.)
- POZDNEEV, A. M., *Mongol'skaja letopis' "Erdeniin erihe"*. *Materialy dlja istorii halhi 1636-1736*. Sankt-Peterburg, 1883
- POZDNEEV, A. M., *Očerki byta buddijskikh monastyrej i buddijskogo duhovenstva v Mongolii*, Sankt-Peterburg 1887
- POZDNEEV, A. M., *Urginskije hutuhty. Istoričeskij očerk ih prošlago i sovremennago byta*. Travaux de la Troisième Session du Congrès International des Orientalistes, Sankt-Peterburg 1880, 1980 (repr.)
- POZDNEEV, A. M. (ed.), *Boyda яибзүндamba qutuytu-yin Erdeni дуu-du яalaraysan тууяи*, Mongol'skaja Krestomatija. Sankt-Peterburg 1900
- POZDNEYEV, A.M., *Religion and Ritual in Society: Lamaist Buddhism in late 19th-century Mongolia*. ed.: Krueger, J.R. The Mongolia Society. Bloomington 1978
- POZDNEYEV, A. M., *Mongolia and the Mongols*, edited by Krueger, J. R., translated by Shaw, J. R. and Plank, D., Bloomington, Indiana University 1971
- PÜREW, O., *Mongoliin uls төриin төw*. Ulaanbaatar 1994 [Centre of the Mongolian State]
- PÜREW, O., *Ulaanbaatar 360*. Ulaanbaatar 1999 [The 360-year old Ulaanbaatar]
- PÜREW, O., *Mongol төриin golomt*. Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Fire-place of the Mongolian State and Government]
- PÜREW, O., *XX zunii ekhen üyeiin ar mongol (1900-1930 on)* (map) (forthcoming) [Mongolia at the Beginning of the 20th Century]
- PÜREW, O. – SÜKHBAATAR, O. – ICHINNOROW, S. – SHAGDAR, SH. – SARUULBUYAN, J.,

Niisleliin öw soyol. Ulaanbaatar 2004 [Heritage of the Capital City]

- PÜREWBAT, G., Self-embalment in the Buddhist Faith, 10 August 2005, *UB Post*
- PÜREWJAW, S., *Khuwsgaliin ömnökh Ikh Khüree*. Ulaanbaatar 1961 [Ikh Khüree before the Revolution]
- PÜREWJAW, S., *Mongol dakh' shariin shashnii khuraangui tүүkh*. Ulaanbaatar 1978 [Brief History of Mongolian Buddhism]
- PÜREWJAW, S., DASHJAMTS, D., *BNMAU-d сүм khiid, lam nariin asuudliig shiidwerlesen ni. 1921-1940 on*. Ulaanbaatar 1965 [Resolution of the Question of Mongolian Monasteries and Lamas in the Mongolian People's Republic (1921-1940)]
- RINCHEN, B. „Ulam saikhan bolj baigaa Ulaanbaatariin түүкhees”, *Ulaanbaatariin medee” sonin*, No. 1. (146), 1956. [About the history of the flourishing Ulaanbaatar]
- RINCHEN, B. (ed.), *Four Mongolian Historical Records*. Çata-Pipaka Series, Vol. 11., New Delhi. 1959, p. 11.
- RINCHEN B, MAIDAR D. (ed.), *Mongol ard ulsiin ugsaатnii судlal, khelnii shinjleliin atlas*. Ulaanbaatar 1979 [Ethnographic and Linguistic Atlas of the Mongolian People's Republic]
- RINCHIN, M., *Uls төriin khelmegдүүlelt ba tsagaatgal*, Tsagaatgakh ajiliig udirдан zokhion baiguulakh Ulsiin komiss, Ulaanbaatar 2000 [Political Persecution and Rehabilitation]
- RUPEN, R. A., *Mongols of the 20th Century*, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 37. Indiana University, Bloomington and Mouton and Co., The Hague, 1964 (new edition: Curzon, Richmond 1997)
- RUPEN, R. A., ”The City of Uрга in the Manchu Period”, *Studia Altaica*, Festschrift für Nicholas Poppe, Wiesbaden 1957, pp. 157-169.
- SAMBUU, J., *Shashin ba lam nariin asuudal*. Ulaanbaatar 1961 [Question of Religion and Lamas]
- SEREETER, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin түүкhen бүтetsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999 [Short History of Ikh Khüree and Gandan Monastery]
- SHEPETILNIKOV, N. M., *Arhitektura Mongolij*. Moskva 1960
- SONINBAYAR, SH. (ed.), *Gandantegchinlen khiid, Shashnii deed surguuliin khurangui түүkh Tsagaan lawain duun egshig khemeekh orshiwoi*. Ulaanbaatar 1995 [Gandantegchinlen Monastery, Short History of the Religious College: The melody of the White Conch Shell.]
- SONINBAYAR, SH. – PUNSALDULAM, B. (ED.), *Mongoliin tusgaar toгtnol oyuun sanaanii ikh udirdagch VIII Bogd Jewзүндamba khutagt*. Ulaanbaatar 2009 [The 8th Bogd Jewзүндamba khutagt: Initiator of Independence]
- SONOMDAGWA, TS. *Manjiin zakhirgaand baisan үyeiin ar mongoliin zasag zakhirgaanii zokhion baiguulalt (1691-1911)*. Ulaanbaatar 1961 [Structure of the Mongolian Administration during the Manchu Period (1691-1911)]
- SÜKHBAATAR, O. (transl.), *Majiglawdonmaagiin namtar*. Ulaanbaatar, 2004 [Biography of Majiglawdonma]
- SZILÁGYI ZS., *Manchu-Mongol Diplomatic Correspondance 1635-1896. Treasures of Mongolian Culture and Tibeto-Mongolian Buddhism*. Volume 1, ed. Bethlenfalvy G., State Central Library of Mongolia, Research Group of Altaic Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest 2004
- SZILÁGYI, ZS., *A mongol fölámaк rövid története*. Vallástudományi Tanulmányok 10. Budapest 2010 [The Brief History of Mongol Head Lamas]

- TSEDENDAMBA, S. — LKHAGWA, L. — SONINBAYAR, SH. — LUWSANBALDAN, E. — OTGONBAATAR, R. — AMGALAN, N. (EDS.). *Mongoliin süm khiidiin tүүkhөн towchoon*. Ulaanbaatar 2009 [Brief History of Mongolian Monasteries].
- TSEDEW, D., *Ikh shaw'*. Ulaanbaatar 1964 [The Bogd's Subordinates]
- TSERENDORJ, G., *Niislel khüreenii mongol khudaldaanii toim*. Ulaanbaatar 1961 [Brief Account of Trading in Niislel Khüree]
- TSEWEL, YA., *Mongol khelnii towch tailbar tol'*. Ulsiin khewleliin khereg erkhlen khoroo. Ulaanbaatar 1966 [Mongolian Encyclopedia]
- TSÜLTEM, N., *Mongol zurag*. Ulaanbaatar 1986 [Mongolian Painting]
- TSÜLTEM, N., *Mongolian Architecture*. Ulaanbaatar 1988
- TSÜLTEM, N., *Mongolian Sculpture*. Ulaanbaatar 1989
- *Ulaanbaatar. Khotiin atlas*. Ulsiin geodezi, zurag zuin gazar. Ulaanbaatar 1990 [Ulaanbaatar City Atlas]

APPENDICES

Transcription of Mongolian words

Paintings, lists, maps

- Monasteries and Temples listed by Maidar (Maidar, D., *Mongoliin khot tosgonii gurwan zurag*. Ulaanbaatar 1970, pp. 72-74.)
- List of monasteries and temples marked on Rinchen map No. 31. (Rinchen B, Maidar D. (ed.), *Mongol ard ulsiin ugsaatsanii sudlal, khelnii shinjleliin atlas*. Ulaanbaatar 1979)
- Jügder's painting (Yeke küriyen, 1913), (*Ulaanbaatar. Khotiin atlas*. Ulsiin geodezi, zurag zuin gazar. Ulaanbaatar 1990, p. 10.)
- The centre of Züün Khüree. Painting by D. Damdinsüren called Naadam (*Ulaanbaatar. Khotiin atlas*. Ulsiin geodezi, zurag zuin gazar. Ulaanbaatar 1990, p. 11.), and O. Pürew's map (*XX zuunii ekhen üyeiin ar mongol (1900-1930 on)*)

Photos

The Hungarian National Museum preserves the photos taken by Radnóti-Róth Andor in the 1920s. The photographers of the photos preserved in the Film Archives are unknown by the author and by the Film Archives.

- **Züün Khüree:** Maitreya Temple (Hungarian National Museum, 69-194), a monastic school (Hungarian National Museum, 69-117), the remained temple of *Erkhem toinii aimag* (present-day *Züün Khüree Dashchoilin* monastery, photo by the author in 2008) *Dechingalaw* and the main assembly hall (Film Archives, K-24782)
- **Gandan hill:** Avalokiteçvara Temple, *Lamrim datsan* and *Güngaachoilin datsan* (Film Archives, K-24735)
- **Palaces:** White Palace (Hungarian National Museum, 69-115), Khaistai Palace (Hungarian National Museum, 69-188), Temple Complex of Choijin Lama (Hungarian National Museum, 69-195), the Green Palace (photo by the author in 2008)
- **Foreign belief:** Geser Temple (Film Archives, K-23974), Orthodox Temple (Film Archives, 2708a, H-50377)
- **Events:** Maitreya possession (Hungarian National Museum, 29-209), Market (Hungarian National Museum, 69-189), Pilgrims (Hungarian National Museum, 69-211), Offering cakes, Hungarian National Museum, 29-188)

Data providers

- Dashtseren lama, Tserenpuntsog lama

Charts

- Glossary
- Names of financial units (*jas*)
- Archival catalogues
- *Aimags* and their corresponding countryside areas (*ew towkhan* relation)
- Number of *aimag* lamas (Pozdneyev, A. M., *Mongolia and the Mongols*, edited by Krueger, J. R., translated by Shaw, J. R. and Plank, D., Bloomington, Indiana University 1971; Pürewjaw, S., *Khuwsgaliin ömnökh Ikh Khüree*. Ulaanbaatar 1961; Sereeter, Ö., *Mongoliin Ikh Khüree, Gandan khiidiin tüükhen бүтэtsiin towch*. 1651-1938. Ulaanbaatar 1999)

Transcription of Mongolian Words

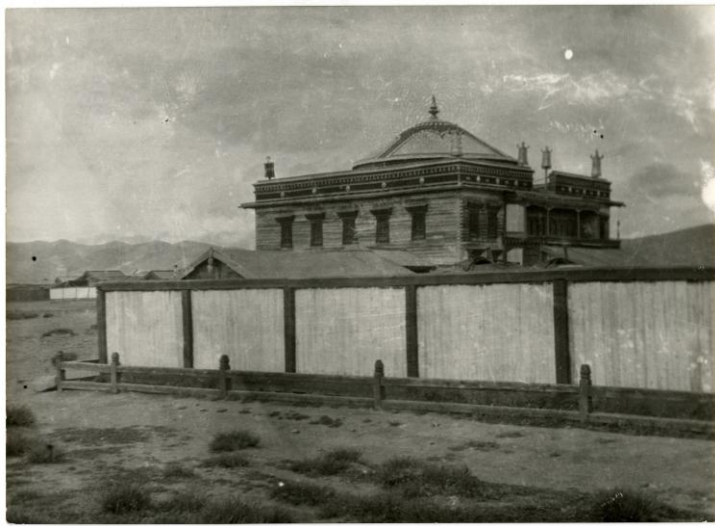
Cirill letter	Latin letter	Cirill letter	Latin letter
А а	a	П п	p
Б б	b	Р р	r
В в	w	С с	s
Г г	g	Т т	t
Д д	d	У у	u
Е е	ye	Ү ү	ü
Ё ё	yo	Ф ф	f
Ж ж	j	Х х	kh
З з	z	Ц ц	ts
И и	i	Ч ч	ch
Й й	i	Ш ш	sh
К к	k	Ъ ъ	i
Л л	l	Ы ы	ii
М м	m	Ь ь	'
Н н	n	Э э	e
О о	o	Ю ю	yu/yü
Ө ө	ö	Я я	ya

Monasteries and Temples listed by Maidar

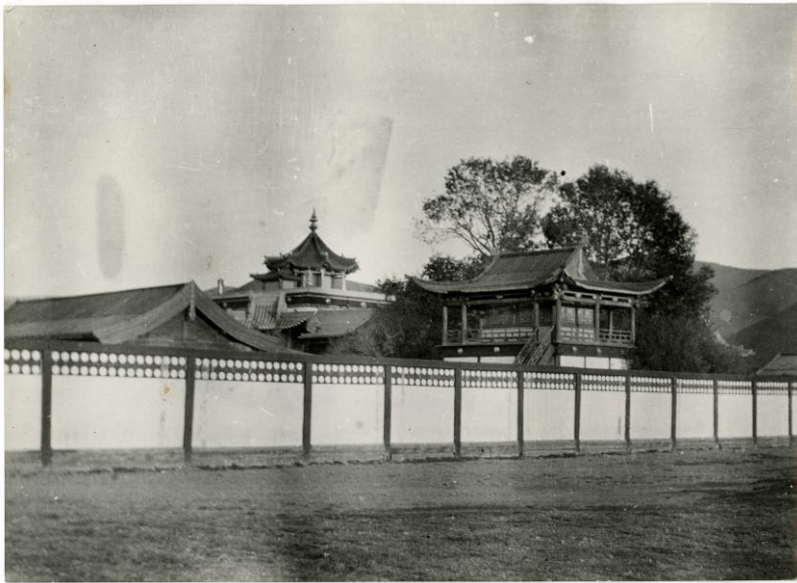
Maidar 306	Goliin nogoon süm (Gungaadechlen)
Maidar 307	Baruun geser
Maidar 308	Janraiseg
Maidar 309	Gandantegchinlin
Maidar 310	Gandan züün khüree
Maidar 311	Öwgön tsagaan süm
Maidar 312	Narankhajidiin süm
Maidar 313	Dünjingarawiin süm
Maidar 314	Dünjingarawiin süm /on Tsetsen gün peak/
Maidar 315	Amgaland geser süm
Maidar 316	Dashsamdalin khiid /in Amgаланbaatar/
Maidar 317	Jodiin khural
Maidar 318	Amgaland Erleg khaanii süm
Maidar 319	Amgaland Dar' ekhiin süm
Maidar 320	Chojjin lamiin süm
Maidar 321	Tsagaan suwragiin khural
Maidar 322	Töwdiin khural
Maidar 323	Dorjjodowiin khural
Maidar 372	Dambadarjaagiin khiid /situated in Berkh valley, founded in 1648/
Maidar 373	Shadiwlingiin khiid /situated in Yargait valley, founded in 1858/

List of Monasteries and Temples marked on Rinchen map No. 31

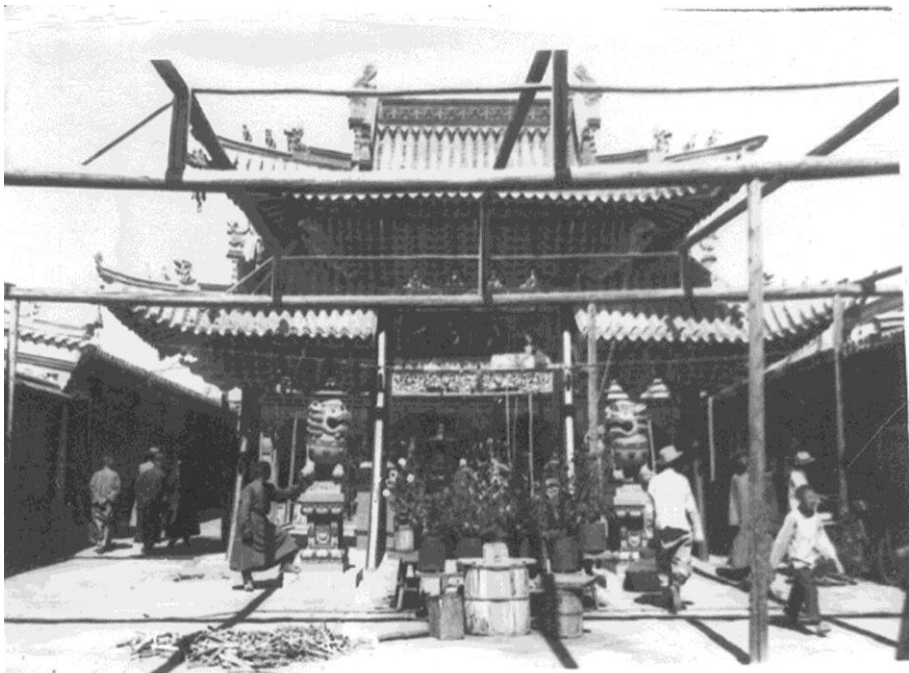
- Rinchen 910 Nomiin Ikh Khüree (Rebogejai Gandanshaddublin)
- Rinchen 911 Bogd khaanii nogoon süm (Bogd khaanii öwliin ord)
- Rinchen 912 Gandantegchinlin khiid
- Rinchen 913 Migjidjanraisegiin süm
- Rinchen 914 Baruun Geser süm
- Rinchen 915 Chojjin lamiin süm
- Rinchen 916 Nartad Daginiin khural (Damdin lamiin khural)
- Rinchen 917 Dar-ekhiin khural
- Rinchen 918 Töwdiin khural
- Rinchen 919 Tantonjalbiin khural (zodiin khural)
- Rinchen 920 Yutawiin khural (Dagwa zodchiin khuraltai neg khashaand)
- Rinchen 921 Erdmiin dalai buyan chuulgan süm (Bogd khaanii serüün ord)
- Rinchen 922 Tsagaan süm (Güngaa dejidlin)
- Rinchen 923 Narokhajid süm
- Rinchen 924 Dünjingarwiin süm
- Rinchen 925 Dechingalawiin khural
- Rinchen 926 Ekh daginiin aimgiin khural
- Rinchen 927 Ikh shawiin kharchuudiin khural
- Rinchen 928 Khutagt Troitskiin süm
- Rinchen 929 Erleg nomun khaanii süm
- Rinchen 930 Amgalangiin Geser süm
- Rinchen 931 Dar-ekhiin süm
- Rinchen 932 Urchuudiin süm
- Rinchen 933 Kunziin süm
- Rinchen 934 Tsagaan malgaitiin süm
- Rinchen 935 Dashsamsdanlin khural
- Rinchen 936 Dashchoinkhorlin khiid
- Rinchen 937 Shaddublin khiid
- Rinchen 938 Bogdiin khiid (dugan), (Tsetsee günii khural)
- Rinchen 939 Dambadarjaagiin khiid
- Rinchen 940 Züün salaanii khural
- Rinchen 941 Bayanzürkhiin dugan



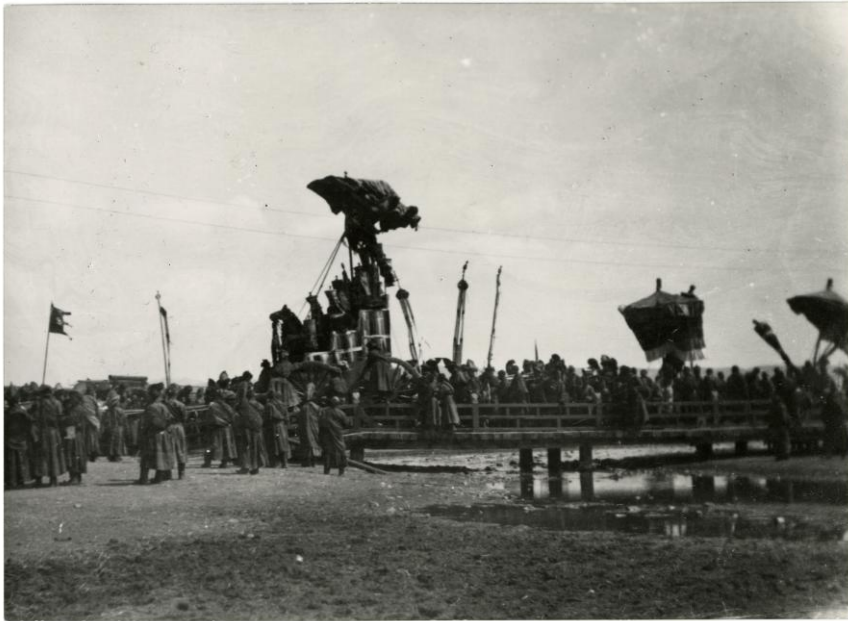














MONGOLIAN TERM	TIBETAN EQUIVALENT	ENGLISH EXPLANATION
(Bogd) khan uul		'(Bogd) khan Mountain', name of a holy Mountain south of Ulaanbaatar.
(Burkhan bagsh) nomiin khüird ergüülsen düitsen = Choinkhor düitsen		'Great day of the turning of the wheel of Dharma' commemorating the day when Buddha first preached the Dharma. It is held on the 4th of the last summer month. One of the four great days of Buddha (Burkhan bagshiin düitsen).
15-nii danrag	gtang-rag	Thanksgiving offering on the 15th of the month. See danrag.
18-nii dom	sdom ?	Feast on the 18th of the month, held in philosophical monastic schools. See dom.
19-nii dom	sdom ?	Feast on the 19th of the month, held in philosophical monastic schools. See dom.
1-r bogd, 1-r jewtsündamba khutagt, Luwsan dambii jaltsan = Öndör gegeen Zanabazar, Zanabazar	blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan	The 1st jewtsündamba khutagt. Living from 1635-1723, Luwsan dambii jaltsan or Öndör gegeen Zanabazar ('His Brightness, the vajra/thunderbolt of wisdom').
20-nii dom	sdom ?	Feast on the 20th of the month, held in philosophical monastic schools. See dom.
21-nii dom	sdom ?	Feast on the 21th of the month, held in philosophical monastic schools. See dom.
25-nii dom	sdom ?	Feast on the 25th of the month. See Zuliin 25.
2-r bogd, 2-r jewtsündamba khutagt, Luwsan dambii donme	blo-bzang bstan-pa'i sgron-me	The 2nd jewtsündamba khutagt. Reincarnation of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar, religious leader of Mongolian Buddhism living from 1724-1758.
2-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl	(dus chen)	Commemoration of the 2nd jewtsündamba khutagt, held on 17 th of the last winter month. Reading of praises.
32 kharanga magtaal = 32 magtaal		'32 eulogies', ceremony during which eulogies of Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, saints, Tibetan and Mongolian masters are recited. It takes place during the 'great festival days of Buddha's miracle showing'.
3-r bogd, 3-r jewtsündamba khutagt, Ish dambii nyam	ye-shes bstan-pa'i nyi-ma	The 3rd jewtsündamba khutagt. Religious leader of Mongolian Buddhism living from 1758-1773.
3-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl	(dus chen)	Commemoration of the 3rd jewtsündamba khutagt, held on 21st of the last autumn month. Reading of praises.
4-r bogd, 4-r jewtsündamba khutagt, Luwsan tüwden wanchug jigmed jamts	blo-bzang thub-bstan dbang-phyug 'jigs-med rgya-mtsho	The 4th jewtsündamba khutagt. Religious leader of Mongolian Buddhism living from 1775-1813.
4-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl	(dus chen)	Commemoration of the 4th jewtsündamba khutagt, held on 16th of the middle winter month. Reading of praises.
5-r bogd, 5-r jewtsündamba khutagt, Luwsan tsültim jigmed dambii jaltsan	blo-bzang tshul-khrims 'jigs-med bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan	The 5th jewtsündamba khutagt. Religious leader of Mongolian Buddhism lived from 1815-1841.
5-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl	(dus chen)	Commemoration of the 5th jewtsündamba khutagt, held on 3rd of the first winter month . Reading of praises.
6 khangel		Ceremony in honour of the six wrathful deities. See khangel.

6-r bogd, 6-r jewtsündamba khutagt, Luwsan baldan jaltsan / Luwsan dambii jaltsan	blo-bzang dpal-ldan rgyal-mtshan / blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan	The 6th jewtsündamba khutagt. Religious leader of Mongolian Buddhism who lived between 1843-1848. During his short lifetime, the capital was situated in Tolgoit. His relics were kept in Dambadarjaalin monastery.
6-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl	(dus chen)	Commemoration of the 6th jewtsündamba khutagt, held on 20th of the first winter month. Reading of praises.
7-r bogd, 7-r jewtsündamba khutagt, Agwaan choiji wanchug prinlei jamts	ngag-dbang chos-kyi dbang-phyug 'phrin-las rgya-mtsho	The 7th jewtsündamba khutagt. Religious leader of Mongolian Buddhism who lived from 1849-1868 (or 1850-1870).
7-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl	(dus chen)	Commemoration of the 7th jewtsündamba khutagt, held on 12th of the middle winter month. Reading of praises.
8-r bogd, 8-r jewtsündamba khutagt, Agwaan luwsan choiji nyima danzan wanchug = Bogd khaan	ngag-dbang blo-bzang chos-kyi nyi-ma bstan-'dzin dbang-phyug,	The 8th jewtsündamba khutagt. Religious leader of Mongolian Buddhism living from 1870-1924. After the collapse of the Manchu empire, in addition to his religious role, he also became the political leader of the Mongolian state on 29 December 1911 bearing the title Bogd khaan ('saint khaan'). His reign (1911-1921) can be considered as the heyday of Mongolian Buddhism.
8-r bogdiin düitsen yerööl	(dus chen)	Commemoration of the 8th jewtsündamba khutagt, held on the 17th of the first summer month. Reading of praises.
9-r bogd, 9-r jewtsündamba khutagt, Jambal namdol choiji jaltsan	'jam-dpal nram-grol chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan	The 9th incarnation was officially recognized in Mongolia in 1991, though he was originally recognized in 1932 by the Reting Rinpoche in Tibet. He has been the leader of Mongolian Buddhists officially since 2011.
Adisha	mar-me mdzad, a-ti-sha	Atīśa (982-1054), the great Indian master, initiator of Kadampa (Tib. bka'-gdams-pa) Sect of Tibetan Buddhism). Also known as Jobo Atīśa (jowoo Adish, Tib. Jo-ba a-ti-sha)
adislaga	byin-rlabs	'blessing'. The ceremonial consecration of offerings, offering cakes, masks, robes, and other accessories (e.g. before the Tsam dance, or of the New Year's offering cakes).
ag	sngags	mantra, dhāraṇī, magic formula
agramba	sngags-rams-pa	Doctor of tantric or vajrayāna studies, name of a degree that can be obtained at tantric monastic schools, a learned scholar holding this degree.
agwa / awag = see also sanga	sngags-pa	Follower and practitioner of tantra. Tantric practitioner using magic formulas or mantras.
Agwa datsan = Awag datsan / Awga datsan = Akhu datsan	sngags-pa grwa-tshang	Tantric monastic school, monastic school specialized in tantric studies.
Agwaanbaldan = Linsrai gawj Agwaanbaldan	gling-bsre'i dka'-bcu ngag-dbang dpal-ldan	Linsrai gawj Agwaanbaldan, a famous Mongolian philosopher monk living between 1797-1864. Had been a tsorj of Ikh khüree between 1836-1847, also known as Erdene tungalag tsorj.
Agwaandorjiew	ngag-dbang rdo-rje	A famous Buryat monk living between 1853/54-1938, who obtained Ikhaaramba degree in Lhasa and became a tutor advisor of the 13th Dalai Lama. He founded a Buddhist monastery in Saint-Petersburg.

Agwaankhaidaw, khamba nomon/nomun khan = Jadariin khamba Agwaankhaidaw, Khamba nomun khan Agwaankhaidaw	ngag-dbang mkhas-grub	A famous khamba nomon khan living between 1779-1838, who was awarded the rawjambaa degree in Tibet. Also known as Jadariin ikh khamba Agwaankhaidaw, abbot of Jadar aimag. Wrote the most famous Tsam handbook used in Mongolia.
Agwaantüwden	ngag-dbang thub-bstan	A Mongolian monk scholar living in the 18-19th centuries, known also as Wangain rawjambaa.
aimag		1. Territorial unit, county or province of a country. 2. The residential district of a monastic city (usually with its own temple).
Akhu datsan = see Agwa datsan, Awag datsan / Awga datsan	sngags-pa? grwa-tshang	
alban tushaal		official position or rank
albanii choijin / goliin choijin	... chos-skyong	'official, main oracle' (used for the state oracle)
ald		A linear measure unit, 1 ald = 1.6 meter
Altan Ganjuur	bka'-'gyur gser-po	'Golden Ganjuur', Kanjur written in gold
Amarbayasgalant		Name of a monastery in Selenge aimag that was built at the initiation of the Manchu emperor in the 18th century in honour of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar. It housed the relics of Öndör gegeen and the 4th Bogd until the monastery destruction.
amban		Governor, the term literally meaning 'great' in Manchu. Until 1911 the Manchus were represented in Mongolia by ambans. Manchu and Mongol governors were appointed not only in Urga but also in Khowd, Uliastai, Khyagt, where Manchus and Chinese settled in colonies. Governors had to report to the Manchu emperor.
Andinmen khaalga / Amgalan enkhiin khaalga		'The gate of (eternal) peace'
Anduu / Amduu	a-mdo	Amdo, name of the north-eastern Tibetan province
Angi Shagdar, tsanid lowon	... phyag-rdor	Famous Mongolian monk living between 1869-1935, born in Gow' mergen wangiin khoshuu, Tüsheet khan aimag (present Dornogow' aimag, Saikhan dulaan sum). After teaching in Ölgii khiid, he became a teacher at Dashchoimbel datsan. Also known as Tzanid lowon.
arawnailakh / arawnai örgökh	rab-gnas	Consecration ritual of a new temple, a stūpa, a statue or a picture.
Ariun nandin shüteeniin süm		'the temple of the pure precious object of worship', name of one of the temples of Choijin lamiin süm.
artel'		Communal handicraft co-operative, established in the 1930-1950s in Mongolia.
Arwan khangal	bstan-bsrung	In Mongolian Buddhism the group of the ten wrathful deities protecting the Buddhist Teaching. Also the name of the ceremony performed in honour of them.
Ar'yaabal(a)	thugs-rje chen-po	'the great compassionate one', Āryapāla, Mahakaruōika, an epithet of Avalokiteśvara
Awag datsan / Awga datsan = see Agwa datsan, Akhu datsan	sngags-pa grwa-tshang	

Awid	'od-dpag-med	'Boundless light', Amitābha Buddha. One of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. His realm is called Sukhāvati (see the term Diwaajin).
Awidiin chogo	'od-dpag-med-kyi cho-ga	A ceremony aimed at clearing away all sins and praying for the deceased to take rebirth in the paradise of Amitābha Buddha.
awshig = wan	dbang	Initiation, empowerment, the term being derived from Sanskrit abhiṣeka. It means conferring the power or authorization to practice Tantric teachings.
Awtai khan, Awtai sain khan		A propagator of Buddhism, who lived between 1534-1589, founder of Erdene zuu, the first monastery in Mongolia. A descendant of Chinggis khan, Öndör geegen Zanbazar's great-grandfather.
Awtai sain khanii örgöö (Alag baiw) = Baruun örgöö		The palace of Awtai sain khan, which was situated west of the Yellow Palace in the capital city
Ayuush = Tsewegmed / Tsegmid	tshe-dpag-med	'Boundless life', Amitāyus, the Buddha of longevity, a form of Amitābha. He is depicted in red colour, holding a vase in his hand with the nectar (arshaan) of immortality.
Baatar beil = Büüwei baatar		One of the two Mongolian heroes Büüwei baatar and Shijir baatar, connected to Öndör geegen and Awtai sain khan. Also appears in Tsam dance.
Badamjunai = Lowon, Lowon Badamjunai	slob-dpon pad-ma 'byung-gnas	Padmasambhava, the 'Lotus Born Guru', also known as Guru Rinpoche. He lived in the 8th Century and introduced Buddhism to Tibet.
badar barikh		Asking for alms. The expression originated from Sanskrit pātra 'alms-bowl'.
badar khandiw	kha-'debs	Getting and giving alms and donations. The expression originated from Sanskrit pātra 'alms-bowl'
badarchin		Itinerant monk going on pilgrimages on foot. The expression originated from Sanskrit pātra 'alms-bowl', as these monks lived on alms.
Badma yogo datsan	padma yo-ga grwa-tshang	A kind of Gürem datsan where healing rituals were held. In Ikh khüree it was situated in Gandan.
baga		small, little, younger, junior, second/vice (like in: бага унзад, бага гесгүү (second chanting master, second disciplinary master))
Baga dom	sdom ?	'small festival', name of a ceremony connected to philosophical exam dates
baga lama		vice lama
Baga manal	(sman bla)	Short versioned ceremony in honour of the Medicine Buddha. See Manal.
Baldan lkhām = Lkhām = Ökin tenger	dpal-ldan lha-mo	'Glorious Goddess', Śrīdevī, one of the ten wrathful protector deities. Often used in Mongolian as Lkhām, in a shortened form.
Baldanchoimbol	dpal-ldan chos-'phel	A Tibetan lama who came to Bogdiin Khüree as a jawtūi lam of the Bogd. Later he became the yonzon khamba, the tutor of the Bogd. He bore the title khamba nomon khan from 1865-1899. His relics were kept in Yonzon khambiin süm in Bogdiin khüree and later placed to Choijiin lamiin süm.

balin = dorom	gtor-ma	Ceremonial offering cake or sacrificial offering cake/dough, the term is derived from the Sanskrit word bali.
balin(giin) adislaga	gtor-ma byin-rlabs	'offering cake consecration'. The consecration of the new offering cakes (changed yearly) held before the Lunar New Year.
bansha / wanshü	pan zhwa	yellow coloured paöḍita hat, a conical pointed hat
Bar' lam Damtsigdorj / Bragri lam (Damtsigdorj)/ Bragiriin geegen	brag-ri bla-ma dam-tshig rdo-rje	A great Mongolian monk and scholar living between 1781-1848, born in Gow' mergen wangiin khoshuu of Tüsheet khan aimag (present Dundgow' aimag, Saikhan-Owoo sum). He studied in Tibet as well as in Dashchoimbel datsan of Bogdiin khüree. Later he founded a monastery called Bragriin khiid on the bank of Ongiin River on the Rocky Mountain (khatat uul, Tib. brag-ri). Among his works is a famous work on Lamrim, entitled Pandelamsan.
Baraishir = Sosorbaram	so-sor 'brang-ma	Mahāpratisarā, name of a goddess
barga		An ethnic group living in the area of present East-Mongolia (Dornod aimag) and Inner Mongolia.
bariin khashaa	par ...	Printing courtyard, courtyard of the printing house
barkhan	par-khang	printing house
barmarawjin / barmarawjün	bar-ma rab-byung	pre-novice vow of a monk, intermediate renunciate
Baron Ungern von Sternberg		White Russian army leader, who aspired to the restoration of the monarchy in Russia. He came to Mongolia in 1920, and occupied the Mongolian capital city ruling Mongolia for a short period. He and his army were famous for their brutality. The Red army and the Mongol army then recaptured Khüree in July 1921, chasing out Ungern.
baruun		(of the) right-side, west(ern)
Baruun khüree	hu-re g-yon-pa	1. Western part of Ikh khüree, used also for Gandan; 2. Name of a monastery (also known as Shankh), founded by Öndör geegen around 1650, in the present Öwörkhangaï aimag, Kharkhorin sum.
Baruun örgöö = see Awtai sain khaniï örgöö (Alag baiw)		
Bat orshil (örgökh) = Danshig	brtan bzhugs	'firmly established', ceremony of longevity, blessing ceremony performed for high ranked lamas' long life
Bat tsagaan		'enormous white', name of the main assembly hall in Ikh khüree designed originally by Öndör geegen Zanabazar.
Bayanzürkh (uul)		'Wealthy heart (Mountain)', name of a holy mountain East of Ulaanbaatar.
Bazarsad = Dorjsembe	rdo-rje sems-dpa'	Vajrasattva. A white-coloured sambhogakāya buddha who embodies all of the five or hundred buddha families. He is also a support for purification practices.
Begtse = Jagon Jamsran = Jamsran = Ulaan sakhuis	beg-tse	Another name for Jamsran or the Red Protector, one of the 10 wrathful deities.
beil / beel		third level noble rank
beis / bees		forth level noble rank

Bereewen / Bereiwen	'bras-spungs	Drepung, one of the three main Tibetan Gelukpa monasteries in Tibet, and also the name of a Mongolian monastery in the present Khentii aimag.
Bernag Gombo / Bernag Makhgal	ber-nag mgon-po / mgon-po ber-nag-can	An aspect of Mahākāla 'with the black cloak', the main protector deity of the Karma Kagyüpa Sect.
bicheech		clerk, scribe
Bilgiin melmii		Title of a religious newspaper issued by Gandan monastery.
bilig baramid	shes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu phyin-pa	'Gone/arrived to the other shore', Prajñāpāramita, transcendent knowledge, the famous Mahāyāna teaching.
bitüün		30th or the last day of a lunar month, also the 30th day of the last winter month, the last day of the year before the Lunar New Year.
Biziya / Biz'ya = Jügder namjil / Jügdor namjil	gtsug-tor rnam-rgyal	Uāōāāvijayā, one of the goddesses of longevity
Biziyaagiin donchid / Biz'yaagiin donchid	gtsug-tor rnam-rgyal-gyi stong-mchod	thousandfold-offering to Biz'yaa. See Biziya and donchid.
Bod' möriin zereg = Lamrim	lam-rim	'gradual path' system introduced by Tsongkhapa, and the title of his main work. It means a gradual path to enlightenment.
bogd		'saint'. Also another title of the jewtsündamba khutagts, Tibetan Buddhism's third highest incarnation after the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, and the highest Buddhist dignitary in Mongolia.
bogd geegen		'glorious saint/saint brightness'. Another title of the jewtsündamba khutagts, Tibetan Buddhism's third highest incarnation after the Dalai and Panchen lamas, and the highest Buddhist dignitary in Mongolia.
Bogd khaan = 8-r bogd, 8-r jewtsündamba khutagt, Agwaan luwsan choiji nyima danzan wanchug		'saint khaan'. The title of the 8th jewtsündamba khutagt from 29 December, 1911. Till that time the Manchu emperor bore this title. For details see the term 8-r Bogd.
Bogd khaant üye		Name of the period 1911-1921, when the state was led by the religious and political leader, the Bogd Khaan (8th jewtsündamba khutagt)
Bogd lam = Zonkhov		an epithet of Tsongkhapa
Bogd lamiin chogo / Bogd (Zonkhov) lamiin chogo / Bogd lamiin düitsen yerööl / Bogd Zonkhoviin düitsen yerööl	bla-ma'i cho-ga	Ceremony in honour of Tsongkhapa, held at the anniversary of Tsongkhapa's death on the 25th of the first winter month. Prayers and benedictions were recited on that day. See also zuliin 25-n, Zonkhoviin düitsen, Zonkhoviin taalal bolson ödör.
Bogdiin khüree = Khutagiin khüree		'Monastic city of the Bogd', one of the old names of the Mongolian capital city
boipor	spos-phor	incense pot, bowl for burning incense
boitog		boots, usually for children
Bor örgöö = Khoid örgöö		'Brown Palace' or 'Rear Palace', name of a yurt palace that was once situated in Züün khüree behind the main assembly hall.
bumba = khumkh	bum-pa	Vase holding sacred water, used at ceremonies. Also a part (treasure-vase) of a stūpa.
bumbiin takhilga	bum-pa ...	Offering or meditative practise based on a vase.
burkhan		Buddha, buddha, Buddhist deity.

Burkhan bagsh		'Buddha master', a Mongolian name for Buddha Shakyamuni (BC 560-480).
Burkhan bagsh mendelsen khiigeed ilt tuulsan Burkhanii khutgiig olson, nirwaan düüriig üzüülsen ikh düitsen ödör	mngon-par byang-chub-pa'i dus-chen	One of the anniversaries or yearly festivals connected to the Buddha, held on the 15th or full moon of the first summer month. It celebrates three events of Buddha's life (his birth, his enlightenment and his death).
Burkhan bagsh tengeriin ornoos buuj irsen ödör = Lkhawaw(iin) düitsen	lha-las babs-pa'i dus-chen	'descending [of the Buddha] from the Gods' realm', name of a festival which is held on the 22nd of the last autumn month, one of the 'great days of Buddha' (Burkhan bagshiin düitsen). It is the anniversary of the day when Buddha descended from the god realms, where he had spent 90 days teaching and performing the Khailen retreat.
Burkhan bagsh(iin) (tersüüdiig nomkhotgon) rid khuwilgaan üzüülsen ikh düitsen ödrüüd = Choinpürel jon aa	cho-'phrul chen-po'i dus-chen	'The great festival days of Buddha's miracle showing', commemorating Buddha's defeat of the six masters, the holders of heretical doctrines, by mysterious methods including miracles. These ceremonies are held in the first 15 days of the Lunar New Year. See also Choinpürel molom yerööl / Ikh yerööl.
Burkhan bagshiin chogo = Tüwiin chogo	thub-pa'i cho-ga	Ceremony in honour of the Buddha, held on the great days of Buddha (see also Burkhan bagshiin düitsen ödör).
burkhan shüteen		object of worship
buryad		Buryat, ethnic group living in Khöwsgöl, Selenge and Khentii aimags of Mongolia and in the Buryat Autonomous territory (near Lake Baikal).
büreenii shat		wooden platform used for calling monks to the ceremonies
Büüwei baatar = Baatar beil		see Baatar beil
byasalgai		meditation, contemplation
chagchid	phyag-mchod	ritual for venerating, adoration
Chagdar khorchin / Chagdor khorchen	phyag-rdor 'khor chen, phyag-na rdo-rje 'khor-lo chen-po	Vajrapāñi with his attendants
Chagdün Jandin Seded	phyag stong spyang stong gdugs-dkar	'Sītātāpatrā with 1000 eyes and 1000 arms', an emanation of the goddess with the white umbrella (Seded, Tsagaan shükhert, Döger).
chaglan	phyag-len	performance, ritual tradition, spiritual practice
Chagsh Gombo	phyag bzhi mgon-po, mgon-po phyag bzhi-pa	the four-armed emanation of Mahākāla
Chagsh Janraiseg	phyag bzhi spyang-ras gzigs	the four-armed emanation of Avalokiteśvara
Chagsh Lkham	phyag bzhi lha-mo	the four-armed emanation of Śrīdevī
chawgants		old lady having basic Buddhist vows
Chidon = Nokhoin nüürt	khyi-gdong	'dog-faced'. The dog-headed spirit of Bayanzürkh Mountain. Also appeared in some types of Tsam dances in Mongolia.
chiigaa / chiigan, tugni mod		Pillars for flags, put up in pairs in front of a monastery gate.
chiigan = chiiga		
Chin		Manchu Qing (Ching) dynasty (1644-1911) reigned in China and governed also Mongolia until 1911.
chin wan		noble rank

Chingeltei (uul)		'Chingeltei (Mountain)', name of a mountain north of Ulaanbaatar
Chogar = Takhiliin бүжиг	mchod-gar	'offering dance', a kind of religious costumed meditative dance performed in Kālacakra monastic schools (Dechingalaw or Dūinkhor datsan).
chogo/ choga	cho-ga	ritual, ceremony, way of performance, collective name for certain kinds of bigger ceremonies.
Choibalsan, Kh.		Khorloogiin Choibalsan was the Communist leader of Mongolia from 1928 until his death in 1952. President of Mongolia between January 24, 1929 - April 27, 1930. Had the military rank of Marshal. The purges took place in Mongolia, following Stalin's order, under his leadership. They began with political and economic sanctions introduced during 1924-1937 and ended with the total suppression of religion, confiscation of all monastic property and mass executions of the monk body.
Choijal дүгжүү / Choijoo дүгжүү	chos-rgyal drug-bcu	'sixty to Choijoo', a kind of sacrificial cake offered to Choijoo, the Lord of Death.
Choiжил / Choijoo = Damjin Choiжил / Damjin Choijoo = Erlig nomun khaan / Erleg nomon khaan	chos-rgyal	Dharmarājā ('King of religion'), epithet of Erlig khaan or Yama, the "Lord of Death", one of the ten wrathful deities.
choijin	chos-skyong	Dharmapāla, 'protector of the Teaching'.
Choijin lam = Luwsankhaidaw	chos-skyong bla-ma	The younger brother of the 8th jewtsündamba khutagt who was the state oracle and interpreter of the Choijin protectors. Died in 1918.
Choijoo = see Choiжил	chos-rgyal	
Choijoo danrag	chos-rgyal gtang-rag	Thanksgiving offering in honour of Choijoo, the Lord of Death, consisting of three big sacrificial cakes and other offerings.
Choinjid dom	chos mdzad sdom (?)	Name of a ceremony connected to philosophical exam dates, Feast of Dharma practitioners (?) in the philosophical monastic school
Choinkhor дүүтсен = (Burkhan bagshiin) nomiin khүрд ergүүлсєн дүүтсен, nomiin khүрд ergүүлєkh	chos-'khor dus-chen	'Great day of the turning of the wheel of Dharma' commemorating the day when Buddha first preached the Dharma. It is held on the 4th of the last summer month, one of the four great days of Buddha (Burkhan bagshiin дүүтсен).
Choinпүрєл jon aa = Burkhan bagshiin (tersүүдиг номkhotgon) rid khuwilgaan үзүүлсєн их дүүтсен өдрүүд	chos-'phrul bco-lnga	'Fifteen miracles'. Ceremonies held in the first 15 days of the lunar new year, commemorating Buddha's defeat of the six masters, the holders of heretical doctrines, by mysterious methods including miracles. See also Choinпүрєл molom yerööl / Ikh yerööl.
Choinпүрєл molom yerööl = Ikh yerööl, see also Oroin yerööl	chos-'phrul smon-lam	Prayers of 'miracle showing', name of the ceremonies lasting for 15 days in the lunar New Year (first spring month) when sixty different texts are recited. They include the 32 eulogies (magtaal) and the six prayers (Zurgaan yerööl). See also Choinпүрєл jon aa = Burkhan bagshiin (tersүүдиг номkhotgon) rid khuwilgaan үзүүлсєн их дүүтсен өдрүүд.
choir (datsan)	chos-grwa (grwa-tshang)	philosophical monastic school

Choyionsün / Choyinsüren	chos dbyings gsung / bsrung	Name of a deity, 'the one protected by Dharmadhātu (ultimate sphere, field of reality)'
chombon / chowombo	mchod-dpon-po	'chief of offerings', offering master, a monk in charge of the offerings
Da khüree = Ikh khüree		'great or big monastic city', old name of Ulaanbaatar, the capital city of Mongolia
da lam/ daa lam		'great lama', attendant of the shanzaw. An administrative rank.
daamal (lam)		manager, responsible monk, an administrative rank
dagina = khand(maa)	mkha'-'gro	dākini in Sanskrit, see also khandmaa
Daichin khamba		'heroic abbot', a honorary title, daichin being a Mongolian word meaning 'hero' and khamba being a Tibetan word (mkhan-po) meaning abbot.
Daichin wangiin khüree / Wangiin khüree		Name of a large monastic city near the present centre of Bulgan aimag, ruined in the purges.
Daichüüd yerööl	?	name of a ceremony, exact meaning unknown
daj ergekh, daj ergütlekh	?	a kind of practice during the philosophical exam
Dalai lam / Dalai bagsh		Dalai Lama, the highest dignitary in Tibetan Buddhism. Spiritual and once political leader. The title meaning 'Ocean of wisdom' (dalai being a Mongolian word for sea, ocean) was given by the Mongolian Altan Khan to Sonam Gyatso in 1578, who became known as the 3rd Dalai Lama (his two earlier incarnations being recognized as the first two).
Dalai lamiin san		'treasury of the Dalai Lama', situated in Bogdiin khüree in a fenced-off area called Dalai lamiin sangiin khashaa. It was built for the 13th Dalai Lama in 1905 when he stayed in the khüree having fled from the invading British force to Lhasa led by Francis Younghusband.
Dalkhaa	dgra lha	deity of war, war god
Dalkhag Sanjin	?	name of a ceremony, exact meaning unknown
dallaga	g-yang-'gugs	ceremony, calling a given deity and performing an offering to him; (ritual for) summoning the forces of prosperity
Damdin (also used erroneously for Damjan / Damjin)	rta-mgrin	Hayagrīva, the horse-headed tutelary deity, wrathful aspect of Amitābha Buddha.
Damdin Sandüw / Damdin Sandow	rta-mgrin gsang-sgrub	Secret form of Hevajra, 'Hayagrīva secret sādhana'
Damdin Yansan = Yansan yadam	rta-mgrin yang-gsang (yi-dam)	A four-faced and six-armed tutelary deity with wings, and a horse-head in his hair, who is embracing his consort. He was worshipped by Padmasambhava, and is a main tutelary deity in Red Stream temples. Among the three main Gelukpa monasteries of Tibet, he is also the main tutelary deity in Sera and as such is worshipped in monastic schools following the manual book (igchaa) of Sera.
damjaa	dam-bca'	'vow, promise', see also the term damjaa barikh
damjaa barikh	dam-bca' ('phul)	taking an 'exam' to obtain a high rank (doctor) in any field of Buddhist studies (philosophy, tantic, medical and astrologic studies)
Damjan / Damjin (also written erroneously as Damdin) = Damjan Dorlig, Damjin garwanagwu	dam-can	'oath-bound-one, vow-holder, oath-bound protector', see Damjan Dorlig and Damjan garwanagwu.

Damjan / Damjin garwanagwu (also written erroneously as Damdin) = Damjan, Damjan Dorlig	dam-can mgar-ba nag-po	'The oath-bound black ironsmith', important emanation of Damjan Dorlig (Vajrasādhū). The black-coloured smith, protector deity of smiths, also worshipped at medical monastic schools. A blue coloured wrathful deity wearing a big round hat and riding a billy-goat.
Damjan Choijil / Damjan Choijil / Damjan Choijoo/ Damjin Choijoo (also written erroneously as Damdin Choijil) = Choijil / Choijoo / Erleg nomun khaan	dam-can chos-rgyal	see the term Choijil.
Damjan Dorlig / Damjin Dorlig (also written erroneously as Damdin dorlig) = Damjan, Damjan garwanagwu	dam-can rdo-rje legs-pa / dam-can rdor-legs	the oath-bound protector Vajrasādhū
damnuurchin = damnuurgachin		'Porter who carries the water pot on a pole', a word used for merchants as they carried their goods with them. Became a name for two merchant districts in Ikh Khüree, Baruun damnuurchin and Züün damnuurchin.
damnuurgachin = see damnuurchin		
Damtsigdorj = see Bar' lam (Damtsigdorj) / Bragri lam (Damtsigdorj)/ Bragiriin gegeen	brag-ri dam-tshig rdo-rje	
dan kheltsee	rtsod (?)	a kind of practice during the philosophical exam
Danag/ Darnag Shinjishid = Shinjishid = Jigjid	dgra-nag gshin-rje-gshed	'The sworn enemy of the lord of death or Yama'. Yāmāntaka.
Dandar agramba	bstan-dar sngags-rams-pa	Famous Mongolian monk, living between 1835-1915. He was the abbot (khamba) of Daichin wangiin khüree (present Bulgan aimag), living between 1835-1915.
Danjuur	bstan-'gyur	Tanjur, 'Translated treatises'. The collection of commentaries on the words of the Buddha (Ganjuur, Kanjur) in 225 volumes.
danrag	gtang-rag	thanksgiving offering
danshig = see bat orshil (örgökh)	brtan-bzhugs	
danshig naadam	brtan bzhugs-gyi ...	(Sport) festival held during the ceremony of longevity dedicated to the jewtsündamba khutagt or other high dignitary
Danshig(iin) khangel	brtan bzhugs-gyi ...	Ceremony in honour of the wrathful protectors, together with or at the time of Danshig.
Danzanrawjaa = Noyon khutagt Danzanrawjaa	bstan-'dzin rab-rgyas	As the fifth reincarnation of a Sakya saint, this famous incarnated monk (1803-1856) was the abbot of Khamriin khiid in the present Dornogow' aimag, the author of Tibetan-Mongolian bilingual poems, plays, founder of numerous monasteries in the Gobi, a monastic theatre, and a museum.
Dar' ekh = Dolma / Dulma/ Dulam	sgrol-ma	'Saviouress', Tārā, a female bodhisattva. The most famous are the Green and White Tārā and the group of the 21 Tārās. Dar' ekh is also the name of the text dedicated to her.
Dar' Ekhiin mandal shiwaa	sgrol-ma'i maóðala bzhi-ba	Name of a ceremony dedicated to Tārā, called 'The Four Maóðalas of Tārā'.
dariganga		Ethnic group living in Sükhbaatar aimag, the south-eastern part of Mongolia

darkhan		Honorable or privileged, saint, protected, thus used in honorary titles. Historically also meant people/subjects exempted from tax. Also has the meaning of blacksmith.
darkhan gesgüi		'honorable disciplinary master'. A high monastic rank, higher than ikh gegsüi (main disciplinary master).
darkhan lowon		'honorable master'. A high monastic rank.
darkhan unzad		'honorable chanting master'. A high monastic rank, higher than ikh unzad (main chanting master).
dartsag	dar lcog	prayer flag
Darwa/Darba bandid(a) geegen		Darwa bandida geegen, a famous incarnated lama was reborn 17 times, of which six times in Mongolia, the first of them born in 1637. The last Darwa bandida Agwaanchoinjirdondüw lived between 1870-1927. His monastery, Rashaantiin khüree, was situated in Sain noyon khan aimag, Mergen güinii khoshuu, present Khöwsgöl aimag, Rashaant sum.
Dash sojin	bkra-shis(-kyi) so-sbyong	auspicious fasting
Dashchiiraw (san)	bkra-shis char-'bebs(-kyi bsangs)	'incense offering to cause rainfall of auspiciousness', title of a text.
dashnyam	bkra-shis nyi-ma	'fortunate sun', a day/date considered very fortunate in the lunar calendar
Dashnyam arawnai	bkra-shis nyi-ma'i rab-gnas	Consecration ceremony held on the 'fortunate day'.
datsan	grwa-tshang	monastic school or temple with privileged position
Dawkhar yerööl		'Double prayer', name of a ceremony held on the Great day of Öndör Geegen (Öndör geegenii ikh düitsen ödör), on the 14th of the Lunar New Year ceremonies (14th of the first spring month). It commemorates the death of Öndör geegen.
dayaan		meditation, contemplation, derived from the Sanskrit word dhyāna
dayaanch		contemplative monk, the term being derived from Sanskrit dhyāna ('meditation').
Dechingalaw datsan / Dechingalwa datsan	bde-chen bskal-pa	'The period of Great Bliss/Happiness'. The name of the most important temple in the courtyard of the Yellow Palace of the Bogd in Ikh khüree, which is dedicated to the Kālacakra teachings.
ded khamba		vice abbot
deel		traditional Mongolian robe or gown
deg	sgrig	arrangement
deglem	sgrig lam	order, rule, discipline
demberel (yanlag junai)	rten-'brel (yan-lag bcu-gnyis)	the twelve aspects or links of interdependent origination or causation
Demchig / Demchog	bde-mchog	Cakrasaṁvara, one of the three main Yellow Stream tantras/tutelary deities
Demchig / Demchog lkhanaa = Lkhanaa demchog / demchig	bde-mchog lha lnga	the five deities of Cakrasaṁvara maṁḍala
Demchig garaw / Demchog garwu	bde-mchog dkar-po	a white form of Cakrasaṁvara
Dergediin khangal		Ceremony in honour of the wrathful protectors. Besides a bigger ceremony held by several participants Dergediin khangal is held by only a

		couple of appointed lamas.
Dewaajin	bde-ba-can	Sukhāvātī, Blissful Realm, the pure land of Amitābha Buddha
Dilow khutagt Jamsranjaw	... lcam-sring skyabs	The last reincarnation of Dilow khutagt (Tilopa khutugtu) who lived between 1884-1965. After being arrested and accused of spying for the Japanese at the beginning of the purges, he fled to Inner-Mongolia and then to the USA.
Diwaasambu / Dewaasambu / Dawaasambu	zla-ba bzang-po	the first king of the legendary kingdom of Shambhala, called Suchandra.
dodba/ doodba/ dudba /doodbii	bstod-pa	praise
dogshid = khangal / sakhius		protector fearful spirit, wrathful deity
Dolgornaljormaa	sgrol-dkar rnal-'byor-ma	'the White Tārā yoginī', name of a goddess
Dolma / Dulma /Dulam = see Dar' ekh	sgrol-ma	
Doloon nuur		'Seven Lakes', name of a lake/place in Inner-Mongolia, east of Mongolia
doloon tsorj	chos-rje bdun	board of religious affairs in Ikh khüree appointed by the jewtsündamba khutagt that was composed of the seven highest ranking monks: namely the head abbot (Khamba nomon khan), the vice abbot (Ded khamba) and the five Tsorj (all appointed by the jewtsündamba khutagt)
dom	sdom / ston-mo ?	vow' or 'feast, festival'
domiin damjaa	ston-mo'i dam-bca'	name of an exam in philosophical monastic schools, which can be taken after finishing the courses of Pramāṇa and Prajñāpāramitā
donchid	stong mchod	thousandfold-offering
donchid chagchid	stong mchod phyag mchod (?)	thousandfold-offering and salutation and worshipping
Dondogdulam = Ekh Dagina / Ulsiin Ekh Dagina		Name of the consort of the Bogd khaan who bore the following titles: Achlalt noyon given in 1890, Erdene tsetsen noyon in 1905 and Ulsiin Ekh dagina ('the mother dākini of the country') in 1911.
donir	don-gnyer	custodian of temple property
doorombo / dooramba	rdo-rams-pa	degree in philosophical studies which can be obtained at Labrang monastery, North-Tibet
dorbül nirdad /nirtad	gtor-'bul gnyer-gtad	A kind of sacrificial cake offering and entrust.
dordow / dordu / dordüw	gtor sgrub	Ceremonial cake offering
dorj lowon	rdo-rje slob-dpon	'vajra master', the highest rank or title of the head of a tantric monastic school
Dorjdagzal (toiwonagwa)	rdo-rje drag-rtal (khros-pa nag-po)	'Wrathful Vajra Power', 'the black wrathful one', deity: the wrathful form of Padmasambhava worshipped by the Karma Kagyü Sect
Dorjnamjim / Dorjnamjom	rdo-rje rnam-'joms	Vajravīdhārāṇa, 'The Vajra Conqueror'. A practice to this deity is for the removal of contamination and negativity. Also the name of a Mahāyāna sūtra.
Dorjpagam / Dorjpagma = Pagam	rdo-rje phag-mo	Vajravārāhī, 'Vajra Sow'. A sambhogakāya manifestation of the female buddha, Samantabhadri.
Dorjsembe = see Bazarsad	rdo-rje sems-dpa'	

Dorjshüg(den) = Shüg(den)	rdo-rje shugs(-ldan)	'Powerful/strong' or 'Vajra strong', name of a warrior protector deity, whose worship is forbidden by the Dalai Lama. He is still worshipped in a few Mongolian monasteries.
Dorjzodow / Dorjzodwa	rdo-rje gcod-pa	Vajracchedikā, 'Diamond-cutter', title of a Mahāyāna sūtra
dorom = see balin	gtor-ma	
dotood san		'inner treasury', a part of ikh san
dörwön Makhranz	rgyal chen (sde) bzhi	'Four Mahārājās', the direction kings, guardians of the four directions.
dörwön tsag		four seasons
dugan	'du-khang	shrine, temple, assembly hall
dugan büreekh	du-khang	Renovation of the temple.
duganch	'du-khang-pa	shrine keeper, shrine supervisor
Dugar / Düger = Tsagaan shükhert = Seded	gdugs dkar	Sitātapatrā, the goddess with the white umbrella who protects against obstacles
Dulwaa	'dul-ba	Vinaya, monastic 'discipline', one of the three parts of the Tripitaka.
duu tasrakhgüi khural		non-stop assembly (with continuous chanting)
Duwkhan / Töwkhön	sgrub-khang	dwelling for meditation practice, a building/cave or enclosure used for intensive meditation and practice, also the name of a hermitage, founded by Öndör geegen, situated in Öwörkhantai aimag
düdwa	bstod-pa (?)	praise (?)
Dügjüü	drug-bcu	'Sixty', a special sacrificial cake offering performed to Choijoo. See also Choijoo dügjüü.
Düinkhor	dus-'khor	Kālacakra, 'Wheel of time', name of a deity and a tantric system
Düinkhor datsan	dus-'khor grwa-tshang	monastic school for studying the Kālacakra tantric system
Düinkhoriin jinsreg	dus-'khor-gyi sbyin-bsreg	Kālacakra fire-offering
Düinkhoriin jüdwiiin / jüdbiin lam	dus-'khor-gyi rgyud-pa'i bla-ma	(Someone's) main Kālacakra tantra lama
Düinkhoriin mandal	dus-'khor-gyi dkyil-'khor	Kālacakra mañḍala
düitsen / düichen (ödör)	dus chen	'great day, festival day'. The special monthly and yearly ceremonies, held monthly on the 8th, 15th and 30th days of the lunar month. The yearly düitsens are the biggest Buddhist festivals.
dültsen / dültson	rdul-tshon	'coloured powder, colored stone dust', usually stands for dültsen jinkhor, coloured sand mañḍala
dültsen jinkhor düwchid	rdul-tshon dkyil-'khor sgrub mchod	offering of a coloured sand/powder mañḍala
Dünshag / Dünshig	ltung bshags	'Confessing downfalls', title of a text for confession of sins or downfalls.
Dürteddagwa / Dürtoddagwa	dur-khrod bdag-po	Citipati, Skeleton Lord(s) of the cemetery or burial sites, depicted in pairs.
düüreg		District. The six districts in Ulaanbaatar are: Sükhbaatar district, Bayanzürkh district, Bayangol district, Chingeltei district, Khan uul district, and Songino khairkhan district.
düwchin / tüwchin = ikh düwchin	grub chen	mahāsiddha, great accomplished one, yogin who has attained supreme siddhi power
Düzeichalba / Düzziichilba	bdud-rtsi dkyil-	'Amrita pooler', name of a wrathful deity

	ba/'khyil-pa	
Ekh dagina / Ulsiin Ekh Dagina = Dondogdulam		consort of the Bogd khaan, see Dondogdulam
Emch nariin datsan = Manba / Mamba datsan		'monastic school of the doctors'
emegtei lam		nun (getselmaa, gelenmaa) or women practitioner with genen vow. See also the terms ane, khandmaa.
Erdene shanzodwa / shanzaw	phyag mdzod-pa	Head of the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, which operated in the time of the khüree. Chief administrator of ecclesiastical property collected from the subordinated areas.
Erdene shanzodwiin yaam / Erdene shanzawiin yaam / Shanzawiin yaam / Saidiin yaam	phyag mdzod	Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs, which operated in the time of the khüree
Erdene zuu		The first monastery in Mongolia, founded by Awtai khan in 1586. It partly survived the purges and is situated in present Kharkhorin, Öwörkhangaï aimag. There is now an active temple and there is also a museum of religious artefacts. It is included in the UNESCO's list of World Heritage Sites.
Eregsümgombo / Rigsümgombo = Gurwan yazguurtiin itgel	rigs gsum mgon-po	Lords of the Three Families, the trinity of bodhisattvas: Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāñi.
Erlig (nomun) khaan / Erleg nomon khaan = see Damjin Choijil / Damjin Choijoo / Choijil / Choijoo		
ew towkhan	?	a kind of right of belonging to an aimag, connection between the <i>aimags</i> and corresponding countryside areas
gachin = khachin / khanchin	mkhan chen	'great scholar', great abbot, a high rank or title. The khachin lam of the jewtsündamba khutugtus was always appointed by the Panchen Lama, while his yonzon (spiritual teacher) was appointed by the Dalai Lama.
galiin takhilga	spyin-sreg(-gi cho-ga)	name of an annual ceremony, held mostly by the jas, see jinsreg
Gamgan' / Gamgaan'	?	Title of a text (the title is of Tibetan origin).
Gamin		Chinese Nationalist army of the Kuo-min-tang that came to Mongolia in 1919, and occupied the Mongolian capital city.
Gandan	dga'-ldan	1. Ganden monastery, one of the three main Tibetan Gelukpa monasteries, 2. Gandan monastery, the main monastic complex of Ulaanbaatar, centre of Mongolian Buddhism since 1838, once called Baruun khüree, 'western monastic complex' (of the old Ikh Khüree) 3. also a general term meaning monastery/Buddhist temple. See also Gandantegchenlin.
Gandanlkhawjaa / Gandanlkhawjamaa	dga'-ldan lha brgya-ma	'Hundred deities of Tuāita', title of a text, Guru yoga of Tsongkhapa.
Gandantegchenlin = Gandan	dga'-ldan theg-chen gling	Name of the main monastic complex in Ulaanbaatar (also called as Baruun khüree in the old times) which partly survived the purges and was reopened in 1944. Also the name of its main assembly hall (Tsogchin dуган), built in 1838.

		Short form is Gandan.
Ganesh (?)	bgegs-kyi rgyal-po	The king of the obstructing spirits, Gaṇeśa
ganjir	Tibetan transliteration: gan-ji-ra	Derived from the Sanskrit word gaṇjira, golden top ornament of a temple.
Ganjuur	bka'-'gyur	1. Kanjur. The canon of the words and teachings of Buddha in 108 volumes. 2. Name of a ceremony during which extracts or selected passages are read from every part of the 108 volumes of Ganjuur.
Ganjuur ergekh	bka'-'gyur ...	'Circumambulation of the Ganjuur'. A ceremonial event when volumes of holy texts are circulated around the town or an area or a whole aimag, on a vehicle or by people on foot.
ganzai	bskang-rdzas	'Articles of sacrificial offering, fulfillment offerings', a type of thanka composition.
garamba	bka'-rams-pa	one of the highest levels of philosophical degree
Garid = Khan Garid	khyung	Garuḍa, the mythical bird deity
gawj	dka'-bcu	'Ten hardships', academic degree in philosophical studies.
gawjiin damjaa	dka'-bcu'i dam-bca'	Exam to obtain the academic degree of ten hardships (gawj) in philosophical studies.
Gawsüm / Gawsümba	skabs gsum	'the three times', the initial words of an eulogy of Buddha written by Tsongkhapa
gazriin büjig = sagar	sa-gar	'Earth-dance', a kind of religious dance in honour of the local spirits
gegeen		'glorious, splendid', a great master, a title used in addressing some incarnate monks
gelen	dge-slong	bhikshu, fully ordained monk with 253 precepts
gelenmaa	dge-slong-ma	bhikshuni, fully ordained nun with 386 precepts
gelüg(ba/waa)	dge-lugs(-pa)	Geluk(pa), Yellow Stream of Tibetan Buddhism founded by Tsongkhapa (1357-1419). This stream became widespread and dominant in Mongolia in the 17th century.
Genden P.		Prime minister of Mongolia between 1932-37, born in 1895. He was executed in Moscow by the KGB in 1937 for refusing Stalin's orders to carry out the purges.
genen	dge-bsnyen	upāsaka, a Buddhist layman with 5 precepts
genenmaa	dge-bsnyen-ma	upāsikā, a Buddhist lay woman with 5 precepts
ger tugdum = tugdum / tügdem	thugs-dam	Yurt-palace, a palace housed in a yurt.
gergen	dge-rgan	'old master', title in an assembly.
Gesar / Gesar / Geser mergen khan = Guan di / Guan yin	ge-sar	1. Gesar, King of Ling (1038-1124), epic hero in Tibetan and Mongolian folk literature. Also title of the epos (epic poem) on him. 2. a Taoist God of War and a Chinese Buddhist protector deity. See Guan di. 3. In Mongolia the two figures are fused.
gesgüi / gebküi	dge-bskyos	disciplinary master or proctor. Rank in Buddhist monasteries.
getsel	dge-tshul	śramaṇera, novice monk, male novice, with 10 or 32 precepts

getselmaa	dge-tshul-ma	śramaṇerikā, female novice, with 10 or 32 precepts
gewsh	dge-bshes	'virtuous friend', high academic degree in philosophical studies
geyeg	dge-g-yog	assistant(s) of the disciplinary master
gol süm		main temple, central temple or assembly hall
golch		chanter, usually a group of monks with good voice who assist the unzads
goliin choijin = see albanii choijin		
Goman datsan	sgo-mang grwa-tshang	Gomang, one of the philosophical monastic schools in Drepung monastery, one of the three main Tibetan Gelukpa monasteries.
Goman igchaa = Günychin igchaa	sgo-mang yig-cha	monastic handbook or manual, written by a Tibetan polymath, Günychin jamiyaan shadaw
Gombo = Makhgal, Ikh khar	mgon-po (gur-gyi mgon-po)	Mahākāla, 'protector', one of the ten wrathful protector deities
Gombo gü	mgon-po gur	An emanation of Mahākāla, worshipped by the Sakyapas
Gombojaw, S.	mgon-po skyabs	Famous abbot between 1960-1980 of Gandan monastery with gawj degree also known as öwgön khamba ('old abbot').
gomboo lam	mgon-po bla-ma ? / dgon-pa'i bla-ma ?	"Speaker lama" who transmits the words of an oracle whose body is occupied by a deity.
Gonchoi lkhaa süm / Gonchoo lkhaa süm / Gonchoi lkham süm	mgon chos lham gsum	The summmary name for three of the ten protectors: Gombo (Mahākāla), Chojoo (Yama) and Lkham (Śrīdevī).
Gonggor Namsrai	mgon dkar nram-sras	Name of a ceremony held in honour of Sitamahākāla and Vaiśravaṇa/Kuvera
Gongor = Tsagaan Makhgal	mgon dkar	Sitamahākāla, the White Mahākāla, one of the ten wrathful protector deities.
gonkhon / gonkhon süm	mgon-khang	'protector's temple', temple or chapel for the worship of the fierce protector deities, usually attached to the main temple on the north, where you can enter from the main hall or a separate temple for their worship.
goroo	skor	'Circumambulation, circumambulate', also the road or path around a monastery/ temple for circumambulation.
Gowiin lkhaa	go-ba'i lha	patron or guardian deity
Gowiin lkhanaa	'go-ba'i lha lnga	the group of the five patron deities
Guan di / Guan yu = see also Geser		a Taoist God of War, also respected by Chinese Buddhists as a Dharma protector. He was a historical person named Zhang (162-220 CE), who changed his name into Guan (Guan di being the honorific name of Guan yu) and became a renowned general in the Three Kingdoms Period. He was accepted by a Ming Dynasty Emperor as the God of War and Protector of China. Guan di is portrayed as a tall giant with a long beard, wearing full armour. When the Manchu dynasty was established, the spirit of Guan di was invoked to lend his spiritual power to help the new dynasty defeat all their enemies and to expand their territory. In Mongolia several monasteries were founded to worship him with the name Geser süm. See also Geser / Gesar, as the two figures became fused in Mongolia.

Gurudeva rinpoche		A highly esteemed monk of Inner-Mongolian origin who contributed greatly to the revival, restoration and reopening of temples in Mongolia. Currently he is in conflict with the Dalai Lama over the worship of a deity, Shügden, banned by the Dalai Lama.
gurwan aimag saw	sde snod gsum	Tripitaka, the Buddhist Canon, consisting of three parts, Vinaya Piṭaka, Sūtra Piṭaka, and Abhidharma Piṭaka.
Gurwan Gürem = Gürem namsum	sku-rim rnam gsum	'Three kinds of protective rites', title of a text, or, most probably, collective name for three texts.
Gurwan yazguuriin itgel = Rigsümgombo / Eregsümgombo = Tsedewgombo	rigs gsum mgon-po	Lords of the Three Families, the trinity of Bodhisattvas: Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi.
Gurwiin khural		'threefold ceremony', reciting of three texts, also name of a temple in Züün Khüree
Güjir khamba/khambo / Güdjir khamba	sku bcar mkhan po	One of the titles given to the State Oracle, Choijin lam Luwsankhaidaw. Literally means 'personal attendant monk of a great man, servant retinue, he who sits in company of the grand lama'.
Gümbüm	sku-'bum	Name of a famous Yellow Sect monastery in North-Tibet (Amdo), east of Lake Kukunor.
gün		noble rank
Gün-aa chogo	sku lnga cho-ga	'ceremony of the five kings or Buddhas' (see Tawan khan).
Günchin igchaa = see Goman igchaa	kun-mkhyen yig-cha	
Günchin Jamiyaan shadaw	'jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa	Tibetan polymath living between 1648-1721, author of a philosophical handbook, used originally in Gomang monastic school of Drepung monastery
Günchoinmü(?)	?	everyday reading in philosophical monastic schools.
gündaa	sku-'dra	statue, image
Günreg / Güngereg (Nambarnanzad)	kun-rig(s) (rnam-par snang-mdzad)	'the all-knowing/omniscient (and completely illuminating)', Sarvavidyā Vairocana, a form of Vairocana Buddha. Günreg is also the name of a ceremony performed for the deceased.
Gürdagwa	gu-ru drag-po	'Wrathful guru', name of a protector depicted with a vajra and a scorpion.
gürem	sku-rim	Healing ceremony, religious service, a protective prayer-ritual for the sake of long life, prosperity etc.
Gürem datsan / Gürmiin datsan / Gürmiin dugan	sku-rim grwa-tshang	Temple for healing ceremonies.
Gürem namsum = see Gurwan gürem	sku-rim rnam gsum	
Gürgül (lkham)	rig byed-ma / ku-ru kul-li/le	Kurukullā goddess, a red female deity, a manifestation of Tārā.
Gürtembe	sku rten-pa	'man possessed of deity', A term used for oracles, whose bodies during invocations are occupied by different protectors and who communicate their pronouncements. (On the State Oracle of Mongolia see the term Choijin lam.) The Tibetan term also means 'body support, body representation, holder or receptacle of the person himself, image of deity'.
güür		bridge

igchaa / igcha	yig-cha	Handbook for philosophy, written by different eminent Tibetan scholars.
ikh		big, main, great
Ikh arawnai = Dashnyam arawnai	rab gnas	'Great consecration', name of a consecration ceremony held in Gandan on a fortunate day (3rd of the first autumn month).
Ikh bod' möriin zereg = Bod' möriin zereg/ Lamrim	lam-rim chen-mo	'The detailed gradual path', longer or more detailed version of Tsongkhapa's main work
ikh düwchin = see düwchin / tüwchin	grub chen	
ikh jas		The main financial unit of a temple or monastery.
Ikh khüree = Da khüree	hu-re chen-mo	'Great monastic city', one of the names of the old Mongolian capital, old name of Ulaanbaatar.
ikh lama		chief lama
Ikh Manal	sman-bla chen-mo	Ceremony in honour of the Medicine Buddha, usually held on the 8th day of the lunar month in Mongolian temples.
Ikh Sakhius		'Great protective', name of a vast ceremony in honour of the wrathful protectors
Ikh sakhiusnii nindob	snying stobs (?)	probably a meditational practice
Ikh sakhiusnii tügden	thugs ?	probably a meditational practice
ikh san		'Great Treasury', the main treasury of the jewtsündamba khutagt. It was of two parts: the dotood san (inner) and the gadaad san (outer) san.
ikh shaw'		'Great shaw'', areas and people who were subordinated directly to the jewtsündamba khutagt himself and his ecclesiastical estate.
ikh yan(gaar)	dbyangs chen	'(With) great melody, tune', characteristic of certain important ceremonies when the texts are recited in a more melodious way than usual.
Ikh yerööl = Choinpürel molom yerööl, see also Oroin yerööl	smon-lam chen-mo	'Great prayers', name of the ceremonies held on the first 15 days of the lunar New Year (first spring month) with sixty different texts, like the 32 eulogies (magtaal) and the six prayers (Zurgan yerööl) recited. See also Choinpürel jon-aa / Burkhan bagshiin (tersüüdiig nomkhotgon) rid khuwilgaan üzüülsen ikh düitsen ödrüüd.
Itgel = Jawduu / Jawdoo	skyabs-'gro	'taking refuge, going to refuge', name of a main Buddhist prayer.
Jadamba (jödamba)	brgyad stong-pa	Eight thousand verses (of Prajñāpāramitā)
Jadar = Jidar / Jiddar	kye('i) rdo-rje / kye-rdor	Hevajra, main tutelary deity worshipped mainly by the Sakyapas.
Jadaraslasai Maidariin san	? bsang	Exact meaning unknown. Probably a smoke-offering in honour of Maitreya.
Jadariin khamba Agwaankhaidaw = see Agwaankhaidaw, Khamba nomun khan Agwaankhaidaw		
Jagarmolom	rgya-gar smon-lam	A Mongolian monk who studied and practiced in India and Tibet in the 1800s. He founded the first Zod assembly in Ikh Khüree, after returning from Tibet and India where he went on foot, and spent twenty years. He meditated a great deal and is said to have achieved siddhi power. The tantric lineage introduced by him to Mongolia is called Jagarmolomiin jüd or Lawran jüd.

Jagarmolomiin jüd = Lawran jüd	rgya-gar smon-lam-kyi rgyud	One of the three main tantric lineages (jüd) in Mongolia. It was introduced to Mongolia by Jagamolom who brought it from the Zod practicers of Lawran monastery in Tibet.
Jagon Jamsran = Jamsran, Ulaan sakhuis	skyabs mgon ? lcam-sring	Begtse, the 'savior and protector' (?). Epithet of Begtse, the Red Protector.
jakhar	lcags-mkhar	'Metal palace' of Choijoo, the Lord of Death (Yama). It is prepared and ritually burnt during the Tsam dances.
jalba / jalwaa	rgyal-po	king, ruler
Jalba senge aro / Jalba sengiin ar(o) = Senge aro / Sengiin aro / Senggera / Senggiin araw	rgyal-ba seng-ge'i nga-ro	'victorious lion's roar', name of a buddha
Jalkhanz lamiin düitsen yerööl	rgyal-khang-rtse bla-ma'i dus-chen	Commemoration of Jalkhanz khutagt, held on 9 th of the middle summer month
Jalsrai gegeen = see Lkhokh Jalsrai gegeen / Lkhakh Jalsrai Galsan Tüwden Jigjid gegeen		
Jaltsaw je	rgyal-tshab rje	One of the two main disciples of Tsongkhapa, living between 1364-1432.
Jalwajamts / Jalwaajamts / Jalbajamts	rgyal-ba rgya-mtsho	'Ocean of the Victorious ones', a form of Avalokiteśvara.
Jamiyaanchenzeebambuu	`jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse dbang-po	1820-1892, one of the most eminent Tibetan masters of the 19th century. His practice was introduced to Mongolia by Jagarmolom. Pronounced in Tibetan as Jamyang Khyentse Wangpo.
Jamiyaansün	`jam-dbyangs bsrung	'protected by Mañjuśrī'. Name of a tutelary deity.
Jambaa = Maidar	byams-pa	The Loving One. Maitreya, the Bodhisattva residing presently in the Tuāita heaven before coming to this world as the next Buddha.
Jambalan norjib	?	name of a ceremony. Exact meaning unknown.
Jambaliin bumba	byams-pa'i bum-pa	vase meditation practice of Maitreya
Jambiin chogo	byams-pa'i cho-ga	ceremony in honour of Maitreya (Maidar, Jambaa), the future Buddha. See also Maidar ergekh.
Jamchoi derna	byams chos sde lnga	'Five Treatises of Maitreya', read during the ceremony dedicated to the future Buddha, Maitreya (see Maidar ergekh, Jambiin chogo). These Maitreya teachings were transmitted by Asaōga (thogs-med).
Jamsran = Ulaan sakhuis = Begtse	lcam-sring	'sisters', 'brother and sister'. Another name of Begtse or the Red Protector, one of the 10 wrathful deities, the chief protector of Mongolia.
Jamsrangiin danrag	lcam-sring-gi gtang-rag	thanksgiving offering to Begtse, the Red Protector
jandag	sbyin-bdag	donor, sponsor, patron, alms-giver
janjin		jiangjun in Chinese, vice general, a military rank
Janraiseg = Migjid Janraiseg = Khonsüm / Khonshim bodisad	spyen-ras-gzigs	Avalokiteśvara, the Bodhisattva of Compassion, who 'sees all directions'.
Janraisegiin magtaal	spyen-ras-gzigs-kyi bstod-pa	'eulogy of Avalokiteśvara'
jao / jio		a kind of financial unit like jas, but smaller than that
Jarankhashar / Jarun khashor	bya-rung kha-shor	Boudhnath Stūpa, a special type of stūpas with painted eyes in its middle part, designed after the Boudhnath Stūpa of Nepal in the Kathmandu

		Valley
jas	spyi-gsog	financial, administrative unit, public accumulation / reserves that belonged to the individual temples
jasaa		A monk or a group of monks who perform the reading of texts requested by individuals. Also the readings performed by them. See also nom unshuulakh / nom ailtgakh.
Jasaa Arwan tawnii khural		Ceremony on the 15th of the monks held by the Jasaa.
Jasaa arwanii Sendom		Ceremony in honour of Siōhamukhā on the 10th, held by the Jasaa
Jasaa Döröwt		Jasaa ceremony, held by four monks
Jasaa ikh Ganjuur		Name of a special Ganjuur ceremony entitled 'the great Jasaa Ganjuur', presently held only in Gandan monastery.
Jasaa Jambiiin choga	... byams-pa'i cho-ga	Name of a Jambiiin chogo ceremony in honour of Maitreya, the future Buddha, presently held only in Gandan monastery.
Jasaa Khoriiin khural		ceremony lasting for 20 days, held by the Jasaa
Jasaa khural		Any ritual when the texts requested by individuals are recited. See also nom unshuulakh / nom ailtgakh.
jasaa lam		The lama who performs the reading of texts requested by individuals. It can be a single lama or a group of two or four lamas. See also nom unshuulakh / nom ailtgakh.
Jasaa Naimat		Jasaa ceremony, held by eight monks
Jasaa Sariin khural		ceremony lasting for a month, held by the Jasaa
jawdan	'jab-gdan	Low bench for monks in the temples, originally a soft rug made of wool, now jawdan means the bench itself, usually painted red and with a rug on it.
jawtüi	byabs-khrus	purifying liturgy
jawtüi lam	byabs-khrus-kyi bla-ma	The monk who performs purifying liturgies. The jewtsündamba khutagt's jawtüi lamas arrived from Tibet. The most famous of them were the jawtüi lamas of the 8th bogd, Baldanchoimbel and Luwsankhaimchog in order. Both became yonzon khamba, and bore also the khamba nomon khan title.
Je / Ji yawsrai süm / Je yawsras süm	rje yab sras gsum	Tsongkhapa (1357-1419) and his two disciples Khaidüw Je and Jaltsaw Je.
jewtsün	rje-btsun	'Saint, venerable, sage'. A honorific term or title of revered teachers and great monks.
jewtsün Darnad = Jonon Darnad	... kun snying	Tārānātha, a famous writer and historian, living from 1575-1634, one of the last great representatives of the Tibetan Jo-nang-pa sect, reborn in Mongolia as Öndör gegegen.
jewtsündamba khutagt = bogd = bogd gegegen	rje-btsun dam-pa	'Saint lord', another title of the bogds or bogd gegeens, Tibetan Buddhism's third highest incarnation after the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, and the highest Buddhist dignitary in Mongolia, the religious leader of Mongolian Buddhism.
Jidar / Jiddar = see Jadar	kye('i) rdo-rje	

Jigdor jüden-aa / Jigdor jüden-ee = Jüden-aa / Jüden-ee	kye-rdor rgyud sde lnga	The five deities of Hevajra maóðala.
Jigjid (see also Danag Shinjishid / Darnag Shinjishid / Shinjishid)	'jigs-byed	Bhairava, the 'Terrifying', epithet of Yāmāntaka, one of the three main Yellow Stream tantras/deities, one of the ten wrathful protector deities.
Jigjidiin chogo	jigs-byed-kyi cho-ga	Ceremony in honour of Yāmāntaka
jinkhor	dkiyl-'khor	Maóðala. A symbolic representation of a deity's abode with its surrounding environment. A maóðala offering is symbolically the offering of the entire universe.
jinsreg	sbyin-sgreg	Fire-offering, the ritual burning of different types of food and other precious offerings.
joch / jodoch = zoch / zodoch	gcod-pa	A monk (either a man or a woman) practicing the tantric ritual of cutting the ego-clinging called Zod in Mongolian.
jodkhan	mchod-khang	shine room, shrine, chapel
Jonon Darnad = jewtsün Darnad	jo-nang-pa kun snying	Tārānātha, a famous writer and historian, living from 1575-1634, one of the last great representatives of the Tibetan Jo-nang-pa Stream, reborn in Mongolia as Öndör gegegen.
Joroo	?	Ceremony of monastic schools. Exact meaning unknown.
jorwon / jorwan = zindaanii akhlagch	skyor-dpon	Leader of a monastic class ('rehearsal teacher').
Joshi dom= Jüshii dom	?	A feast held in monastic schools. Exact meaning unknown.
juuz		sedan chair of a ranked person
jüd	rgyud	tantra, lineage, the tantric or Vajrayāna teachings
Jüd datsan	rgyud grwa-tshang	Tantric monastic school
Jüdenaa / Jüdenee = Jigdor jüden-aa / Jigdor jüden-ee	rgyud sde lnga	The five deities of [Hevajra] maóðala.
jüdwiin / jüdbiin lam	rgyud-pa'i bla-ma	tantra lama, the monk who transmitted/transmits a tantric tradition
Jügder		Artist/painter of the Bogd khaan, who painted the famous picture of the khüree in 1913
jügder = banzai	gtsug-tor	Uāóĩāā, prominence above the crown of the head. See also banzai.
Jügder namjil / Jügdor namjil = see Biziyaa	gtsug-tor rnam-rgyal	
Jüshii dom= Joshi dom	?	A feast held in monastic schools. Exact meaning unknown.
khaan		king, emperor
khachin / khanchin = see gachin	mkhan chen	
Khachin bagshiin düitsen yerööl		commemoration for the khachin, held on 7th of the middle winter month
khadag	kha-btags	Ceremonial silken scarf, mainly blue coloured in Mongolia (while white in Tibet), but exists in five colours for different purposes with different symbolic associations
Khaidüw je	mkhas-grub rje	One of the main disciples of Tsongkhapa, living between 1385-1438

Khailen = Yar khailen	khass-len	'Oath-taking', the annual summer retreat period of monks, in which gelen and getsel monks take part, and which lasts for 45 days from the 15th of the last summer month. Held only in monasteries with at least four gelens. During this period they confirm their vows, confess their possible mistakes and amend their negative actions. The practice originates from Buddha, who practiced Khailen in the Realm of the 33 Gods. It also has roots in the old tradition of the confinement or retreat of monks in India for the wet summer months, the original cause of which was to spend the rainy period in a retreat with the additional aim of avoiding any accidental killing of insects. Originally, it lasted for three months.
khais		fence
Khajid	mkha'-spyod, mkha'-la spyod-pa	'sky traveler', dākini. Sometimes stands for Narkhajid (see there). Also means celestial pure lands, the realm Khecara, the Buddhafield of Vajravārāhi.
Khajidiin chogo	mkha'-spyod-kyi cho-ga	'The ceremony of the dākinis', usually held on the 10th and on the 25th of the lunar month.
Khajidiin jankhar dülsen	mkha'-spyod-kyi dkyil-'khor rdul-tshon	Coloured sand-maóðala of Narkhajid dākini.
khalkh		the main ethnic group of Mongolia
khamba	mkhan-po	abbot, head of a monastery
khamba nomon khan / khamba nomun khan		Head abbot of Bogdiin khüree. The first monk holding this rank was nominated by Öndör geegen Zanabazar. There were 21 khamba nomon khans up to 1937.
Khamba nomon khan Agwaan (Luwsan) khaidaw = see Agwaankhaidaw, Jadariin khamba Agwaankhaidaw		
Khan Garid = see Garid		
Khand	mkha'-'gro	sky-goer/ dancer, often for khandmaa (mkha'-'gro-ma, feminine sky-goer, dākini)
Khand chogo = Khajidiin chogo	mkha'-'gro'i cho-ga	'The ceremony of the dākinis', usually held on the 10th and on the 25th of the lunar month.
Khand tseejüü/ tseijüü	mkha'-gro tshes bcu	The tenth (day) of the dākinis', celebration of the dākinis held in Red Stream temples on the 10th or 25th of the lunar month.
khandiw	kha-'debs	donation
khandmaa	mkha'-'gro-ma	'dākini, feminine sky-goer'. Also used for female practitioners (not ordained nuns) with long hair.
khangal = Sakhius / dogshid		Wrathful deity, protector spirit. In Mongolian Buddhism the group of the ten wrathful deities protecting the Buddhist Teaching is specially worshipped. Also the name of the ceremony performed in honour of them. See also Arwan khangal.
Khansh neej ödör		The day of commemorating the dead in Mongolia. People visit the cemeteries and place food offering on the graves, ceremonies are also performed by monks.
khantsan	khang tsan	smaller regional section in a monastery
Khar tokhoin am		Name of the Tuul River valley at Gachuurt on the North-East of Ulaanbaatar

kharanga	mkhar rnga	gong
kharchuud		laypeople
khashaa		fenced-off yard, fence
Khashin khaan	hwa-shang rgyal-po	Figure of a donor and protector of the Teaching who appears in the Tsam religious dance. He represents the Manchu emperor, Kang-xi (17 th century), who supported the dissemination of the Yellow Stream tradition of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia.
khelmeḡdūülelt(iin üye) = uls töriin khelmeḡdūülelt		'(the era of) political persecution (from the 1920s to around 1940), resulting in the arrest and execution of around 17,000 monks and thousands of other 'counter-revolutionaries', that is, intellectuals like politicians, writers, thinkers, scientists and teachers.
Khengeregiin süm		'shrine housing the drum'
khia	sku-srung	guard, escort or adjutant
khiid		monastery, originally built in a remote and isolated area
Khiimoriin san / Lündai san	rlung-rta'i bsangs	'incense offering for spiritual strength', title of a famous incense offering text (san) written by Öndör geḡeen Zanabazar. It is also known as Madjün jinlaw (Tib. rmad-byung byin-rlabs), after the initial words of the text.
Khoid örgöö = Bor örgöö		'Rear palace' or 'Brown Palace'. Name of a yurt palace that was once situated in Züün Khüree behind the main assembly hall.
khonkh		bell, a ritual implement
Khonkhonii süm		'shrine housing the bell'
Khonsüm / Khonshim bodisad = see Janraiseg		
khoro		territorial unit, living quarter, townhouse section, usually translated as district or microdistrict
khorooolol = raion		District, but different from düüreg (which is also usually translated as district, but are larger areas). Khorooolols mark the areas of Soviet-type housing estates, and are referred to by numbers. Equivalent of the Russian-origin term raion, which is rather out of use now.
khoshuu / khushuu		territorial unit, division of a county
khökh malgaitan = khuushaan		'with blue hat', Chinese Buddhist monk, he-shang in Chinese
khumkh = see bumba		
khural		1. assembly, congregation 2. gathering, ceremony
khurliin süm		place of the assembly, temple for holding ceremonies
khutagt		'saint, majesty, dignified', a class of high Buddhist incarnate priests in Mongolia
Khutagtiin khüree = see Bogdiin khüree		
khuuchin khural / khuuchin nomiin khural		'The old ceremonies'. Name of the three day Sakhuis ceremony to the wrathful deities held before the Lunar New Year (last winter month 27-29th).
khuuchin yan	dbyangs rnying	old melody (of chanting)
khuushaan = khökh malgaitan		he-shang in Chinese, Chinese Buddhist monk
khuwilgaan	sprul-sku	'emanation', reincarnation, incarnate lama

khüree		monastic city, monastic town or monastic camp, arranged around a monastic complex (khüree also means circle, enclosure)
khüree deg	... sgrigs	A kind of monastic city arrangement, 'arrangement in circle', i.e. the dwellings and temples being arranged in a circle or U-shape facing south around the main assembly hall of a monastic complex.
khüree tsam		A special Mongolian type of the masked ritual dance, Tsam. It got its name after the Mongolian capital of the time, Bogdiin khüree or khüree, or, according to some, from the fact that the dancers danced in a circle (khüree in Mongolian means circle or enclosure, and also monastery).
Khüükhen khutagt		'The young lady khutagt', an incarnated monk, who got his name after his appearance, that is, his female facial features and long hair. Had his monastery in Khentii aimag, Ömnödelger sum.
Khüükhen khutagtiin jüd		The tantric lineage introduced to Mongolia by Khüükhen khutagt.
Khüükhen khutagtiin khiid		Monastery of the 'Young lady khutagt', which was located in the present Khentii aimag, Ömnödelger sum and was ruined in the purges.
Khüükhen noyon		'The Noble Young Lady', Öndör gegeen's wife
Künz bogd		Confucius, Kong-tse
lagoi	bla-gos	'upper robe', a yellow coloured upper robe, a big shawl worn only by gelen monks
lal'	kla-klo	Mohammedan (the Tibetan root word originally means barbarian or savages)
lam	bla-ma	Monk, lama. In Tibet, it is used for only highly realised spiritual teachers, but in Mongolia for any member of an assembly (gelen, getsel, genen or barmarawjin).
lam nariin artel'		communal handicraft co-operatives where ex-monks were forced to work from the 1920-30s on
Lamchoinzad dom = Choinjid dom	(bla-ma) chos mdzad ston-mo	Name of a ceremony connected to philosophical exam dates
Lamiin chodow / chodwa	bla-ma'i mchod-pa	'Offering to the master', Gurupūjā, ceremony for Tsongkhapa, the teachers and masters who transmit the Buddhist Teaching
Lamiin chodwiin tsogchid	bla-ma'i mchod-pa'i tshogs-mchod	Gurupūjā (offering to the masters) with a feast offering or accumulation of offerings (tsogchid, gana puja).
Lamrim = Bod' möriin zereg	lam-rim	'gradual path' system introduced by Tsongkhapa, and the title of his main work. It means a gradual path to enlightenment.
Lamrim datsan	lam-rim grwa-tshang	Monastic school specialized on the study of the 'Gradual path'.
lan		weight measure unit, Chinese uncia, 1 lan = 37,3 g
lawran / lawiran	bla-brang	1. palace, residence, 2. Labrang, a famous Yellow Stream monastery in Northern-Tibet, Amdo
Lawran jüd = see Jagarmolomiin jüd	bla-brang rgyud	
Lingseb	gling-gseb	lowest of the four grades of geshe
Linsrai gawj Agwaanbaldan = see Agwaanbaldan	gling-bsre'i dka'-bcu ngag-dbang dpal-ldan	

lkhaaramba	lha-rams-pa	the highest philosophical degree that could only be granted in Lhasa, once a year during the Lunar New Year
lkhadin	lha-steng	'Monastery'. Also was the name of a 10 meters high five-storey stūpa-temple (Lkhadin sūm) in Karakorum (the Mongolian capital from 1220). It was started under Öödei khaan (reigned between 1241-1246) and finished in 1256 under Mönkh khaan.
Lkham = Ökin tenger = see Baldan lkham	lha-mo	
Lkham Shaljirmaa	lha-mo zhal sbyor-ma ? / lha-mo zhal 'gyur-ma ?	Name of a goddess
Lkhanaa demchog / demchig = see Demchog / Demchig lkhanaa		
Lkhawaw(iin) düitshen = Burkhan bagsh tengeriin ornoos buuj irsen ödör	lha-las babs-pa'i dus-chen	'descent [of the Buddha] from the gods' realm', name of a festival which is held on the 22nd of the last autumn month, one of the 'great days of Buddha' (Burkhan bagshiin düitsen). It is the anniversary of the day when Buddha descended from the god realms, where he had spent 90 days teaching and performing the Khailen retreat.
Lkhawawiin dom	lha-las babs-pa'i ston-mo	'festival of (Buddha's) descent from the god realms', name of a ceremony connected to philosophical exam dates
Lkhokh Jalsrai gegegen / Lkhakh Jalsrai Galsan Tüwden Jigjid gegegen = Jalsrai gegegen	? rgyal-sras (bskal-bzang thub-bstan 'jigs-byed)	Tibetan Yellow Stream master of the 4 th jewtsündamba, was also the main Kālacakra tantra lama of the 4th jewtsündamba and the 8th Dalai Lama.
Logiishurai = Logshir Janraiseg	jig-rten dbang-phyug	Lokeśvara 'the protector of the world', a form of Avalokiteśvara, Logiishurai or Logshir being the Mongolian form of the Sanskrit term Lokeśvara.
Logshir Janraiseg = see Logiishurai		
Logshiriin wan	dbang	initiation to the cult of Lokeśvara
loilan / loilon	blos bslangs	relief maṣḍala for meditation
Losalin	blo-gsal gling	Losel Ling, one of the monastic schools of Drepung monastery.
Losalin igchaa = Wanchin igchaa	blo-gsal-gling-gi yig-cha	Philosophical handbook or manual used in certain monastic schools, written by a Tibetan polymath, Wanchin Sodnomdagwa (Tib. pan-chen bsod-nams grags-pa, 1478-1554), which were originally used in Losalin monastic school of Drepung monastery in Tibet.
Lowanrūnaa / Lowonrūnaa	slob-dpon sku lnga ? / slob-dpon rigs lnga ?	'five masters'. Name of a tutelary deity, perhaps referring to the five Buddha families or their bodily forms.
lowombo	slob-dpon-po?	master
lowon	slob-dpon	1. 'master', rank in the assembly 2. Lowon Badamjunai (Padmasambhava)
Lowon Badamjunai	slob-dpon pad-ma 'byung-gnas	Padmasambhava, the 'Lotus Born Guru', also known as Guru Rinpoche. He lived in the 8th century and introduced Buddhism into Tibet.
Lowon chogo = Lowon tseejüü	slob-dpon-gyi cho-ga	Name of a ceremony in honour of Padmasambhava. It is held on the 10th day of the lunar month in Red Stream monasteries.

Lowon tseejüü/ tseijüü = Lowon chogo	slob-dpon tshes bcu	'the tenth of Padmasambhava', name of a ceremony to Padmasambhava held in Red Stream temples on the 10th of the lunar month
lus	klu	Nāga, water spirit.
lusiin khaan	klu(i) rgyal(-po)	king of the water spirits
Luwsankhaidaw = see Choijin lam	blo-bzang mkhas-grub	
Luwsankhaimchog	blo-bzang mkhas mchog	This Tibetan monk came to Mongolia as the jawtüi lam of the jewtsündamba khutagt in 1915. Later he became the yonzon khamba (the last of the yonzon khambas), tutor of the jewtsündamba. He was the last khamba nomon khan bearing this title from 1920 until his execution in 1937.
Luwsanpeljee	blo-bzang 'phel rgyas	Name of the speaker or translator lama of Choijin lam, who was able to understand and translate the mystical utterances of the oracle. He was also known as Daichin khamba (a honorary title).
Lüib demchog	lú-i-pa'i bde-mchog	Cakrasaṁvara in the tradition of Luyipa
lüijin/ lüüjin	lus sbyin (lus-kyis mchod sbyin)	Tantric body offering ritual, typical for Red Stream tradition, Zod.
Lümbümgaraw	klu-'bum dkar-po	'White Scripture helping against the harmful influence of water spirits' (originally it was a Bon text entitled klu-'bum sde-tshan dang-po), title of a text.
lünden	lung-ston / lung-bstan	issued command, prophesy, prediction
Lyanka dom / Lyankhiin dom	pad-ma'i ston-mo	'Lotus feast', name of a ceremony connected to philosophical exam dates.
lyankhuad garna		'Excursion to the lotus', an excursion to collect herbs for medical purposes.
Maaniin büteel = Maaniin chogo	ma-n.i sgrub	A ceremony dedicated to Avalokiteśvara, reciting his magic formula many times
Maaniin chogo = see Maaniin büteel	ma-n.i'i cho-ga	
maaramba	sman-rams-pa	'physician', professor in medical science, academic rank which can be obtained in a medical monastic university
magtaal	bstod-pa	eulogy, praise
Maidar = see Jambaa	byams-pa	
Maidar ergekh		'Maitreya circumambulation', when the statue of the future Buddha is mounted on a vehicle with green horse head and circulated around the monastery or town. Its main aim is to pray for the future Buddha's (Maidar or Jamba) coming.
Maidar ergekh zam		'the road of the Maitreya circumambulation'. Name of the road (goroo) encircling Züün khüree, which was the road of the Maitreya circumambulation.
Maidar zalaach yerööl		praises to invite (?) Maitreya, the Future Buddha
Maimaa khot / Naimaa khot = Maimaachen		
Maimaachen / Maimaichen = Maimaa khot / Naimaa khot		Maimai cheng in Chinese, commercial settlement with Chinese merchants and their stores (püüs). Also name of the Chinese town section in Ikh khüree.

Majiglawdonmaa / Machiglawdonmaa / Majiglawdon / Machiglawdon	ma-gcig lab-sgron ma	Machik labdrön, 'Only Mother Lamp of Dharma'. The great female founder of the lineage of the Zö (Chö, written as gcod in Tibetan) practice in Tibet, cutting through ego-clinging, living between 1055-1143. She was a disciple and consort of the Indian master Phadampa Sangye (Padamba sanjee, Tib. pha-dam-pa sangs-rgyas), the Indian mahāsiddha who visited Tibet five or seven times, the last time in 1098, where he introduced the Pacification of Suffering (zhi-byed) teaching.
Makhamayaa	sgyu-ma chen-mo	Mahāmāyā, 'Great illusion', name of a deity
Makhgal = Gombo, Ikh khar	nag-po chen-po	Mahākāla, the 'Great black one', one of the ten wrathful deities
MAKhN = see Mongol Ardiin Khuw'sgalt Nam		
Makhranz = see also dörwön Makhranz	rgyal chen	'great king', Mahārāja. Protector guard, direction king, one of the guardians of the four directions.
Makhranziin süm		temple of the four direction guards (Makhranz, dörwön Makhranz)
mam	ma-mo	Mātārī. Mother goddesses, sky-traveling demons, wrathful dākinis.
Manal / Manla	sman-bla	'Supreme Healer', the Medicine Buddha, Bhairāvajyaguru, represented by blue colour. He is worshipped with the hope of healthy and long life.
Manaliin donchid	sman-bla'i stong-mchod	'Thousandfold offering to the Medicine Buddha'. Ceremony in honour of the Medicine Buddha, held usually on the 8th of the lunar month. It includes a thousandfold offering and thousandfold circumambulation of his palace or maóðala placed in the middle of the temple.
Manaliin sachog dültson	sman-bla'i sa (m)chog rdul-tshon	A kind of sand-maóðala of Manal
Manaliin zürkh	sman-bla'i snying-po	essence of the Medicine Buddha, see Manal
Manba / Mamba datsan = Emch nariin datsan	sman-pa grwa-tshang	Medical monastic school. Its main role, apart from medical studies, are to cure people by means of traditional medicine and to recite texts for a healthy and long life.
mandal (örgökh)	dkyil-'khor	Maóðala, a symbolic representation of a deity's abode. A maóðala offering symbolizes the offering of the entire universe.
Mandalshiwaa	maóðala bzhi-ba	Name of a ceremony, 'offering of the four maóðalas' (mainly to Tārā)
mankhag	sman khug	medicine bag
mankhagtai em	sman khug ...	medicine placed or stored in a medicine bag
manz / manj	mang ja	Tea for the assembly or assembled monks during a ceremony, literally 'tea for the masses', or much tea, great quantity of tea'.
manzaach / manjaach	mang ja ...	tea-deliverer, waiter-monk, a monk whose duty is to serve monks their tea and food during the ceremonies.
Manzshir	'jam-dpal / 'jam-(dpal)-dbyangs	'Gentle one' or 'Gentle voiced One', Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of Wisdom.

Manzshir khiid		Famous monastery which once existed south of Bogd Khan Mountain, near Zuunmod in Töw aimag. It was destroyed in the purges, only ruins remained. A palace building has been restored but is currently used as a museum.
Manzshir khutagt Tserendorj		One of the Mongolian khutagts, abbot of Manzshir monastery. The last Manzshir khutagt, Tserendorj was executed in 1926.
Manzshiriin magtaal	'jam-dpal-gyi bstod-pa	'Eulogy of Mañjuśrī', title of a text
Migjid Janraiseg = Janraiseg = Khonsüm / Khonshim bodisad	mig 'byed spyan-ras-gzigs	Avalokiteśvara, who open the eyes
Migzem / Megzem	dmigs-brtse-ma	'Pure loving-kindness', prayer to Tsongkhapa
Mintüg(wa)	mi 'khrugs(-pa)	Akābhya Buddha, 'unshaken, unmoved'
Mongol Ardiin Khuw'sgalt Nam (MAKhN)		Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP). It was established on 1 March 1921, as Mongolian People's Party, and renamed as Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party on 26 November 1924, when the Mongolian People's Republic was declared. Was the ruling party of Mongolia from 1921 to 1996, and the only party till 1990. It was also the ruling party in Mongolia between 2000-2004.
mönkh		'eternal'
mörgöl		worship, prostration, paying homage
MUIS = Mongol Ulsiin Ikh Surguul'		
Nagbo / Nagwuu Demchig	nag-po bde-mchog	Black Cakrasaṃvara
Nagwushawlügi Demchog	nag-po ... - ... ?-kyi bde-mchog	Black Cakrasaṃvara
Naichün/Naichin Chojjin	gnas-chung chos-skyong / (also gnas-chung chos-rgyal)	Name of a protector, oracle, originally the name of the state oracle in Nechung, near Lhasa.
Naidan	gnas-brtan	Sthavira, 'elder', name of Buddha's main disciples, the sixteen sthaviras or arhats who vowed to preserve the Dharma until the coming of Maitreya.
Naidan chogo	gnas-brtan cho-ga	A ceremony during which the sixteen arhats, that is, the sixteen disciples of the Buddha who vowed to preserve the Dharma until the coming of Maitreya, are worshipped. It is held usually on the 30th of the lunar month.
Naidan jüdüg	gnas-brtan bcu-drug	The 'sixteen arhats'. See the term Naidan.
naljormaa	rnal-'byor-ma	yoginī, female practitioner (of yoga).
Namdag san	rnam dag bsang	Pure smoke-offering
namdel / tsadma namdel	(tshad-ma) rnam-'grel	'Commentary on valid cognition/ logic', pramanavarttika-kārika, title of Dharmakīrti's work on Buddhist logic, which is a commentary of Dignāga's work. Tsadma itself means valid cognition, logic (pramāṇa), while namdel means commentary, elucidation (pramanavarttika). In Mongolian namdel is used in the meaning of 'logic'.
Namjira(a) datsan	rnam-rgyal grwa-tshang	Tantric monastic school of the Dalai Lama. Today it is situated in Dharamsala in India. Pronounced as Namgyal in Tibetan.
Namnan khural	rnam snang	ceremony of Vairocana
Namriin dund sariin khural		ceremony in the middle autumn month
Namriin neg sariin khural		one-month ceremony in autumn

Namsrai	rnam-sras	Vaiśravaśa/Kuvera, the god of wealth, one of the ten protector deities. Also one of the four direction guards and guards the northern quarters.
Narkhajid	na-ro mkha'-spyod	Sarvabuddhadākini, emanation of Vajrayoginī. A red coloured dākini worshipped on the 25th (or 10th and 25th) of the lunar month.
Nasnii büteel = Tsedew	tshe-sgrub	long life or longevity practice/sādhana, name of a ceremony to achieve longevity
negdel		cooperative, agricultural co-operative, established in the 1930-50s in Mongolia
Niislel khüree		'Khüree capital', one of the names of the capital city (from 1911)
niit chogo	cho-ga	common ceremony
ninchin	snying chen ?	meditation (?)
Nogoon Dar' Ekh	sgrol-ma, sgrol ljang	Green Tārā, Śyāmatārā, one form of Tārā, the Saviouress
Nokhoin nüürt = see Chidon		
nom barlakh	par	printing a book
nom khayaltsakh	rtsod-lan	debate, disputation
nom örgökh		praying
nomch lam		'the one who is expert in the Teaching', a honorary title
nomch mergen khamba lam		'wise abbot, expert in the Teaching', a honorary title
nomiin khan = tsorj	chos-rje	'khan of religion', the original Tibetan term literally meaning 'lord of religion', one of the high ranks in the assembly
nomiin khuwtsas	chos-gos	'religious robe', cīvara in Sanskrit, the collective name for different pieces of monastic garment of monks.
Nomiin khürd ergüülekh/ (Burkhan bagshiin) nomiin khürd ergüülsen düitsen = see Choinkhor düitsen		
Nordog Damjin / Nordog Damjan	nor-bdag dam-can ?	'owner of riches, wealthy oath-bound' (?). See Damjin.
Noyon khutagtiin jüd		The tantric lineage introduced by Danzanrawjaa
noyon shüteen		'noble object of worship' Was also a name of an unique statue of Manal/Manla created by Öndör Gegeen.
Nünnai / Nügnai / Nügneen	smyung gnas	fasting ritual, fast, fasting practice or retreat
Nürshinbawuu Dolma	myur zhi dpa'-po'i sgrol-ma (?)	Name of a tutelary deity.
Nyamabiiyugdorjpagam / Nyamabiiyugdorjpagma	rnying-ma-pa'i ... ? rdo-rje phag-mo	Vajravārāhi ('diamond/Vajra sow'), name of a goddess worshipped by the Nyingmapa sect
nyamba / nyanba = dayaan	bsnyen-pa	'approach, come near, recitation, familiarization, propitiate a deity', practice of approaching the tutelary deity reciting his mantra, which is the first phase of tantric practice. A type of meditation in tantric practice.
Nyambawiin dulam / Dar' ekh	rnying-ma-pa'i sgrol-ma	'The Tārā of the Nyingmapa Sect', a form of Tārā worshipped by the Nyingmapa Sect.
nyaraw	gnyer-pa	bookkeeper, treasurer, storekeeper, caretaker, one of the duties in monasteries
nyinmaa(ba/wa)	rnying-ma(-pa)	Nyingma or the Old School, one of the four main Tibetan Streams.
O. wan = see Osorbazar		

ochir	rdo-rje	'lord of stones', vajra, thunderbolt, diamond, a ritual implement
Ochirdar' / Ochir barigch = Wachirdara	rdo-rje 'dzin-pa	Vajradhara, 'vajra holder', name of a Buddha
Ochirwaan' = Wachirwaan'	phyag-na rdo-rje / phyag-rdor	Vajrapāōi, 'the vajra bearer/holder' name of a Bodhisattva
Ochirwaaniin magtaal	phyag-na rdo-rje'i bstod-pa	'eulogy of Vajrapāōi', title of a text
Oirad		Oirad, Mongolian language group in Western-Mongolia, and in Kalmykia, Russia.
Olonii Ikh sakhius		Vast ceremony in honour of the wrathful deities held by numerous monks
ordon		palace
orkhimj		the red coloured shawl worn over the left shoulder by monks
Oroin yerööl	smon-lam	'evening prayer'. A ceremony performed with the aim of promoting better rebirth for the deceased, and also gathering virtue. A special Oroin yerööl ceremony is Ikh yerööl or Choinpürel molom yerööl during Tsagaan sar.
Osorbazar = O. wan		Zorigt wan, Osorbazar living from 1841-1895, a Mongolian noble from Tüsheet khan aimag
otoch		doctor, physician, healer
owoo		stone heap on the peaks and crossroads for the worship of local spirits
owoodoi		A yellowish coloured pointed ceremonial cap worn only by ranked monks of the assembly, with a black brim and a ribbon at the back showing rank by its colours.
Ökin tenger = Lkham = see Baldan lkham		
Öndgiin sürgiin nutag		'The land of the herds and flocks of the egg', an area in Bogdiin Khüree reserved for the Bogd khaan and his kin and their herds and flocks.
Öndör bogdiin düitsen yerööl = Öndör gegeenii düitsen ödör / yerööl		Commemoration for Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar, on the 14th day of the first spring month
Öndör gegeen Zanabazar = 1-r jewtsündamba khutagt, Luwsan dambii jaltsan = see 1-r bogd	blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan	See detailed explanation under the term 1-r Bogd.
Öödei khaan		Name of a Mongolian khan who reigned between 1227-41, third son of Chingis khan, and the second great khan of the Mongols. He continued the expansion of the empire in Western China and Central Asia, and also in the West.
örgöö		'residence, palace', 1. a general term for palaces or yurt-palaces, 2. the residence or yurt-palace of Öndör gegeen, that moved to different places over time, being the cradle of the Mongolian capital city, 3. a term for Ikh khüree or Bogdiin khüree, which became known in Europe in its Russian form, Urga
örlög		general, leader of soldiers
örlög ekh		nanny, nurse
Öwliin dund sariin khural		ceremony in the middle winter month
Öwliin түрүүн sariin 22-нii yerööl		ceremony on the 22nd of the first winter month
Öwliin түрүүн sariin khural		one-month ceremony in winter

Padamba sanjaa / Badamba sanjaa	pha-dam-pa sangs-rgyas	Phadampa Sangye, the Indian master and mahāsiddha who visited Tibet five or seven times, the last time in 1098, where he introduced the Pacification of Suffering (tib. zhi-byed) teaching.
Pagma = Dorjpagam	(rdo-rje) phag-mo	Vajravārāhī, 'Vajra Sow'. A sambhogakāya manifestation of the female buddha, Samantabhadri.
Parchin domiin damjaa	phar phyin sdom-pa'i dam-bca'	Prajñāpāramita exam
Perenleijalwa / Perenleijalbuu / Perenleijalwuu	'phrin-las rgyal-po	Name of a deity, one of the Five Great Kings (tawan khaan)
pog = zed = zed pog	phog	'wages, pay, salary', donation, alms, money offered to monks of the community
powran	pho-brang	palace, castle, residence
püüs / püüz		pu zi in Chinese, store
raibri jankhar	ras-bris dkhyil-'khor	maóðala painted on cloth or canvas
rashaan		holy water, spring, Sanskrit rasayāna
Rashaantiin khüree		Name of a monastic city, founded by Darwa bandida, situated in Sain noyon khan aimag, Mergen güni khoshuu, present Khöwsgöl aimag, Rashaant sum. For further information see Darwa/Darba bandid(a).
Rawjaa = Noyon khutagt Danzanrawjaa = see Danzanrawjaa	rab-rgyas	
rawjambaa	rab-'byams-pa	'omniscient, universally learned', philosophical doctor, who obtained his title in Tibet
rawnai	rab gnas	consecration, consecration ritual
Rigsümgombo / Eregsümgombo = Gurwan yazguurtiin itgel = Tsedewgombo	rigs gsum mgon-po	Lords of the Three Families, the trinity of Bodhisattvas: Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāñi.
rinbüüchi / renwüüchi	rin-po-che	'precious, gem, jewel'. Rinpoche, 'The precious one' is a title given to incarnate lamas who are considered to be the rebirth of a distinguished lama.
sachog	sa chog	a practice of maóðala preparation procedure, when its proper place is chosen and asked from the Earth
Sagar = see Gazriin büjig	sa-gar	
Saikhhan Gombo = Gombo	mgon-po	'the handsome Gombo', see Gombo
Sain noyon khan aimag		one of the four Khalkh aimags
sakhiul		guard
Sakhius = khangal / dogshid	bstan-bsrung	Wrathful deity, protector spirit. In Mongolian Buddhism the group of the ten wrathful deities protecting the Buddhist Teaching is specially worshipped. Also the name of the ceremony performed in honour of them.
salaa		branch (of the street, river, valley, also of tree)
san	bsangs	incense offering, a purification ceremony
san		treasury, store
Sandejig süm	gsang bde 'jigs gsum	The summary name (being the first syllables of their names) for the three main tantric deities of the Gelukpa tradition, namely Guhyasamāja (Sandui), Cakrasaḍvara (Demchig) and Vajrabhairava (Jigjid).
Sandui	gsang-'dus	Guhyasamāja, one of the three main Yellow Stream tantras and tutelary deities.

Sandui Jamdor / Sandui Jamdar	gsang-‘dus ‘jam-rdor	Guhyasamāja Mañjuśrī
Sandui Mijid	gsang-‘dus mi bskyod	Guhyasamāja Akāobhya
Sanduin jüd	gsang-‘dus rgyud	Guhyasamāja Tantra, also name of a ceremony
sanga = agwa	gsang-sngags-pa	Follower and practitioner of 'secret tantra'. Tantric practitioner using secret magic formulas or mantras.
Sanjidiin khural = Sanjdmolom khural		
Sanjdmolom = Yeröoliin khaan	bzang spyod smon-lam, 'phags-pa bzang-spyod smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po	Title of a text, Ārya Bhadracharyāpranidhānarāja, 'prayer of good actions', also called Yeröoliin khaan, 'king of prayers'. One of the Six Prayers (Zurgan yerööl).
Sanjdmolom khural	bzang spyod smon-lam ...	Sanjdmolom ceremony
Sanzaidorj, Zorigt wan		Also as Chin wan Sanzaidorj. Name of a Mongol amban of the 18th century.
sarawch		1. peak, visor, leaf-shaped peaks of a cap, 2. shelter, shed, barn, sheepfold
Sariin chogo	cho-ga	ceremony of the month
Sariin khural		ceremony lasting for a month
Seded = Tsagaan shükhert = Dugar /Düger		
Sendom	seng gdong-ma	lion-headed dākini, Siōhamukhā
Senge aro / Sengiin aro / Senggera / Senggiin araw = Jalba senge aro / Jalba sengiin ar(o)	seng-ge'i nga-ro	'lion's roar'; name of a buddha
sentii	seng-khri	lion throne
Ser(a) je	se-ra byes	Ser jey, Name of a monastic school of Sera monastery
Sera	se-ra	Sera, one of the three main Tibetan Gelukpa monasteries near Lhasa.
Sera igchaa	se-ra'i yig-cha	Scholastic handbook or manual, written by a Tibetan polymath, Serji jewtsün Choijijaltsan.
Sereenen otoch		Doctor Sereenen, the Bogd khaan's doctor
Seriin sanjid	se-ra bzang-spyod	Name of a ceremony originating from Sera monastery. See also Sanjdmolom.
Serji jewtsün Coijijantsan	ser-gyi rje-btsun Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan	Tibetan polymath living from 1469-1546, author of a philosophical handbook (Sera igchaa), used in Sera Jey monastic school of Sera monastery and in other Tibetan and Mongolian monasteries.
serjim	gser-skyems	'golden drink' offering, libation, sacrificial pouring of a liquid (tea, vodka etc.), and the term for the liquid used for this.
serüün lawran / lawiran	bla-brang	summer palace, summer residence
Setsen khan aimag		one of the four Khalkh aimags
shadar		'near, close, near one', a close attendant
Shagjtüw	shakya thub-pa	Shakyamuni Buddha, the Shakya 'capable one'
Shalsh = Shalshi	zhal-bzhi	four-faced Mahākāla, one of the ten wrathful protector deities

Shambal	sham-bha-la	Çambhala (the Sanskrit term meaning 'place of peace/tranquility/happiness'), a legendary or mystical kingdom ruled by the 32 Kulika (Tib. rigs-ldan) kings one after another. This kingdom is mentioned in various Buddhist texts, including the Kālacakra Tantra (Düinkhor, Tsagiin khürd). Buddha is said to have taught the Kālacakra tantra on the request of a king of Shambhala, Suchandra (Diwasambu), and the Kālacakra teachings are said to be preserved in Shambhala.
Shambaliin chogo	shambha-la'i cho-ga	name of a ceremony for the deceased
Shankh Monastery		Name of a monastery in Shankh, present Öwörkhongai aimag, Kharkhorin sum, founded by Öndör geegen around 1650. It was also called Baruun khüree.
Shanlan	zhang blon	Name of a protector deity, protector of doctors and medical colleges. A blue coloured wrathful deity with flaming hair, wearing a red robe and holding a jewel in his right hand with an alms bowl in his left hand.
Shanlangiin chogo	zhang blon-gyi cho-ga	Ceremony in honour of Shanlan.
shanzaw / shanzodwa		administrator of ecclesiastical property, treasurer
shar ordon		'Yellow Palace', the palace of the Bogd, centre of Züün khüree.
shariin shashin/ shariin yos		Yellow Stream of Tibetan Buddhism, Gelukpa, also meaning generally Buddhism
sharil	gdung, ring-bsrel	relics, ashes of a saint lama as relics
shariliin süm		relics temple
sharjin	shar byung	'rose, appeared', name of the everyday reading in monastic schools
shashnii töölögch		'representatives of religious affairs' from the 1920-1930s, appointed by the Party to supervise monastics and monastery affairs as a mean of gradual oppression.
shashniig barigch deedes		the highest religious dignitaries'
shaw'		1. 'disciple, pupil', 2. Bondsman of a monastery, person subordinated to a particular monastery's ecclesiastical estate.
shaw' nar		'Disciples', bondsmen of a monastery, people subordinated to a particular monastery's ecclesiastical estate.
shawran	zhabs-drung	'at the feet of, in the presence of', servant or attendant of a great lama
shii		shi in Chinese, Chinese theatre play
Shiirewnyamba / Shiirew nyambu/ Sharaw nyambu	shes-rab snying-po	the Heart Sūtra, a famous Mahāyāna sūtra
Shijir baatar		Zasag beil Shijir baatar. Famous hero who was the younger brother of Öndör geegen Zanabazar. Also one of the two heroes, Büüwei baatar and Shijir baatar, who appear in certain Tsam dances.
Shine jild burkhan shüteend tüi rawnai örkhökh		purification and consecration of Buddhist images in the New Year
shine yan	dbyangs gsar	new melody (of chanting)
shinii (1, 2, 3...)		'...standard of the lunar month', for example shini neg (shinii 1), first day of the lunar month, shini hoyor (shinii 2), 2nd day of the lunar month...

shinkhua		sien khua in Chinese, Manchu military barracks
shireet lam	khri-pa bla-ma	'throne-holder', head monk, abbot of the assembly hall
Shireet Tsagaan nuur		Name of an old dried-out lake, a sacred site of Zanabazar in Öwörkhangai aimag, near his birthplace, where he was first given the title bogd or jewtsündamba khutagt, at the age of four. Later, in 1639, a yurt temple was erected in the same place, which became called Baruun khüree. This was the origin of the capital city (Ikh khüree, Bogdiin khüree, Urga...) that moved many times before finally settling in the present Ulaanbaatar area.
Shiwdagdorma	gzhi-bdag-gi gtor-ma	'sacrificial cake offering to the local spirits'
shörgön khashaa		wooden hedge, a short cross-hedge surrounding a grassed space in front of a monastery, aimed at protecting it from bad spirits.
shunlaiw / shonlaiw	gzhung lugs-pa / gzhung las-pa	head of a philosophic monastic school
Shüg(den) = Dorjshüg(den)	shugs(-ldan)	'Powerful/strong', name of a wrathful protector deity, whose worship was forbidden by the Dalai Lama. He still continues to be worshipped in several Mongolian monasteries.
shüteen	rten	'support', object of worship, representation, physical embodiments of enlightened body, speech or mind, thus a picture, a sculpture or a book
Shüteenii örgöö		sanctuary, 'palace of the objects of worship'
sojin	so-sbyong	confession of sins, ceremonies performed in order to purify the precepts/vows
Sojintoi Manal		Ceremony in honour of the Medicine Buddha, together with fast or confession
Songino (uul)		'Onion (Mountain)', name of a mountain West of Ulaanbaatar
sor	zor	pyramid shaped wooden construction with a sacrificial cake (see sor zalakh)
sor zalakh	zor 'phen	The ceremony of the burning of the Sor, that aims to remove of all bad effects and relieve natural disasters such as droughts, harsh winter cold, or contagious diseases and other negative phenomena.
Sosorbaram = see Baraishir	so-sor 'brang-ma	
Sotow / Seti / Seetew	bse khrab	'hide plates/corselet', name of a guardian deity
soyombo		1. The first letter of the soyombo script invented by Zanabazar in 1686. It became a symbol of liberty and the Mongolian State. 2. the Soyombo script itself
sudar	mdo	Sūtra, words of the Buddha, one of the three parts of the Tripiṭaka (gurwan aimag saw). Today it also means any holy book or text.
sum		subprovince, administrative unit within the aimag (province), originally 'arrow'
Sundui	gzungs-'dus	'collection of mantras and dhāraṇīs', title of a text collection
suwraga	mchod-rten	stūpa, 'receptacle or support of offerings', reliquary symbolic of enlightened mind

süm		temple, shrine
sümbüm	gsung-'bum	1. 'complete or collected works' of an eminent monk 2. Sometimes used to mean a printing house (barkhan)
Süün Dalai eej		'milk sea mother', name of the breast-feeding nanny of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar
Tagnuuliin Yerönkhii Gazar		State Intelligence Agency
taij		prince, noble
takhilch		offering maker, one of the duties in assemblies
Takhiliin büjig = see Chogar		
Tamgiin süm		'Temple of the seal'
Tanton / Tantan = Tantonjalbaa / Tantanjalbaa	thang stong (rgyal-po)	Tangtong Gyalpo, a Tibetan siddha who lived from 1361 until 1485. He is considered to be one of the 'seven miracles' of Tibet. Legend tells that he was born in the 15th century from the womb of his mother as a 60-year old man with white beard. He was born in Tsang, Tibet at the time of Tsongkhapa. He visited India, China and many provinces of Tibet. He is well known for establishing the Tibetan opera called lha-mo. He founded numerous monasteries, among them a famous monastery in Lcags-po ri, the Medical College Hill, a sacred mountain in Lhasa. He also composed numerous works on medicine.
Tanton chogo	thang stong-gi cho-ga	Ceremony held in honour of Tanton/Tantan.
Tantonjalbaa / Tantanjalbaa = see Tanton / Tantan		
Taog Choijil	tha 'og chos-rgyal	one of the five great kings (tawan khaan) or five regal buddhas
Tarawchamba	thar-pa chen-po	'Great Liberation', title of a text
tarni	sngags, gzungs	dhāraśī, magic spell, magical formula
tawan bod'	po-t.i lnga	five books of philosophy
tawan khaan	sku lnga rgyal-po	five great kings, the five regal or dhyāni buddhas
tergüün		'head', head or leader of a temple or monastery
tersüüd	log-par lta-ba	six masters, holders of heretical doctrines defeated by Buddha
toin		Monk, priest. Originally monk of princely or noble origin. Tao yen in Chinese.
Toinog / Toinag	khros-nag, (ma-gcig) khros-ma nag-mo, khros-po nag-po	1. 'black wrathful one', fierce black goddess, aspect of Vajrayoginī; 2. 'Black wrathful one', a black coloured wrathful deity (see Toiwonagba)
Toiwonagba / Toiwonagwu = Toinog	khros-po nag-po	'Wrathful black deity'
Toiwonagmo = Toinog	khros-po nag-mo	'black wrathful one', fierce black goddess, aspect of Vajrayoginī
tokhoi		cubit, a linear measure unit, ratio of 1:0.32 metre
Tonbajin	thod-pa-can	'The One with the skull', an epithet of Cakrasaṅvara
torgon tsereg		'silken army', guards of the Bogd khaan
tow' malgai		A kind of cap with four leaf-shaped peaks (sarawch).
töw üzel = see umaa	dbu-ma	
Töwdiin khoroo		Tibetan quarter (one of the quarters in Bogdiin khüree, situated in one of the lay people quarters)

Töwkhön = Duwkhān	sgrub-khang	Dwelling for meditation practice, a building/cave or enclosure used for intensive meditation and practice, also the name of a hermitage, founded by Öndör gegeen, situated in Öwörkhāngai aimag.
Tsagaan Dar' Ekh	sgrol-ma dkar-mo, sgrol dkar	The White Tārā, Sītātārā
tsagaan malgait		'with White Hat', name for Muslim monks
Tsagaan öwgön	rgan-po dkar-po, lha chen tshe-ring	The White Old Man, a deity depicted as an old man with long white hair and beard, carrying a dragon-headed stick. Also appears in the Tsam dance.
tsagaan sar		'White month', the Lunar New Year during which special ceremonies are held in Buddhist temples.
Tsagaan sariin 14-nii yerööl = Öndör bogdiin düitsen yerööl		Commemoration for Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar, on the 14th day of the first spring month
Tsagaan Shükhert = Dugar = Seded	gdugs dkar	Sītāpatrā, the female Bodhisattva, 'Goddess with the White Parasol' protecting against obstacles
tsagaatgakh		(verb) rehabilitate someone politically, the act of declaring someone as innocent and so re-establishing that person's reputation
tsagaatgal		(noun) political rehabilitation, declaring someone as innocent and the re-establishment of that person's reputation
Tsam	'chams	masked ritual dance performed in monasteries
Tsamba/ Tsanba	tshangs-pa	Brahmā, one of the protector deities
Tsambashadag/ Tsambashidag	tshangs-pa zhi drag ? / tshangs-pa gzhi-bdag ?	'peaceful and wrathful Brahma' (?), a form of Brahmā
tsanid	mtshan-nyid	'characteristic', philosophy
tsanid datsan	mtshan-nyid grwa-tshang	philosophical monastic school
tsaw		'heat/hot', 'warm drink/food', dishes or food of the monks
Tsedew = see Nasnii бүтeөл	tshe-sgrub	
Tsedewgombo = Rigsümgombo = Gurwan yazguurtiin itgel	tshe-sgrub mgon-po	'protectors of long life', Lords of the Three Families, the trinity of Bodhisattvas: Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāñi.
tsedor = jiliin dorom	tshe(s)-gtor	'yearly ceremonial cake', a kind of sacrificial cake
Tsedor danrag	tshe(s)-gtor gtang-rag	'yearly thanksgiving offering' to Śrīdevī offered on Lunar New Year Eve during the Tsedor lkham ceremony
Tsedor lkham	tshe(s)-gtor lha-mo	'yearly ceremonial cake offering to Lkham', Name of a ceremony, during which a yearly offering is performed to Śrīdevī on Lunar New Year's Eve
tseejüü / tseijüü	tshes bcu	'tenth', the great day of Padmasambhava. Therefore, tseejüü is the name of Red Stream ceremonies held on the 10th of the lunar month, in honour of Padmasambhava or other Red Stream deities.
Tsegmid / Tsewmed = see Ayuush	tshe-dpag-med	
Tsegmidiin chogo = Tsewmedidiin chogo	tshe-dpag-med-kyi choga	A ceremony worshipping Amitāyus, the Buddha of Boundless life.
Tsetsee gün		Name of the highest peak (2256m) of Bogd Khan Mountain to the South of Ulaanbaatar, place of the annual state worship (also the site of an old but ruined temple).
Tsewmed / Tsegmid= see Ayuush	tshe-dpag-med	

Tsewegmediin chogo = see Tsegmediin chogo		
tsogchid	tshogs mchod	'accumulation of offerings', ganapūjā, feast offering
tsogchin	tshogs chen	1. 'the great assembly', everyday ceremony, daily chanting 2. Tshogchin dugan
tsogchin dugan	tshogs chen 'du-khang	main assembly hall in a monastery, used for the daily chantings
tsogchin gesgüi	tshogs chen-gyi dge-bskos	disciplinary master of the main assembly hall in a monastery
tsogshin = chuulganii oron	tshogs zhing	'Assembly field, field of merit/accumulation'. Assembly tree representing a Buddhist master and the lineage a teachings transmitted through different deities and tutelary deities.
Tsonlkha	tshong lha	the deity of trade, worshipped by Chinese traders and merchants. Has an elephant's head and resembles the Indian god Gaṇeśa.
tsorj	chos-rje	'lord of religion', dharmasvamin in Sanskrit, one of the highest ranks in an assembly and in Bogdiin khüree
tugdam / tugdum / tügdem	thugs-dam	1. 'oath, vow', 2. 'meditation, practice', 3. 'tutelary deity', yadam
tugdam / tugdum / tügdem = ger tugdum	thugs-dam	palace or residence of a high lama or noble
Tuwaan Zonkhor	thub-pa'i ...-... ?	Name of a deity. Exact meaning unknown.
Tügjil düinkhor	thugs-dkyil dus-'khor	A kind of Kālacakra ceremony with a maññala.
Tüi / Tüisol	khrus (gsol)	ablution, cleansing ritual, also title of the text recited during a purification ritual
tümen gelen		'ten thousand fully-ordained monks', multitude of monks
tümet khangal/ tümt khangal	?	A kind of ceremony dedicated to the wrathful deities.
Tünlkha	'khrungs lha	'birth deity' There is a deity for the day and exact time of a person's birth, according to the combination of the elements of the birth-year. This deity must be given preference in prayer and in veneration by the person who is under its patronage.
Tüsheet khan aimag		one of the four Khalkh aimags
Tüükhiin süm		'historical shrine', usually houses a carved stele with historic inscriptions
Tüwdenjamts	thub-bstan rgya-mtsho	13th Dalai Lama, 1876-1933. Stayed in Bogdiin Khüree in 1904/05 after having fled from Lhasa from the invading forces of Younghusband.
Tüwiin chogo = Burkhan bagshiin chogo	thub-pa'i cho-ga	Ceremony in honour of the Buddha, held on the great days of Buddha (see also Burkhan bagshiin düitsen ödör).
Ulaan sakhius = Jamsran = Begtse	lcam-sring / beg-tse	'the red Protector', another name of Jamsran or Begtse, one of the protector deities.
ulaan shashin / ulaan yos		'Red religion/Red tradition', the Red Stream of Tibetan Buddhism, mostly Nyingmapa
Ulaan yum		version of Prajñāpāramitā (Yum) written in vermilion ink

uls töriin khelmegdüülelt = khelmegdüülelt		'(the era of) political persecution from the 1920s to around 1940, resulting in the arrest and execution of around 17,000 monks and hundreds or thousands of other 'counter-revolutionaries', that is, intellectuals like politicians, writers, thinkers, scientists and teachers.
Ulsiin Ekh Dagina / Ekh Dagina = see Dondogdulam		
umaa = töw üzel	dbu-ma	Madhyamaka, 'middle way', a Buddhist school of philosophy, the middle way meaning not holding any extreme views
umzad / unzad	dbu-mdzad	chanting master, rank in the assembly. During the ceremonies the chanting masters has the critical role in leading the reciting of texts.
urchuud		craftsmen
Usnii gudamj		'Water street', one of the streets in Bogdiin Khüree
Uuliin lam		'the monk from the mountain', name of a monk called Luwsan (Tib. blo-bzang), who meditated in a cave in Chingeltei Mountain where he is said to have obtained nirvana. He wrote a ritual text for the 8th Bogd.
Uuliin lamiin chogo		A ceremony and title of a ritual text for the 8th Bogd written by Luwsan, or Uuliin lam.
Ündes	rgyud	tantra, continuity
Ürjin (Khand)	u-rgyan/o-rgyan (mkha'- 'gro('i gling))	Uddiyana, the country to the north-west of ancient India where Padmasambhava was born on a lotus flower. The literal meaning of Ürjin khand is '(the continent of) the flying dākinis'.
üüdunii ger tugdum		'Yurt palace of the gate/situated at the gate'
üüdunii örgöö		'entrance palace'
üzüür tokhoi		cubit, a linear measure unit, equalling to the measure from the elbow to the end of the middle finger
Wachirdara = see Ochirdar' / Ochir barigch	rdo-rje 'dzin-pa	
Wachirwaan' = see Ochirwaan'	phyag-na rdo-rje / phyag-rdor	
wan	dbang	Initiation, empowerment, Sanskrit abhiṣeka. It means the conferring of power or authorization on the practice the Tantric teachings.
Wanchin igchaa = Losalin igchaa	pan-chen yig-cha	Philosophical handbook or manual used in certain monastic schools, written by a Tibetan polymath, Wanchin Sodnomdagwa (1478-1554), which were originally used in Losal Ling monastic school of Drepung monastery in Tibet.
Wanchin Sodnomdagwa/Sonomdagwa	pan-chen bsod-nams grags-pa	Tibetan polymath living between 1478-1554, composer of a philosophical handbook or manual (Wanchin igchaa or Losalin igchaa), used in Losal Ling monastic school of Drepung monastery.
Wangiin khüree = see Daichin wangiin khüree		
wanshü / bansha	pan zhwa	yellow coloured paóḍita hat, a conical pointed hat
yadam	yi-dam	tutelary deity, meditational deity (sanskrit iāpadevatā)
Yadamiin süm	yi-dam ...	'Temple of the tutelary deity'

Yamba yosloliin khaalga		'the door of privilege/prestige/authority', the threefold main gate of monasteries
yampai		protective wall, the wall in front of a monastery's main gate, which protects it from harmful spirits (Chinese yang pai)
Yandag san	yang-dag bsang (?)	perfect smoke offering (?)
Yansan (yadam) = Damdin yansan	yang-gsang (yi-dam)	'innermost, most secret', A four-faced and six-armed tutelary deity with wings, and a horse-head in his hair, who is embracing his consort. He was worshipped by Padmasambhava, and is a main tutelary deity in Red Stream temples. Among the three main Gelukpa monasteries of Tibet, he is also the main tutelary deity in Sera and as such is worshipped in monastic schools following the manual book (igchaa) of Sera.
Yansan yadamiin chogo	yang-gsang-gi cho-ga, yang-gsang yi-dam-gyi cho-ga	Ceremony in honour of Yansan yadam
Yar khailen = Khailen, Yarnai	dbyar khas-len	'Summer Oath-taking', the annual summer retreat period of monks, in which gelen and getsel monks take part, that lasts for 45 days from the 15th of the last summer month. Held only in monasteries with at least four gelens.
Yarnai = Yar khailen, Khailen	dbyar gnas	summer retreat of monks, religious confinement during the summer, summer fasting
yerööl	smon-lam	A literary genre. In Buddhism, it is the equivalent of the Tibetan genre smon-lam meaning prayer. It is also a kind of ceremony. See also Oroin yerööl, Choinpürel molom yerööl.
Yerööl chenbo khural		Reading of the six prayers and three eulogies. See Zurgan yerööl.
Yeröölin khaan = Sanjdmolom (khural)	smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po, 'phags-pa bzang-spyod smon-lam-gyi rgyal-po	Title of a text, Ārya Bhadracharyāpranidhānārāja, 'prayer of good actions', also called Yeröölin khaan, 'king of prayers'. One of the Six Prayers (Zurgan yerööl).
Yonzin Ishjantsan	yongs-'dzin ye-shes rgyal-mtshan	19th century philosopher. He wrote a commentary entitled, 'the sevenfold offering' which is used in Gandan monastery during the ceremony in honour of the sixteen arhats or main disciples of Buddha (Naidan chogo) on the 30th of the lunar month.
yonzog	yongs rdzogs (?)	'complete, entire'
yonzon	yongs-'dzin	tutor, master of an incarnated monk
yonzon khamba	yongs-'dzin ...	Title of the tutor of the jewtsündamba khutagt, always appointed and sent by the Dalai lama. Luwsankhaimchog (1837-1937) was the last of the yonzon khambas, and since 1920 the main abbot (khambo nomon khan) of the whole Ikh khüree until his execution in 1937. The previous yonzon was Baldanchoimbel (1899), who had been the Tibetan teacher of the 8th jewtsündamba when the latter was young. He also bore the title khamba nomon khan from 1865-1899.
Yonzon khambiin düitsen yerööl		Commemoration of Yonzon khamba held on the 7th of the middle winter month
yum	yum	1. consort, mother, shakti in Sanskrit. 2. Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra

Yündendorj		Zorigt wan, Yündendorj (1778-1828), a famous governor (amban).
zaisan		chief officer
Zanabazar = Öndör geegen, 1-r bogd, 1-r jewtsündamba khutagt, Luwsan dambii jaltsan		see the term 1-r Bogd
zankhan = zonkhon	tshang-khang	sanctuary
Zargachnii yaam		Chamber of Solicitors, the administrative board which organized the affairs of the Chinese
zasag		fourth-level officer
Zasagt khan aimag		one of the four Khalkh aimags
zasal = zasliin nom		Text category. Remedy prayers, that is, texts read in order to correct bad states or conditions (illnesses, sufferings, misfortune or bad luck) and to secure prosperity, happiness or success.
Zawa lam Damdin Luwsandayan	rtsa-ba bla-ma rta-mgrin, blo-bzang rta-dbyangs	Famous Mongolian philosopher monk, living between 1867-1937, founder of many temples and composer of the last Buddhist chronicle, the Golden Annals.
Zaya bandid / Zaya khutagt / Zaya geegen		On of the Mongolian khutagts, who was reborn five times in India, three times in Tibet, and seven times in Mongolia. His first Mongolian reincarnation was Zaya Paóðita Luvsanperenlei (Tib. blo-bzang 'phrin-las, 1642-1715), one of the most significant individuals in Mongolian Buddhism, who founded the monastic city of Zayaiin khüree in the area of the present day Tsetserleg town, Arkhangai aimag. The 15th reincarnation of Zaya Paóðita, Luwsandanzanpüljinjigmed (Tib. blo bzang bstan-'dzin phul-'byung 'jigs-med) was recognized by the Dalai Lama in 1989.
zed	'gyed	donation, alms, money offered to monks in a community (the original Tibetan verb also meaning 'distribute')
zed pog = zed = pog	'gyed phogs	donation, alms, money offered to monks in a community
zeerembe	rtsis-rims-pa	professor of astronomy and astrology, academic rank which can be obtained in an astrologic monastic university
Zimur / Zemer / Zemüra	rtse-ma-ra/tsi-ma-ra or tsi'u dmar-po	the protector deity of Samye monastery, the first monastery founded in Tibet
zindaa	'dzin-grwa	class, grade (in a monastic school)
zindaanii akhlagch = see jorwon		
zoch / zodoch = joch / jodoch	gcod ...	A monk (either a man or a woman) practicing the tantric ritual of cutting the ego-clinging called zod in Mongolian.
zod / jod	gcod	'Cutting'. A tantric ceremony. It is a system of practices based on the Prajñāpāramita and set down by the Indian siddha Phadampa Sangye and his consort a Tibetan female teacher Majiglawdonma for the purpose of cutting through the four Māras and ego-clinging.
zodoch = see zoch / joch /jodoch	gcod ...	

zolgokh		Ceremonial greeting at the Lunar New Year. Zolgokh is a traditional paying of homage or greeting practiced on the first days of Tsagaan sar when people visit and greet their older relatives in a ceremonial way. In the temples, there is a set procedure for conducting the zolgokh, which is done with much ceremony: first to the highest ranked monks, then to the remaining ranked monks, and then to the other teachers, after which everyone greets everyone, always the younger the older, in the prescribed order.
zonkhon = zankhan	gtsang-khang	sanctuary, shrine hall
Zonkhow / Bogd Zonkhow = Bogd lam	tsong-kha-pa	Tsongkhapa (1357-1419), reformer of the Tibetan Kadampa Sect, founder of Gelukpa or Yellow Sect, which became dominant in Mongolia in the 17th century.
Zonkhowiin düitsen = zuliin 25, Zonkhowiin taalal bolson ödör	tsong-kha-pa'i dus-chen	The 'great day of Tsongkhapa', the annual ceremony commemorating Tsongkhapa, held on the day he passed away.
Zonkhowiin taalal bolson ödör / Zonkhowiin mendelsen mön taalal bolson/tögssön ödör = Zonkhowiin düitsen, Zuliin 25-n		'The day Tsongkhapa passed away' or 'The day Tsongkhapa was born and passed away', the annual ceremony commemorating Tsongkhapa held on the day he was born and passed away.
zuliin 25-n = Zonkhowiin düitsen, Zonkhowiin taalal bolson ödör, Zuliin düitsen		'the 25th of the butter-lamps', commemoration of the death of Tsongkhapa, on the 25th of the middle winter month, which includes the burning of thousands of butter-lamps.
zuliin düitsen= zuliin 25		'the 25th of the butter-lamps', commemoration of the death of Tsongkhapa, on the 25th of the middle winter month, which includes the burning of thousands of butter-lamps.
Zurgaan niit khural= zurgaan yerööl		'Six prayers'. The prayers known under this collective name are the following: Sanjid molom (Tib. bzang-spyod smon-lam); Sanje / Sanja günla (Tib. sangs-rgyas kun-la); Dagii janchiw (Tib. bdag-gis byang-chub); Chogjüü jalwa (Tib. phyogs bcu rgyal-ba); Püljin (Tib. phul byung); Gawaandi (Tib. dge-ba 'di)
zurgaan yerööl = zurgaan niit khural	smon-lam drug	'Six prayers'. The prayers known under this collective name are the following: Sanjid molom (Tib. bzang-spyod smon-lam); Sanje / Sanja günla (Tib. sangs-rgyas kun-la); Dagii janchiw (Tib. bdag-gis byang-chub); Chogjüü jalwa (Tib. phyogs bcu rgyal-ba); Püljin (Tib. phul byung); Gawaandi (Tib. dge-ba 'di)
zurkhai	rtsis	astrology, astronomy
zurkhaich	rtsis-pa	Astrologer, fortune-teller.
Zurkhain datsan	rtsis-pa grwa-tshang	Astrological monastic school where students specialize in astrology. Its main role is to tell fortunes, using astrology to warn or inform of specific days and months and their possible harmful and/or helpful impacts.
Zuu	jo-bo	Lord, Buddha
Zügüü Namnan	gtsug dgu ? rnam-snang	an epithet of Vairocana
Züjii dom	sku bzhi (?) ston-mo	Name of a ceremony connected to philosophical exam dates
züün		(of the) left side, east(ern)

Züün khüree	hu-re g-yas-pa	1. Eastern monastic part of Bogdiin khüree, 2. A monastic city in Khentii Mountain (present-day Töw aimag) that was founded in 1654 by Öndör Gegeen Zanabazar. It was known also as Ribogeji Gandanshaddüwlin or Sardagiin khiid.
-------------	----------------	---

Mongolian (jas)	Tibetan (spyi-gsog)	Explanation (financial unit)
29-nii tsawiin jas	tsha-ba'i spyi-gsog	unit covering the catering of the ceremony held on the 29th day of the lunar month (Sakhius)
Agrambiin Khangaliin jas	sngags-rams-pa	unit supporting the ceremony held by tantric masters in honour of the wrathful protectors
Agwa datsangiin jas	sngags-pa grwa-tshang-gi spyi-gsog	unit belonging to the Tantric school
Altan Dorjzodwiin jas	rdo-rje gcod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Vajracchedikā Sūtra written in gold
Altan Ganjuuriin jas	bka'-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Kanjur written in gold
Altan Ganjuuriin selbeltiin jas	bka'-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the repairs of the Kanjur written in gold
Altan Lamrimiin jas	lam-rim-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the text of the Gradual Path written in gold
Arawnain jas	rab-gnas-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the consecrations of objects of worship. See Dashnyam arawnain jas.
Arwan gurawnii Günregiin jas	kun-rig-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting Vairocana's ritual for the deceased ones on the 13th of the lunar month
Arwanii jas / Arwanain jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremony on the 10th day. It might be a distorted form of Arawnain jas
Awidiin chogiiin jas	'od-dpag-med-kyi cho-ga'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the performance of Amitābha Buddha's ritual for longevity
Awidiin jas	'od-dpag-med-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremony dedicated to Amitābha Buddha

Ayuushiin donchidiin jas	tshe-dpag-med-kyi stong-mchod-kyi spyi- gsog	unit supporting the performance of the thousandfold offering in honour of Amitāyus
Ayuushiin jas	tshe-dpag-med-kyi spyi- gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the texts in honour of Amitāyus
Baga Dar' ekhiin jas	sgrol-ma'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of brief texts dedicated to Tārā
Baga Lamiin chodwiin jas	bla-ma'i mchod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the Gurupūjā (short version)
Baga Manal jas	sman-bla'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Medicine Buddha's text (short version)
Baga Tarawiin jas	thar-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Great Liberation Sūtra (short version)
Baga Tūm(e)t sakhiusnii jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremony of Tūmet sakhius (short version)
Buman Dar' ekhiin jas	sgrol-ma 'bum-phrag-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Tārā's mantra 100 000 times
Buman Itgeliin jas / jio	skyabs-'gro 'bum-phrag- gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Taking refuge 100 000 times
Buman Nagoon dar' ekhiin jas	sgrol-ma 'bum-phrag-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Green Tārā's mantra 100 000 times
Buman Sanjidiin jas	bzang-spyod 'bum- phrag-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Ārya Bhadracharyāpranidhānarāja Sūtra 100 000 times
Buman Tsagaan Dar' ekhiin jas	sgrol dkar 'bum-phrag- gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the White Tārā's mantra 100 000 times
Bumdorjiin jas	? rdo-rje	Exact meaning unknown
Büteel jas / Büteeliin jas	sgrub-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit of a ceremony dedicated to Avalokiteśvara, reciting his magic formula many times
Chadbogiin chog jas	?	Exact meaning unknown, probably distorted form of Zed pogiin jas
Chog Sanjidiin jas	? bzang-spyod-kyi spyi- gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Ārya Bhadracharyāpranidhānarāja sūtra
Chogchin jas = Tsogchin jas	tshogs chen-gyi spyi- gsog	unit of the main assembly hall
Chogiin jas	cho-ga'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the performance of Chogo ceremony
Dalai eejiin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit in honour of Öndör gegeen Zanabazar's mother
Dalai lamiin pogiin jas	... phog-gi spyi-gsog	unit of the donations dedicated to the Dalai Lama
Damjaanii ideenii jas	dam-bca'i spyi-gsog	unit covering the catering of an exam's participants
Da-nin-ag khurliin jas / Da-ni-gewag khurliin jas	?	Exact meaning unknown.

Danjogiin jas	?	Exact meaning unknown, probably distorted form of Danshigiin jas
Danjuuriin jas	bstan-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Tanjur
Danshig khangaliin jas / Danshigiin khangaliin jas	brtan-bzhugs-kyi ...	unit supporting the ceremony performed in honour of the Dharma protectors to ensure long life
Dar' ekhiin dültsen jas / Dar' ekhiin dültsegiin jas / Dar' ekhiin dültsegiin jas	sgrol-ma'i rdul-mtshog-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the preparation of Tārā's coloured sand maóðala
Dar' ekhiin jas	sgrol-ma'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremonies in honour of Tārā
Dar' ekhiin mandalshiwaagiin jas	sgrol-ma'i maóðala bzhi-ba'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the presentation of the fourfold maóðala offering to Tārā
Dar' ekhiin mönkh nūnnain jas	sgrol-ma'i smyung-gnas-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremonies in honour of Tārā (eternal)
Dar' ekhiin nūnnain jas / Dar ekhiin nūgneer jas	sgrol-ma'i smyung-gnas-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the meditational fast in honour of Tārā
Dargii(n) jas (?)	?	unit of the head of the district (?). It might be a distorted form of Dar' ekhiin jas
Dashnyam(iin) arawnain jas	bkra-shis nyi-ma tshes bcu'i spyi-gsog	unit of the consecration ceremony held on the 'fortunate day'
Datsangiin arawnii Günregiin jas	grwa-tshang-gi tshes-bcu'i kun rig-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting Vairocana's ritual held in the monastic school on the 10th of the lunar month
Datsangiin Ganjuuriin jas	grwa-tshang-gi bka-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Kanjur in the monastic school
Dechingülsengiin jas	bde chen ?	Exact meaning unknown
Deed sakhiusnii jas	?	unit of the highest protector. Exact meaning unknown.
Demchogiin donchidiin jas / Demchigiin donchidiin jas	bde-mchog-gi stong-mchod-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the performance of the thousandfold offering dedicated to Cakrasaṃvara
Derged sakhiusnii jas / Dergediin sakhiusnii jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ritual of the "nearby protector or additional protector"
Dergediin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ritual of the "nearby (protector or deity)"
Diwaajingiin jio	bde-ba-can-gyi ...	unit supporting the recitation of the text of Sukhāvatī, the Blissful Real of Amitābha Buddha
Dodudwiin jas	mdo-sdud-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Prajñāpāramitā (short version)
Domiin damjaanii jas	sdom-pa'i dam-bca'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the first-level philosophical exam
Donchidiin jas / Donjidiin jas	stong-mchod-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the performance of the thousandfold offering

Dondogiin Sanjidiin jas	? bzang-spyod-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Ārya Bhadracharyāpranidhānarāja Sūtra sponsored by Dondog
Doodbiin jas = Dūdbiin jas = Magtaaliin jas	bstod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of praises
Dordowiin jas, Dorduwiin jas, Dördüwiin jas	gtor-sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the presentation of the ceremonial cake offering
Dorjnamjimiin jas / Dorjnamjiliin jas	rdo-rje rnam-'joms-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Vajra Vidharana Sūtra
Dorjshüg sakhiusnii jas	rdo-rje shugs-kyis spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Powerful protector's texts
Dorjzodbiin jas / Dorjzodwiin jas	rdo-rje gcod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Vajracchedikā sūtra
Dörwön lamiin Günregiin jas	kun-rigs-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Vairocana's text for the benefit of the deceased ones recited by four monks
Dugan büreenii jas / Dugan büreesnii jas	'du-khang ... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the renovation of the temple
Dugan jas / Duganii jas	'du-khang-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the (renovation) of the temple
Duiwiin chogiin jas = Tüwiin chogiin jas	thub-pa'i cho-ga'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the performance of the ritual dedicated to the Buddha
Duu tasrakhgüi Gombiin jas	mgon-po'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the non-stop recitation of Mahākāla's texts
Duu tasrakhgüi Ochirwaaniin jas	rdo-rje 'dzin-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the non-stop recitation of Vajrapāñi's texts
Duu tasrakhgüi Ulaan sakhiusnii jas	lcam-sring-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the non-stop recitation of the Red protector's texts
Duu tasrakhgüi Zagdsambariin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the non-stop recitation of Cakrasaṃvara's texts
Duu Tüdewiin jas	?	Exact meaning unknown.
Dūdbiin jas = Magtaaliin jas = Doodbiin jas	bstod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of praises
Düinkhoriin jas	dus-'khor-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Kālacakra's texts
Düinkhoriin loilon jas	dus-'khor-kyi blos-blangs-kyi spyi-gsog	unit financing the Kālacakra's relief maṃḍala for meditation
Düitsen jas	dus-chen-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the feast day
Düitsen yeröoliin jas	dus-chen bstod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of praises on the days of commemorations
Düitsengüüdiin jas	dus-chen-rnams-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the days of commemorations
Dülbiin jas	?	Exact meaning unknown.
Dültsen jas / Dültsengiin jas	rdul-tshon-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the formation of the sand maṃḍala
Dültsengiin magtaaliin jas	rdul-tshon-gyi bstod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the praises of the sand maṃḍala

Dürwed khamba lamiin khurliin jas	?	unit supporting the ritual of Dürwed abbot. Exact meaning unknown.
Ekh daginiin sakhiusnii jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the protector deity of Ekh dagina
Erdeniin Ganjuuriin jas	bka'-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the reading of the Kanjur decorated with precious stones
Erigdee erigchin domiin damjaanii jas	rig-lan (?) rig-chen sdom-pa'i dam-bca'i spyi-gsog ?	unit supporting a kind of first-level philosophical exam. Exact meaning unknown.
Gachin khambiin jas / Gachin khamba lam nariin jas	mkhas chen mkhan-po'i spyi-gsog	financial unit of Gachin khamba
Galsangiin mönkhölsön Lamiin chodwiin chogo = Zakhiragch Galsangiin Lamiin chodowiin chogo	bskal bzang-gis ... bla-ma'i mchod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supported by Galsan for the permanent recitation of the Gurupūjā
Galsangiin Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas = Zakhiragch Galsangiin Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas	gtor-sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit founded by Galsan to support the ceremonial cake offering offered to the wrathful deities
Gamgaaniig maaniin jas	?	unit supporting the practice of Gamgaan (?)
Ganjuur Danjuuriin jas / jio	bka'-'gyur bstan-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Kanjur and the Tanjur
Ganjuur jas / Ganjuuriin jas	bka'-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Kanjur
Garawchogchidiin jas / Garawtsogchidiin jas	... tshogs mchod-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the feast offering of ... Exact meaning unknown.
Gawj nariin Günregiin jas	dka'-bcu-rnams-kyi kun-rig-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Vairocana's text for the deceased performed by philosophical doctors
Gelen lam nariin jas / Gelen lam nariin khurliin jas / Gelengüüdiin jas	dge-slong bla-ma-rnams-kyi spyi-gsog	unit of fully-ordained monks
Genden nariin buman Nagoon Dar' ekhiin jas	sgrol-ma'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Green Tārā's mantra 100 000 times by ... (probably gelen nariin..., that of the fully-ordained monks)
Gol jas	... spyi-gsog	central financial unit
Gombiin dordowiin jas	mgon-po'i gtor-sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremonial cake offerings to Mahākāla
Gombiin jas	mgon-po'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Mahākāla's texts
Gongor Namsrain jas	mgon dkar nam-sras-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the texts of the White Mahākāla and Vaiśravaṃśa
Gongor Namsrain tsawiin jas	mgon dkar nam-sras-kyi tsha-ba'i spyi-gsog	unit providing catering on the ceremony of the White Mahākāla and Vaiśravaṃśa
Gungaa jas	kun-dga' (?) spyi-gsog	Exact meaning unknown.
Gurawnii Günregiin jas	kun rig-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Vairocana's text on the 3rd of the lunar

		month
Günreg jas / Güngereg jas/ Günregiin jas	kun rig-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Vairocana's text
Günreg Mintügwiin jas / Günreg Mintügwaagiin jas	kun rig 'mi khrugs-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the texts of Vairocana and Akāśbya Buddha
Günregiin dülsengiin jas	kun rig-gi rdul-mtshon- gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the preparation of the coloured sand maóḍāla dedicated to Vairocana
Gürgüliin jas	rig byed-ma / ku-ru kul- li/le'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the celebration of Kurukullā goddess
Ikh chogiin jas	cho-ga'i spyi-gsog	great unit of the Chogo ceremony
Ikh Dar' ekhiin jas	sgrol-ma'i spyi-gsog	great unit supporting the recitation of the texts dedicated to Tārā
Ikh dülsen jas	dul-tshon spyi-gsog	great unit supporting the preparation of sand maóḍālas
Ikh jas	spyi-gsog	great or main unit belonging to every temple as a main treasury to maintain its operation
Ikh Lamiin chodbiin jas / Ikh Lamiin chodwiin jas	bla-ma'i mchod-pai spyi-gsog	great unit supporting the recitation of the texts of the Gurupūjā
Ikh pogiin jas	phog-gi spyi-gsog	great unit covering monks' salary
Ikh Tangargiin jas	?	great unit of Samvara (?)
Ikh Tarwiin jas / Ikh Tarawiin jas	thar-pa chen-po'i spyi- gsog	great unit supporting the recitation of the text of the Great Liberation
Ikh Tūmet sakhiusnii jas	... spyi-gsog	great unit dedicated to the Tūmet sakhius ceremony
Itgel jas/ Itgeliin jas	skyabs-'gro'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Taking Refuge
Jambaliin jas	'jam-dpal-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Mañjuśrī's texts
Jambiin chogiin jas	byams-pa'i cho-ga' spyi- gsog	unit supporting the performance of the Maitreya ritual
Jambiin jas	byams-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Maitreya's texts
Jamgan Renbuuchiin jas or Zemgüin rimbüüchniin jas	rin-po-che'i spyi-gsog	unit of Jamgan/Zemgüin rinpoche
Jamgan Renbüüchiin Naidan chogiin jas	... gnas-brtan cho-ga'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremony of the 16 disciples of Buddha by Jamgan rinpoche
Jamjigiin jas	?	Exact meaning unknown.
Jamsrangiin dorduwiin jas	lcam-sring-gi gtor grub- gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the presentation of ceremonial cake offering to Begtse
Jan-düid-sansüm jas	? gsum	Exact meaning unknown.
Janraisegiin büteeliin jas / Migjid Janraisegiin büteeliin jas	mig byed spyan-ras- gzigs-kyi sgrub-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the practice of Avalokiteśvara

Janraisegiin jas	spyān-ras-gzigs-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremonies of Avalokiteśvara
Janraisegiin nügneen jas / Janraisegiin nūnnain jas / Janraisegiin nügnein jas	spyān-ras-gzigs-kyi smyung-gnas-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the meditational fast in honour of Avalokiteśvara
Jasaa Donchidiin jas	stong-mchod-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the thousandfold offering performed by the Jasaa
Jasaa Gürmiin jas	sku-rim-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the Vairocana ritual performed by the Jasaa
Jasaa Mandalshiwaagiin jas	maóðala bzhi-ba'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the presentation of the fourfold maóðala offering dedicated to Tārā held by the Jasaa
Jasaa Tsedewiin jas	tshe-sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the long life practice performed by the Jasaa
Jasaa Tsogiin jas	... spyi-gsog	Exact meaning unknown.
Jasiin Namsrain jas	rnam-sras-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the Vaiśravaóa ritual of the financial unit
Jasiin pogiin jas	phog-gi spyi-gsog	unit for Jasaa monks' salary
Jawdanii jas	'jab-gdan-gyi spyi-gsog	unit of lama's benches
Jiin Chagchidiin/ Chogchdiin jas/ jio / Jinchoijid jas	dbyings ? tshogs mchod-kyi spyi-gsog	Exact meaning unknown.
Jin choinjid jas	? chos-mdzad-kyi spyi-gsog	Exact meaning unknown.
Jüd jas = Ündesnii jas	rgyud spyi-gsog	unit of the Tantra ceremony
Khailan jas / Khailangiin jas	khas len-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the oath-keeping period of monks
Khambo nomon khanii san	mkhan-po chos-tje'i ...	treasury of the khamba nomon khan
Khangal jas / Khangaliin jas, jio	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremony of the wrathful deities
Khangal Tümet magtaaliin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremony of the wrathful deities (together with 10000 praises or the ceremony of Tümet sakhius)
Khawariin arawnii jas	dpyid-kyi tshes bcu'i spyi-gsog ?	unit of the 10th of Spring
Khoid arwanii Magtaaliin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of praises performed by the 10 rear courtyards
Khoidokh arawnii magtaaliin jio	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of praises performed by the 10 rear courtyards
Khuuchin Ganjuuriin jas	bka'-'gyur rnying-gi spyi-gsog ?	unit supporting the recitation of the old Kanjur (or with old melody)
Khuuchin nomiin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the performance of the ceremonies of the wrathful protectors before the Lunar New Year
Khuwilgaan toin tsorjiin san	... spyi-gsog	treasury of Khuwilgaan toin tsorj
Khürdnii jas	'khor-lo'i spyi-gsog	unit of the wheel (of Dharma)
Lawrangiin jas	bla-brang-gi spyi-gsog	unit of the palace

Liidariin jas	?	Exact meaning unknown.
Lkhamiin dordowiin jas	lha-mo'i gtor sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the presentation of ceremonial cake offering to Śrīdevī
Lkhamiin shalshimiin jas	lha-mo'i zhal-skyems-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the presentation of drink offering to Śrīdevī
Lkhanaa Demchogiin jas	lha lnga bde-mchog-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the creation of the Cakrasaṃvara maṃḍala
Maaniin бүтээлнн jas	ma-n.i sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the practice of Avalokiteśvara, reciting his magic formula many times
Maaniin jas	ma-n.i'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the practice dedicated to Avalokiteśvara, reciting his magic formula many times
Magtaaliin jas	bstod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of praises
Maidariin jas / Maidar jas = Jambiin jas	'byams-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Maitreya's texts
Makhamayaagiin дүлсэн jas	sgyu-ma chen-mo'i rdul-tshon-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the creation of the coloured sand maṃḍala of Mahāmāyā
Manaliin donchidiin jas	sman-bla'i stong mchod	unit supporting the thousandfold ceremony in honour of the Medicine Buddha
Manaliin дүлсөнгийн jas / Manaliin дүлсөнгийн jas	sman-bla'i rdul-tshon-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the preparation of the coloured sand maṃḍala of the Medicine Buddha
Manaliin jas / Manal jas	sman-bla'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremony of the Medicine Buddha
Mandal Gandansünseriin jas	dga' ldan ? gser ?	unit supporting the preparation of a maṃḍala. Exact meaning unknown.
Mandalshiwaagiin jas	maṃḍala bzhi-ba'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the fourfold maṃḍala offering of Tārā
Mandir jas	... spyi-gsog	Exact meaning unknown. Probably Manzshir jas.
Mergen nomon khaniin lamiin san	... spyi-gsog	treasury of Mergen nomon khan lam
Migjid Janraisegiin бүтээлнн jas	mig byed spyan-ras-gzigs-kyi sgrub-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the practice of Avalokiteśvara
Migzemiin бүтээлнн jas / Migzemiin бүтээлнн jas	dmigs-brtse-ma'i sgrub-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the basic prayer of Tsongkhapa
Mijid wan Ombiin arwanain jas	?	unit of ten courtyards led by Mijid wan Ombo (?)
Mintügiin chogiin jas	mi-'khrugs-kyi cho-ga'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the performance of the Akābya ritual
Mintügiin дүлсөнгийн jas	mi-'khrugs-kyi rdul-tshon-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the creation of Akābya's coloured sand maṃḍala
Mintügiin jas / Mintüwiin jas	mi-'khrugs-(pa)'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Akābya's texts
Mintügiin нүннэйн jas / Mintügwiin нүннэйн jas	mi-'khrugs-kyi smyung-gnas-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the meditational fast to honour Akābya Buddha

Morpeliin mönkh dülsengiin jas	rdul-tshon-gyi spyi-gsog	unit of the sand maóðala made eternal by Morpel
Morpeliin Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas	... gtor-sgrub-gyi ...	unit supporting the ceremonial cake offering to the wrathful deities made eternal by Morpel
Mönkh 13-nii Geseriin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular recitation of Geser's texts on 13th of every month
Mönkh 25-nii Narkhajidiin jas	na-ro mkha'-spyod-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular recitation of Vajrayoginī's texts on 25th of every month
Mönkh Altangereliin jas	gser-gyi 'od-zer-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular recitation of the Golden Light sūtra
Mönkh Dar' ekhiin jas	sgrol-ma'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular recitation of Tārā's texts
Mönkh Dordowiin jas	gtor-sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular offering of ceremonial cakes
Mönkh Dorjzodwiin jas	rdo-dje gcod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular recitation of the Vajracchedikā Sūtra
Mönkh Dүdбиin / Mönkh Dүdwiin jas	bstod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular recitation of praises
Mönkh Erdeniin Ganjuuriin jas	bka'-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular recitation of the Kanjur's texts
Mönkh Gamgaanii jas / Mönkhölsön Gamgaanii jas	?	unit supporting the regular recitation of Gamgaan's texts
Mönkh Ganjuuriin jas	bka'-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular recitation of the Kanjur's texts
Mönkh Gombiin dordowiin jas	mgon-po'i gtor sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular ceremonial cake offering of Mahākāla
Mönkh Günregiin jas	kun rig-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular recitation of Vairocana's text for the deceased
Mönkh Jambiin chogiin jas	'byams-pa'i cho-ga'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular performance of the Maitreya ritual
Mönkh Maaniin jas	ma-n.i'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular practice of Avalokiteśvara by reciting his magic formula
Mönkh Nүnnain jas / Mönkh Nүgneen jas / Nүgnein jas	smyung-gnas	unit supporting regular meditational fasting
Mönkh nүnnain tom jas	smyung-gnas chen-po'i spyi-gsog ?	large unit supporting regular meditational fasting
Mönkh pogiin jas	phog-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit of the regular salaries of monks
Mönkh Sanjidiin jas	bzang-spyod-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Ārya Bhadracharyāpranidhānarāja Sūtra
Mönkh Tsedewiin jas	tshe-sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting a regular long life practice
Mönkh zuliin jas / Mönkhzuliin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the eternal lighting of butter-lamps

Mönkh-Erdenii jas	... spyi-gsog	unit of Mönkh-Erdene, or unit supporting the regular chanting of a sūtra written with precious stones
Myantug jas	?	Exact meaning unknown. See Mintügiin jas.
Naidangiin jas / Naidan jas	gnas-brtan-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the texts of the 16 disciples of Buddha
Naiman lamiin Jawiin chogoo	?	unit supporting a certain ceremony held by four lamas. Exact meaning unknown.
Namriin arawnii jas	ston-gyi tshes bcu'i spyi-gsog	unit of the 10th of autumn
Namsrain dordowiin jas / Namsrain dorduwiin jas / Namsrain dordüwiin jas	rnam-sras-kyi gtor sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the presentation of ceremonial cake offering to Vaiśravaóa
Namsrain jas	rnam-sras-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Vaiśravaóa's texts
Nomch nomon khanii san	... spyi-gsog	treasury of nomch nomon khan
Nomon khanii sakhiusnii jas	... spyi-gsog	unit for the nomon khan's protector deity
Nügneen chogiin jas	smyung-gnas cho-go	See Nügneen jas and Chogiin jas.
Nünnain jas / Nügnee jas / Nügnein jas	smyung-gnas-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the practice of meditational fast
Nyamba Ayuushiin jas	... spyi-gsog	See Nyamba, and Ayuushiin jas.
Ochirwaaniin jas	phyag-na rdo-rje'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremony of Vajrapāói
Olon khuwragiin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit of several lamas
Olon khünii mönkhölsön buman nogoon Dar' ekhiin jas	sgrol-ma 'bum-phrag-gi spyi-gsog	unit initiated by many people to make Tārā's mantra recited 100 000 times regularly
Otoch Nyambiin mönkhölsön buman Dar' ekhiin jas / Otoch Nyamiin buman Dar' ekhiin jas	sgrol-ma 'bum-phrag-gi spyi-gsog	unit initiated by Nyamba doctor to make Tārā's mantra recited 100 000 times regularly
Otoch Nyamiin Buman Itgeliin jas	skyabs-'gro 'bum-phrag-gi spyi-gsog	unit initiated by Nyamba doctor to make Taking refuge recited 100 000 times
Ömnö arawnii Magtaaliin jas = Ur'dakh arwanii Magtaaliin jas	... tshes bcu'i bstod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Praises held by the 10 southern courtyards
Öndör gegeenii jas / Öndör bogdiin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit dedicated to Öndör gegeen
Öwliin arawnii jas	dgun-gyi tshes bcu'i spyi-gsog	unit of the 10th of winter
Öwliin sakhiusnii tsawiin jas	... tsha-ba'i spyi-gsog	unit covering the catering of wrathful deities' ceremonies held in winter
Pogiin jas	phog-gi spyi-gsog	unit covering monks' salary
Puntsagdulamiin bumbanii jas	phun-tshogs sgrol-ma'i bum-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit of the vase meditation of the perfect Tārā
Renchin Sharawiin arwanain jas	rin chen?	unit of the ten courtyards led by Renchin Sharaw

Rentsen nariin buman Dar' ekhiin jas	rin chen?	unit supporting the recitation of Tārā's mantra 100 000 times by the Rentsens (?) Exact meaning of this group is unknown.
Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas / jio	... gtor-sgrub-gyi ...	unit supporting the presentation of the ceremonial cake offering to the wrathful deities
Sakhiusnii jas / Sakhius jas = Khangaliin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the presentation of the ceremony of the wrathful deities
Sakhiusnii manjnii jas	mang-ja'i spyi-gsog	unit covering the cathering during the wratfhu deities' ceremony
Sakhiusnii mönkhzul	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the lighting of butter-lamps during the ceremony of the wrathful deities
Sakhiusnii pogiin jas	... phog-gi spyi-gsog	unit covering monks' salary during the ceremony of the wrathful deities
Sakhiusnii shadshim	zhal-skyems-kyi spyi-gsog	unit of "beverage offering" of the wrathful deities
Sakhiusnii zed	... 'dzed	unit supporting the alms of monks during the ceremony of the wrathful deities
Sandejigsümiin jas	gsang bde 'jigs gsum-gyi spyi-gsum	unit in honour of Guhyasamāja, Cakrasaṃvara and Vajrabhairava, the three main tutelary deities of the Yellow Stream
Sanduin jas	gsang-'dus-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Guhyasamāja's texts
Sanjidiin jas / Sanjid jas / jio	bzang-spyod-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Ārya Bhadracharyāpranidhānarāja Sūtra
Sanjidmolomiin jas	bzang-spyod smon-lam-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Ārya Bhadracharyāpranidhānarāja Sūtra
Satsogiin jas	sa (m)chog	Exact meaning unknown.
Sereeteriin Günregiin jas = Ekhner Sereeten Güngeregiin jas	... kun-rig-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting Vairocana's ritual in honour of Madame Sereeter
Shaddüwlin jas / Shaddüwlingiin jas / Shadawlin jas	bzhad sgrub gling-gi spyi-gsog	unit of Shaddüwlin monastery
Shagjtüwiin dültsegiin jas	Shakya thub-pa'i rdul-tshon-gyi spyi-gsog	unit of Buddha's sand maóḍala
Shalshiin jas	zhal bzhi'i spyi-gsog	unit of the four-faced Mahākāla
Shalshimiin jas	zhal-skyems-kyi spyi-gsog	unit of beverage offering
Shambaliin jas	sham-bha-la'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the Çambhala ritual
Shiirawnyambiin jas / Sharawnyambuugiin jas	shes-rab snying-po'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Heart sūtra
Shine aimgiin yurkhiin (?) Ganjuuriin jas	bka'-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the .. Kanjur reading of the new aimag (probably distorted form of Shiniin 8-nii Ganjuuriin jas)
Shine Dar' Ekhiin jas	sgrol-ma'i spyi-gsog	newly established unit in honour of Tārā

Shiniin 1, 8, 15-nii Ganjuuriin 3 jas	'bka'-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the texts of the Kanjur on the 1st, 8th and 15th of the lunar month
Shiniin 8-nii 15-nii 22-nii Günregiin jas	kun rig-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting Vairocana's ritual on the 8th, 15th and 22nd of the lunar month
Shiniin 8-nii Ganjuur jas	'bka'-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the texts of the Kanjur on the 8th of the lunar month
Shunkhan Ganjuuriin jas	... bka'-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Kanjur written in vermillion
Soiwongiin / Soiwangiin Sanjidiin jio	gsos-dpon-gyi bzang-spyod-kyi ...	unit supported by the attendant (soiwon) of the Bogd to recite the Ārya Bhadracharyāpranidhānarāja Sūtra
Sümiin jas = Dugan jas	'du-khang-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the operation of the temple
Tarawiin jas	thar-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Great Liberation Sūtra
Tarwachembiin jas = Tarawchenbo jas, Tarwochembiin jas = Tarawiin jas	thar-pa chen-po'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Great Liberation Sūtra
Toiwiin Chogdogiin jas	?	Exact meaning unknown.
Tsagaan Dar' ekhiin donchidiin jas	sgrol dkar-gyi stong-mchod-kyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the performance of the thousandfold offering dedicated to the White Tārā
Tsanidchidii jio	mtshan-nyid-pa-rnams-kyi ...	unit of the philosophical school's members
Tsanidiin jas	mtshan-nyid-kyi spyi-gsog	unit of the philosophical school
Tsawiin jas	tsha-ba'i spyi-gsog	unit covering the catering
Tsawiin Nügneen jas	tsha-ba'i smyung-gnas-kyi spyi-gsog	unit covering the catering of fasts (?)
Tsedewiin jas	tshe-sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the long life practice
Tsedor Lkhamiin jas = Tseder Lkhamiin jas	tshes-gtor lha-mo'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the performance of Tseder Lkham's ritual
Tsogchin jas	tshogs-chen spyi-gsog	unit of the main assembly hall
Tsogiin jas	... spyi-gsog	Exact meaning unknown.
Tsogt sakhiusnii jas	... spyi-gsog	unit dedicated to the glorious wrathful protector (?)
Tüdeu Tsedewiin jas	thugs-sgrub tshe-sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the heart sādhanas and long life practices
Tüdeuiin jas	thugs-sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the heart sādhanas
Tümen Sanjidiin jas	bzang-spyod khri-phrag-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the Ārya Bhadracharyāpranidhānarāja Sūtra 10 000 times
Tümet sakhiusnii jas / Tümt sakhiusnii jas	... spyi-gsog	unit dedicated to the Tümet sakhius

Tüntew jas	?	Exact meaning unknown.
Ulaan Ganjuuriin jas	'bka-'gyur	unit supporting the reading of the Kanjur written by vermillion ink
Ulaan sakhiusnii jas	lcam-sring-gi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the ceremonies of Begtse, the red protector
Ur'dakh arwanii Magtaaliin jas / jio = Ömnö arawnii Magtaaliin jas		unit supporting the recitation of Praises held by the 10 southern courtyards
Ündesnii jas	rgyud-kyi spyi-gsog	unit of the Tantra
Wangiin jas	... spyi-gsog	financial unit of the prince
Yambanii jas	... spyi-gsog	privileged financial unit
Yerööl Ganjuuriin jas	smon-lam bka'-'gyur-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of the prayers and the Kanjur
Yerööliin jas	smon-lam-gyi spyi-gsog	unit supporting the recitation of Prayers (of the New Year)
Zagdsambariin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit supporting the worship of Cakrasaṃvara
Zakhiragch Galsangiin Lamiin chodwiin chog = Galsangiin mönkhölsön Lamiin chodwiin chogo	bla-ma'i mchod-pa'i spyi-gsog	unit supported by Galsan director to perform the Gurupūjā
Zakhiragch Galsangiin Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas = Galsangiin Sakhiusnii dordowiin jas	... gtor-sgrub-gyi spyi-gsog	unit founded by Galsan director to support the presentation of ceremonial cake offerings to the wrathful deities
Zed manjnii jas	'gyed mang-ja'i spyi-gsog	unit supporting the alms and catering of monks
Zuliin jas	... spyi-gsog	unit of butter-lamps
Zunii jas	... spyi-gsog	unit of summer (ceremonies)
Zunii sakhiusnii tsawiin jas	... tsha-ba'i spyi-gsog	unit covering the catering of wrathful deities' ceremonies held in summer
Zurkhaich Mönpeliin mönkhölsön dülsen jas	rdul-tshon spyi-gsog	unit supporting the regular sand mañḍala preparation initiated by Mönpel lama (see Morpel lamiin...)

RELEVANT CATALOGUES OF THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF MONGOLIA	Manchu Cat.	Texts included	Bogd khaan's Cat.	Texts included	Modern Cat.	Texts included	Total texts
ZÜÜN KHÜREE							
Tsogchin khural	M-98	461	A-76	110	182	200	771
Dechingalbiin khiid	M-207	6	A-230	1	185	39	46
Dechingalwiin datsan					228	18	18
Jüid datsan, Püntsogshaddüwlin 1	M-91	313	A-83	98	184	102	513
Jüid datsan, Püntsogshaddüwlin 2	M-216	2					2
Jurkhain datsan	M-92	201	A-86*	37	191	29	267
Maidariin datsan	M-94	282	A-87*	61*	190	34	316
Emch nariin datsan / Manba datsan	M-95	581	A-85	66	193	45	692
Manba datsan			A220	1			1
Züün khüreenii ikh jas			A-229	1			1
Ikh khüreenii Mönkh Nügnei khural					183	85	85
Erdene setsen noyonii aimag / Ekh daginiin aimag	M-124	45	A-108	66	226	85	196
Erdene khambiin aimag					217	11	11
Anduu nariin aimag	M-99	262	A-94	37	202	53	352
Wangain aimag	M-100	57	A-109	12	200	22	91
Dashdandarlin aimag	M-101	49	A-95	62	220	44	155
Darkhan emchiin aimag	M-102	159	A-106	13	214	19	191
Dondowlin aimag / Dashdondowlin	M-103	11	A-176	2	222	11	24
Dugariin aimag	M-104	156	A-101	57	208	94	307
Düinkhoriin aimag	M-105	13	A-91	4	210	18	35
Jasiin aimag / Püntsogtegchilen aimag	M-106	152	A-97	29	215	19	200
Jiddarriin aimag / Jadariin aimag	M-107	142	A-93	35	201	53	230
Jamiyansüngiin aimag	M-108	134	A-113	8	211	33	175
Zoogiin aimag / Zoogoin aimag	M-109	170	A-100	86	209	68	324
Lam nariin aimag	M-110	141	A-115	59	204	52	252
Mergen nomon khanii aimag / Nomon khaanii aimag	M-111	71	A-114	18	219	41	130
Mergen khambiin aimag / Khambiin aimag	M-112	120	A-103	24	218	21	165
Namdollin aimag	M-113	179	A-112	37	212	41	257
Nomchiin aimag	M-114	105	A-98	8	207	24	137
Sangain aimag	M-115	195	A-99	42	205	82	319
Toisamlin aimag / Dashtoimsolin	M-116	116	A-90	47	216	47	210
Örlüüdiin aimag	M-117	2	A-175	2	224	11	15
Khüükhen noyonii aimag	M-118	115	A-105	64	221	27	206
Setsen toinii aimag / Tsetsen toinii aimag	M-119	285	A-92	67*	206	50	335
Choinkhorlin aimag	M-120	10	A-102	12	225	23	45
Shüteenii aimag	M-121	1406	A-89	249	203	99	1754
Erdene khuwilgaanii aimag	M-122	224	A-110	26	223	45	295
Erkhem toinii aimag	M-123	388	A-107	34	227	51	473
Bargiin aimag	M-171	6	A-111	5	199	64	75
Bandidiin aimag	M-173	2	A-174*	2	197	16	20
Makhmayaagiin aimag	M-174	7	A-96	13	213	26	46
Biziyaagiin aimag / Biz'yagiin aimag			A-104	5	198	23	28
GANDAN							

Ikh khüreenii Gandantegchilen süm			A-228	2	196	9	11
Güngaachoilin datsan	M-89	527	A-78	198	188	157	882
Dashchoimbel datsan	M-90	907	A-79	129	192	197	1233
Lamrim / Janchublamrim	M-93	172	A-82	37	186	30	239
Idгаа-Choinzenlin / Dültimjansüren	M-96	11	A-80	57	189	135	203
Megjid-Janraiseg/Migjidjanraiseg datsan			A-81	84	194	38	122
Badamyogo datsan /Sanduwtegchelin	M-88	55	A-84	19	187	46	120
CHOIJIN LAMA'S TEMPLE COMPLEX							
Choijin lamiin süm /Örshööliig khögjüülegch süm (A)	M-210	2	A-177	1	233 (?)		3
PALACES							
Güngaadejidlin süm	M-208	4	A-166	12			16
Pandilan süm	M-211	10					10
Sherawpeljeelen süm/khiid			A-224	4	230	21	25
LAY QUARTERS							
Choijindechinsümbüriliin khural (Jod)			A-77	15			15
MAIMAACHEN							
Dashsandanlin datsan	M-97	139	A-88	23	195	9	171
Dejidlin aimag (Maimaa khot)			A-117	9			9
Dagdanlin aimag (Maimaa khot)			A-116	10			10
Niislel khüree ba Maimaa khotiin khudaldaanii irgediig zakhirakh gazar			A-145	1			1
Daashinkhüügiin püüs	M-219	74					74
IKH SHAW' MONASTERIES							
Buyan yeröolt - Dashchoinkhorlin khiid / Buyan yeröolt süm (A)	M-132	12	A-222	8	237	10	30
Dayanii Shadduwlingiin khüree / Ikh Shadiwlan khiid	M-137	5			229	23	28
Shashniig badruulagch	M-130	94	A-121	7	232	40	141
Dambadarjaagiin khiid					240	4	4
CITY ADMINISTRATION							
Ikh shawiin Erdene Shanzodwiin yaam	M-85	3563	A-74*	1633*	179	793	4356
Jawzandamba khutagtiin ikh san/ Ikh khüreenii ikh san	M-86	8207	A-75*	1030*	180	206	8413
Jawzandamba khutagtiin dotood san/ Bogd khaanii ord, süm, dotood sangiin barimt bichgiin tsugluulga/ Ikh khüreenii dotood san	M-87*	914*	A-173*	264*	181	26	26
Shashin törd tusalakh saidiin yaam			A-9*	102*			102
TOTAL (*not studied)		20035		1921		3569	26009

